Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Zambia: Socio-demographic Determinants and Association with Use of Maternal Health Care

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Abstract

This study used the 2013-2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) data to examine, on one hand, the socio-demographic characteristics associated with intimate partner violence (IPV) and, on the other hand, the relationship between IPV and maternal health care (place of delivery and ANC visits) utilization. The findings indicate that women's characteristics including marital status, household wealth, witnessing parental violence and attitudes justifying wife beating were significantly associated with reporting experience of IPV. Partner characteristics significantly associated with IPV were alcohol consumption and jealous behaviour. In this study, IPV was not found to be strongly associated with use of maternal health care. The study indicates that gender inequality and problematic cultural norms that privilege men with power over women still exist in Zambia, and thus IPV preventive strategies should incorporate means of toning down such norms to enhance the welfare of women.

Keywords: Intimate partner violence, gender inequality, maternal health care, norms, Zambia

1. Introduction

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), defined as lifetime experience of violence by an intimate partner, is a global social and public health problem, perpetrated mostly by men against women (Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg and Zwi, 2002; Tuladhar, Khanal, Lila, Ghimire and Onta, 2013). Globally, the lifetime prevalence of violence against women is averaging 35.6% (WHO, 2013) and in sub-Saharan Africa, the prevalence of IPV ranges between 20% and 70% (Devries, Mak, Garcıa-Moreno, Petzold, Child, …Watts, 2013). In Zambia, evidence shows that 43% of women age 15-49 have experienced physical violence and that 37% experienced physical violence in the 12 months preceding the 2013-2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) (CSO, 2014).

Many studies have examined predictors of intimate partner violence in different parts of the world. The documented factors of IPV operate on different levels, ranging from individual socio-demographic characteristics to culturally related factors, particularly in the African context. Commonly reported socio-demographic factors that are positively associated with IPV include woman's age (Kwagala, Wandera, Ndugga and Kabagenyi, 2013), childhood experience of domestic violence (Yount and Carrera, 2006), having a low level of education, being unemployed, financial dependence on the partner (Dutton, 1988; Gartner, 1999; Smith, 1990), using drugs or drinking alcohol (Koenig, Lutalo, Zhao, Nalugoda and Wabwire-Mangen, 2006; Kwagala et al, 2013), and having more surviving children (Hindin, Kishor and Ansara, 2008).

Lower levels of education and unemployment are both seen as contributing to women's frequent dependence on their husbands and partners, thereby making it difficult for them to leave situations of domestic violence. These factors also make women more tolerant of spousal abuse, hence putting them in a vicious cycle of violence and abuse. However, there have been contradictory findings on the association between education and IPV. Some studies have found that some women with lower educational status compared with their partners are at a higher risk of violence (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise and Watts, 2005) and other studies have found that women with higher educational status than their partners are at higher risk of violence (Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002; Taillieu and Brownridge, 2010).

Other factors associated with women's likelihood of being victims of IPV include marrying at a young age, lack of contact with natal kin, witnessing abuse of one's mother (Felson and Messne, 2000) and being more than 10 years younger than one's partner (Lawoko, Dalal, Jiayou and Jansson, 2007).

Cultural factors associated with IPV include justification for wife beating for various reasons, including disobedience or refusal of sex (Shezongo-Macmillan, 2007), male controlling behaviour, and control over family resources and the means of production (Jewkes et al., 2002; Taillieu and Brownridge, 2010). However, some studies also show that women who have control over these resources are not protected from IPV (Vyas and Watts, 2009).

Cultural factors in Africa have been explained by institutionalised gender inequalities that privilege men with power over women in decision-making (Ofei-Aboagye, 1994; Hinden, 2003; Suffitz, 2010). These culturally-entrenched gender inequalities relegate women to subordinate positions, thereby exacerbating their vulnerability to domestic violence. Zambia being a patriarchal society, similar discourses of gender inequality are commonplace (OMCT, 2002; Simpson, 2005).

Women's experience of IPV has been associated with poor sexual and reproductive health outcomes, such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV (Campbell, 2002), pregnancy complications and abortion (Emenike, Lawoko and Dalal, 2008), urinary tract infections (Campbell, 2002), and sexual dysfunction (UNICEF, 2000). The experience of IPV also has an indirect effect on maternal health by making it difficult for women to access a variety of maternal health care services. Several studies in developing countries have established the relationship between IPV and maternal health care services. In a study exploring the relationship between maternal experiences of physical and sexual IPV and the use of reproductive health care services in Bangladesh, Rahman, Nakamura, Seina and Kizuki (2012) found an association between maternal IPV experiences and the low use of ANC. Women who had been sexually abused were significantly less likely to have visited a skilled ANC and delivery care provider. The more severe the violence, the more profound were the consequences. In Nigeria Ononokpono and Azfredrick (2014) also found significant associations between IPV and the use of maternal health care services. They found that women who had ever experienced physical or emotional IPV were significantly less likely to use adequate ANC and delivery assistance by a skilled health care provider.

One of the main arguments given to explain the relationship between IPV and maternal health care indicators is that violence can affect a woman's emotional and physical health, and this in turn may lead to lack of incentive to pursue appropriate maternal health care (Rahman et al., 2012; Ononokpono and Azfredrick, 2014). This seems to be common in countries with value systems that emphasize male dominance and subordination of women. In a study on use of maternal health care services in Nicaragua, for example, Lubbock and Stephenson (2008) found that men had the authority both in the workplace and in the home to dictate women's mobility and autonomy in accessing maternal health care services. They could deny women permission to seek care if, for example, they were examined by a male health practitioner, due to jealousy. Therefore, in many instances women would choose not to go for health care, to avoid potential violence or conflict with their partners.

However, some studies report conflicting findings on the relationship between IPV and use of maternal health services as evidenced in a study by Ononokpono and Azfredrick (2014) in Nigeria which found no significant relationship between sexual IPV and use of maternal health care services.

Given the conflicting results on the relationship between IPV and maternal health care and the fact that there are still relatively few studies done on the subject, there is need for further examination. The current study uses a national sample to examine factors associated with IPV and how IPV is associated with maternal health care will therefore provide current information not only to fill the literature gaps but also for policy intervention.

1.1 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is shown in Figure 1 and it highlights common individual factors that are consistently associated with a women's likelihood of experiencing violence perpetrated by her partner(s) and relationship factors, particularly partner characteristics that lead to IPV. The model then looks at how IPV in turn leads to low use of maternal health services. The socio-demographic factors examined in the study are those covered in DHS data. For women, these are area or residence, age, marital status, number living children, education, employment, wealth witnessing parental violence and justifying wife beating attitudes. For partner characteristics we included educational attainment, alcohol consumption, occupation and jealous behaviour. It is acknowledged that while some of these may have a strong relationship, others may not. On the relationship between IPV and maternal health, we were guided by the IPV contextual framework proposed by Bell and Naugle 2008. According to this model, consequences of IPV include increasing the partner's compliant behaviour, thus escaping or avoiding arguments, termination of the relationship, and physical injury (Bell and Naugle, 2014). A woman may therefore opt not to go for an ANC visit or use other maternal health care services to avoid violence from her partner.
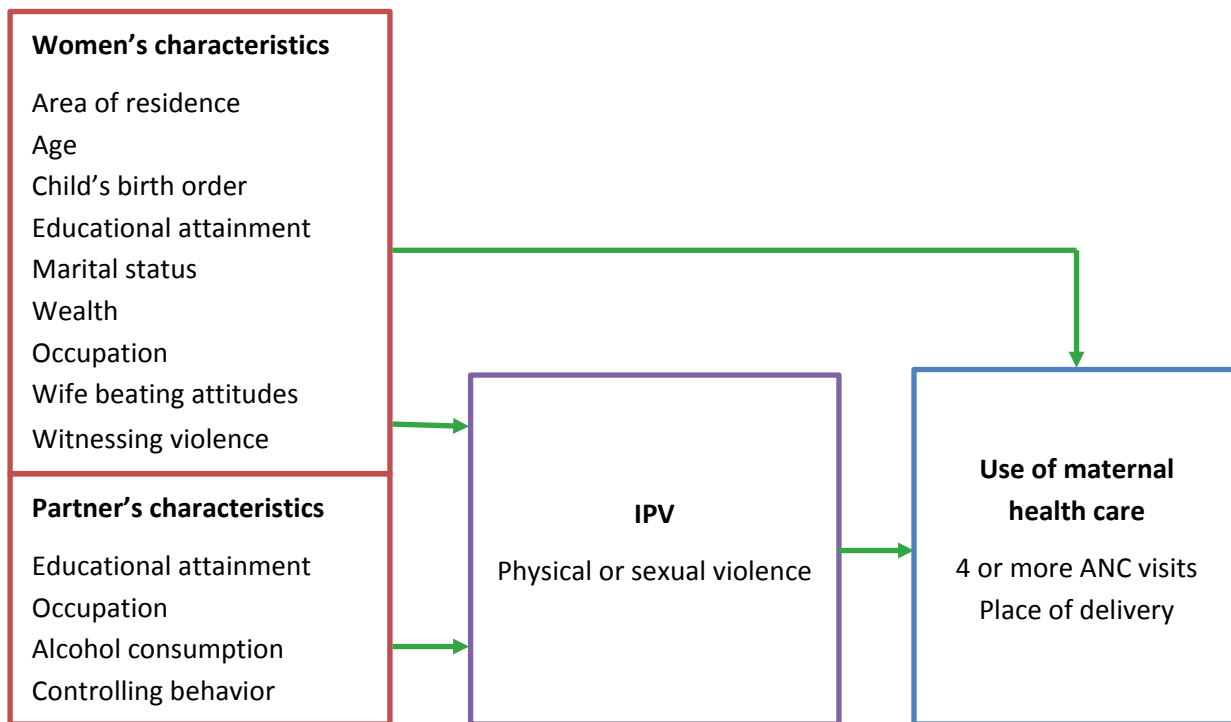
Figure 1. Conceptual framework for intimate partner violence and use of maternal health care services

1.2 Research Questions

This study addresses the following research questions:

1.   Which socio-demographic factors are associated with intimate partner violence among women age 15-49?
2.   What is the relationship between Intimate Partner Violence and use of maternal health services among women aged 15-49?

2. Methods

Data for this study were derived from the 2013-2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS). The survey is nationally representative and was organised under the auspices of the Central Statistical Office (CSO), Ministry of Health, and ICF International in partnership with other governmental and non-governmental organisations in Zambia. The data collected through the survey include background characteristics, marriage and sexual activity, fertility, family planning, maternal health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS, and domestic violence. The study made use of the individual women's recodes, from the survey module on domestic violence.

2.1 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The 2013-2014 ZDHS used a two-stage sampling design with a sampling frame from the Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing (CPH, 2010). Since the country has 10 provinces, 20 strata were created representing urban and rural areas in each province. The survey selected 722 Standard Enumeration Areas (SEA) from the strata in the first-stage of the selection process, from which 18,050 households were selected. The total number of women age 15-49 interviewed was 16,411.

The domestic violence module was administered to one randomly selected woman in each selected household. The total number of women who answered the domestic violence module in the ZDHS was 11,778. These women were asked about their experiences of violence. Since our focus is on intimate partner violence and maternal health use, we restricted the analysis to women who reported to have ever been married and who had a live birth in the five years preceding the survey. The total number of women included in the study is 7,005 (weighted = 6,087).

2.2 Dependent Variables

There are three dependent variables for this study: intimate partner violence (IPV), place of delivery, and number of antenatal care (ANC) visits. IPV is defined as ever experiencing physical or sexual violence. Physical and sexual violence were selected because they are the most occurring forms of IPV in Zambia (Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Health, and ICF International, 2014). Other forms include emotional (psychological) abuse and controlling behaviours. Ever experiencing physical violence was determined by the respondent answering "yes" to any of a string

of questions about whether her spouse ever: a) slapped her; b) twisted her arm or pulled her hair; c) pushed, shook, or threw something at her; d) punched her with his fist or something that could hurt her; e) kicked her, dragged her, or beat her up; f) tried to choke her or burned her on purpose; or g) threatened her or attacked her with a knife, gun, or any other weapon. Experiencing sexual violence was determined by the respondent answering "yes" to any of the two questions that asked whether the woman's spouse had ever forced her to have sexual intercourse or to perform any sexual activity without her will.

Data on place of delivery were collected for all births in the five years preceding the survey, but the analysis focused on the care that women received for their most recent birth. It was measured by the survey question that asked women where they delivered their more recent birth. If a woman answered home or other home, it was recoded as "home" and all kinds of conventional health facilities were recoded as "facility delivery".

ANC visits were measured using the question that asked women how many times they received antenatal care during the pregnancy for the most recent birth. If they received no ANC care or made one to three ANC visits, this was recoded as "0", and if they made four or more antenatal care visits, this was recoded as "1".

2.3 Independent Variables

There are two sets of independent variables in this study. The variables were chosen because their theoretical relevance and presence in the DHS dataset. The first set considers IPV as the dependent variable and selected socio-demographic characteristics as independent variables. These includes women's characteristics (current age, marital status, wealth index, educational attainment, religion, occupation, area of residence, alcohol consumption, witnessing parental violence and attitudes toward wife beating) and partners' characteristics (educational attainment, alcohol consumption, jealous behaviour and occupation).

Current age was defined as the age of the respondent at the time of the interview and it was categorised into three groups (15-24, 25-34, 35-49). Marital status was defined as women's marital status at the time of the survey and wealth index was a composite variable which was calculated from ownership of selected household asserts and was divided into five quintiles as poor, poorest, middle, rich and richest. Educational attainment was defined as the respondent's highest level of education and was recoded as no education, primary education and higher. Occupation was defined as employment status in the past 12 months prior to the survey and was categorised as not employed, employed for cash and self-employed in agriculture. Area of residence was dived into rural and urban and alcohol consumption was derived from the question which asked women whether they drink alcohol and it was recoded as a dichotomous variable, "yes" and "no". Attitude towards wife beating was measured by questions asking respondents whether wife beating was justified for the following reasons: if the wife a) goes out without informing the partner; b) neglects children; c) refuses to have sex; d) argues with partner. A composite variable was created that combined answers to all the four questions and it categorised as "yes" and "no". Partner characteristics were also recoded in a similar manner apart from jealous behaviour which was derived from a question that asked respondents whether their partners were jealous when they spoke to other men and it was recoded as "yes" and "no".

The second set considers use of maternal healthcare (place of delivery and ANC visits) as the dependent variables while IPV and selected socio-demographic characteristics were independent variables. The socio-demographic characteristics included are area of residence, wealth index, mother's age, child's birth order and educational attainment. These were selected to be controlled for because they have been associated with use maternal health care in previous studies.

2.4 Statistical Analysis

The study used Stata 13 for analysing the data. The analysis began with univariate analysis, where descriptive statistics of socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were obtained. Frequency distributions and proportions of each independent variable against the dependent variables were determined, followed by ascertaining associations between each independent variable against dependent variables, using chi-square. To obtain and ascertain the strength of associations, logistic regression models with 95% odd ratio confidence intervals were used. Three regression models were run. The first had IPV as the dependent variable and socio-demographic and partner characteristics as independent variables. The second model had ANC visits as the dependent variable and IPV as the independent variable, along with other women's characteristics. The third model had place of delivery as the dependent variable and IPV as an independent variable, while adjusting for the influence of selected socio-demographic variables.

To address the issue of disproportionate sampling and non-response, the domestic violence sample weight was applied in the analysis. The svy commands were applied to adjust for the effects of a complex sampling design (two-stage sampling design) that was used in the 2013-2014 ZDHS. Ignoring the sampling design has an effect of underestimating the sampling errors, which consequently obscures the decision on whether or not to reject the null hypothesis. The Variance Inflator Factor (VIF) was used to diagnose multicollinearity among the covariates in each model.

2.5 Ethics

Permission to use the 2013-2014 dataset was granted by the DHS Program which provides technical assistance to the DHS and hosts the data. There was no need to obtain any ethical clearance for the secondary analysis. All ethical protocols were fulfilled by ICF International and Central Statistical Office in Zambia during the initial stages of primary data collection (Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Health, and ICF International, 2014).

3. Results

3.1 Background Characteristics of the Participants

Table 1 reports the background characteristics of the sample population for this study. Nearly two-thirds of the women (63%) resided in rural areas and almost half (47%) were age 25-34. Mother's age at the most recent birth was mostly 20-34 (69%), and for about one-third of the respondents (34%) their most recent birth was their second or third, while for only 14% of respondents the most recent birth was their first.

Most of the women had attained primary education (57%), were married (89%), and were Protestants (82%). About two-thirds (65%) were in the lowest three categories of the wealth index, while about half (49%) were employed for cash and 42% were not employed. Most of respondent's husbands were employed for cash (75%), and most had attained at least secondary education (51.6%).

Table 1. Background characteristics of the participants

Background characteristics	Number of women	%
Woman's characteristics		
Area of residence		
Urban	2251	37.0
Rural	3836	63.0
Current age		
15–24	1677	27.6
25–34	2879	47.3
35–49	1531	25.1
Mother's age for most recent birth		
<20	807	13.3
20–34	4180	68.7
35+	1100	18.0
Birth order		
1st	876	14.4
2nd or 3rd	2088	34.3
4th or 5th	1525	25.1
6th or more	1598	26.3
Educational attainment		
No education	662	10.9
Primary	3450	56.7
Higher	1975	32.4
Marital status		
Married	5386	88.5
Widowed	124	2.0
Divorced	388	6.4
Separated	189	3.1
Household wealth index		
Poorest	1398	23.0
Poor	1316	21.6
Middle	1236	20.3
Rich	1165	19.1
Richest	972	16.0
Religion		
Catholic	1012	16.6
Protestant	4984	81.9
Muslim/other	91	1.5
Occupation in the past 12 months		
Not employed	2537	41.7
Employed for cash	2956	48.6
Self-employed agriculture	594	9.8
Alcohol consumption		
No	5524	90.8
Yes	563	9.2

Wife beating justifiable		
No	2994	49.2
Yes	3090	50.8
Witnessed parental violence		
No	3293	54.1
Yes	2218	36.4
Do not know	576	9.5
Husband's characteristics		
Husband's educational attainment		
No education	565	9.3
Primary	2380	39.1
Higher	3142	51.6
Husband jealous		
No	2139	35.2
Yes	3889	63.9
Don't know	59	1.0
Husband's occupation		
Not employed	428	7.0
Employed for cash	4556	74.8
Self-employed agriculture	1103	18.1
Husband's alcohol consumption		
No	3318	54.5
Yes	2769	45.5

3.2 Intimate Partner Violence and Women's Socio-demographic Characteristics

The bivariate analysis revealed a number of significant relationships between women's socio-demographic characteristics and their experience of IPV. Table 2 shows that women's educational attainment, marital status, and occupation in the 12 months preceding the survey were strongly associated with experiencing IPV. Levels of IPV were higher among women with less than eight years of education, among women who were divorced or separated compared with currently married women, and among women who were employed in the last 12 months, whether for cash or self-employed, compared with women who were not employed.

The results also show that women who consumed alcohol, women who responded that wife beating is justifiable, and women who had witnessed their mothers being beaten by their fathers reported significantly higher levels of ever experiencing IPV. Women whose husbands were self-employed, consumed alcohol, or were jealous reported higher lifetime experience of IPV. In contrast, urban or rural residence, age, wealth index status, and educational attainment were not associated with ever experiencing IPV.

Table 2. Percentage of women who had experience of intimate partner violence by background characteristics

	Intimate partner violence	
	%	**Number of women**
Woman's characteristics		
Area of residence		
Urban	42.9	966
Rural	43.4	1664
Current age		
15-20	43.0	720
25–34	44.0	1267
35–49	42.0	644
Educational attainment	**	
No education	42.8	283
Primary	45.2	1560
Higher	39.9	787
Marital status	***	
Married	41.9	2256
Widowed	43.6	47
Divorced	56.7	220
Separated	58.2	110
Wealth		
Poorest	44.5	621
Poor	42.4	559
Middle	47.2	583
Rich	42.3	492
Richest	38.6	375

Woman's characteristics
Religion

Catholic	44.2	447
Protestant	43.2	2152
Muslim/other	34.3	31
Occupation the past 12 months		***
Not employed	38.2	969
Employed for cash	45.4	1342
Self-employed agriculture	53.7	319
Alcohol consumption		***
No	42.1	2323
Yes	54.7	308
Wife beating justifiable		***
No	35.6	1068
Yes	50.5	1561
Witnessed parental violence		***
No	37.4	1233
Yes	50.1	1111
Don't know	49.7	287

Husband's characteristics
Husband's educational attainment

No education	42.1	238
Primary	45.2	1075
Higher	41.9	1317
Husband jealous		***
No	25.8	552
Yes	52.8	2054
Don't know	41.9	24
Husband's occupation		***
Not employed	43.1	184
Employed for cash	41.4	1887
Self-employed agriculture	50.7	559
Husband's alcohol consumption		***
No	35.2	1168
Yes	52.8	1463

p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

3.3 Logistic Regression Analysis of IPV and Socio-demographic Characteristics

Table 3 presents the results of logistic regression analysis of IPV and socio-demographic characteristics. The results show that women who are divorced ($p<0.01$) or separated ($p<0.05$) have significantly higher odds of reporting ever experiencing IPV compared with married women. Lifetime experience of IPV is also significantly associated with household wealth: Women in the middle wealth quintile ($p<0.01$) have higher odds of reporting violence compared with those in the poorest quintile. The study shows interesting findings about women's employment and IPV: Women employed for cash ($p<0.01$) and those who are self-employed in agriculture ($p<0.01$) have significantly higher odds of reporting ever experiencing violence than women who are not employed. Also, as expected, women who responded that wife beating is justifiable have higher odds of reporting violence compared with those without this attitude, and women who reported that they had witnessed marital violence between their parents have higher odds compared with women who had not been exposed to parental violence.

Concerning husband's characteristics, the findings indicate that jealousy and alcohol consumption by the husband are each significantly associated with women's reporting ever experiencing IPV. Women with jealous husbands ($p<0.001$) and women with partners who consume alcohol ($p<0.001$) have higher odds of reporting ever experiencing IPV. All other variables studied were not found to be significantly associated with IPV.

Table 3. Logistic regression results of IPV on woman's and husband's characteristics

Variable	Ever experiencing IPV	
	Odds ratio	95% CI
Women's characteristics		
Area of residence		
Urban	1	
Rural	0.91	(0.74 - 1.12)
Current age		
15–24	1	
25–34	0.98	(0.84 - 1.15)
35–49	0.82	(0.66 - 1.03)
Educational attainment		
No education	1	
Primary	1.03	(0.83 - 1.24)
Higher	0.80	(0.62 - 1.04)
Marital status		
Married	1	
Widowed	0.76	(0.47 - 1.21)
Divorced	1.64	(1.23 - 2.19) **
Separated	1.71	(1.08 - 2.72) *
Wealth		
Poorest	1	
Poor	1.08	(0.91 - 1.28)
Middle	1.32	(1.09 - 1.62)**
Rich	1.29	(0.99 - 1.68)
Richest	1.11	(0.77 - 1.60)
Religion		
Catholic	1	
Protestant	1.11	(0.94 - 1.31)
Muslim/other	0.80	(0.42 - 1.52)
Occupation in the past 12 months		
Not employed	1	
Employed for cash	1.28	(1.11 - 1.47)**
Self-employed agriculture	1.52	(1.17 - 1.97)**
Alcohol consumption		
No	1	
Yes	1.21	(0.95 - 1.54)***
Wife beating justifiable		
No	1	
Yes	1.44	(1.24 - 1.66)***
Witnessed parental violence		
No	1	
Yes	1.55	(1.35 - 1.78)***
Don't know	1.49	(1.17 - 1.91)**
Husband's characteristics		
Husband's educational attainment		
No education		
Primary	1.22	(0.98 - 1.53)
Higher	1.10	(0.87 - 1.39)
Husband jealous		
No		
Yes	2.69	(2.31 - 3.14)***
Don't know	1.78	(0.71 - 4.47)
Husband's occupation		
Not employed	1	
Employed for cash	0.97	(0.73 - 1.28)
Self-employed agriculture	1.17	(0 .84 - 1.62)
Husband's alcohol consumption		
No	1	
Yes	1.83	(1.59 - 2.10)***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

3.4 Intimate Partner Violence and Use of Maternal Health care

Among ever-married women with a recent birth, 40% reported ever experiencing physical violence by their intimate partners, and 17% reported experiencing sexual violence. More than four women in every ten (43%) reported ever

experiencing physical or sexual violence. In terms of maternal health care, nearly three-quarters (70%) of ever-married women who gave birth in the five years before the survey delivered in a health facility, and more than half (55%) made four or more antenatal care visits to a health facility.

Figure 2 indicates that there is no relationship between number of ANC visits and reporting ever experiencing IPV. However, there is a significant relationship between place of delivery and reporting ever experiencing IPV, in that women who report ever experiencing IPV are significantly less likely to deliver at a health facility.
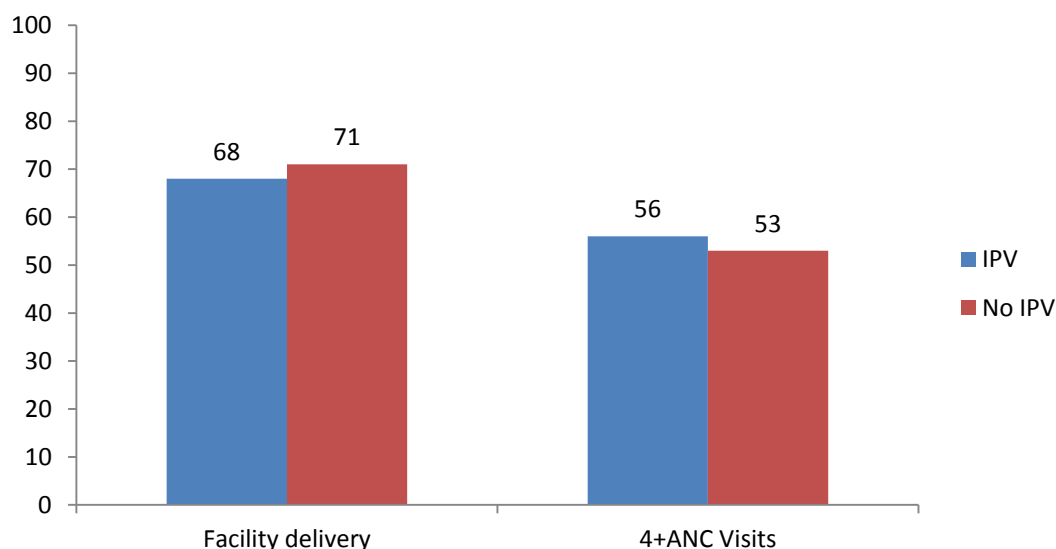
Figure 2. Percentage of women who used maternal health care services by experience of IPV

Table 4. Multiple logistic regression results of use of maternal health care

Variable	Maternal health care use	
	Facility delivery **Odds ratio (95% CI)**	**4 or more ANC visits** **Odds ratio (95% CI)**
IPV		
No	1	1
Yes	0.91(0.79-1.05)	0.93(0.81-1.06)
Area of residence		
Urban	1	
Rural	0.38(0.29-0.50)***	1.40(1.14-1.71)**
Mothers age at birth		
<20	1	1
20–34	1.78(1.28-2.47)**	1.17(0.90-1.53)
35+	1.71(1.15-2.53)**	1.31(0.94-1.82)
Birth order		
1st	1	1
2nd or 3rd	0.48(0.33-0.62)***	0.83(0.67-1.06)
4th or 5th	0.42(0.30-0.41)***	0.91(0.69-1.19)
6th or more	0.29(0.20-0.41)***	0.93(0.69-1.26)
Woman's educational attainment		
No education	1	
Primary	1.19(0.96-1.49)	1.25(1.03-1.46)*
Higher	2.05(1.56-2.69)***	1.26(1.00-1.58)*
Wealth		
Poorest	1	1
Poor	1.22(1.03-1.46)*	1.22(1.03-1.46)*
Middle	1.18(0.96-1.45)	1.30(1.08-1.56)**
Rich	1.81(1.35-2.42)***	1.31(1.03-1.66)*
Richest	3.52(2.01-6.15)***	2.37(1.73-3.23)***
ANC Visits		
0-3	1	
4 or more	1.41(1.22-1.63)***	

*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$

3.5 Multiple Logistic Regressions of IPV and Use of Maternal Health Care

Table 4 presents the logistic regression of IPV and use of maternal health care (place of delivery and ANC visits). The first model reports the relationship between IPV and place of delivery, while adjusting for area of residence, mother's age for the most recent birth, birth order, educational attainment, wealth, and number of ANC visits. The results show that after adjusting for the covariates, the odds of delivering in a health facility for women who reported ever experiencing IPV are not significantly different from those of women who never experienced IPV.

The same results are observed in the second model, when ANC visits and the same covariates are considered. After adjusting for area of residence, mother's age for the most recent birth, birth order, educational attainment, and wealth, the odds of reporting ever experiencing IPV are not significantly associated with having four or more ANC visits.

4. Discussion

The study sought to establish the relationship between IPV and socio-demographic characteristics, on one hand, and how IPV is associated with use of maternal health care, on the other hand. The findings show that 43% of women who have ever been in an intimate relationship and who had a birth in the five years preceding the survey have ever experienced IPV. The prevalence of IPV reported in this study is relatively high and requires concerted efforts from stakeholders to address this widespread problem.

Socio-demographic characteristics that were significantly associated with reporting IPV in the study include women's marital status, household wealth, witnessing parental violence, and attitudes justifying wife beating. These findings are in some respects consistent with previous studies, and contrasting in others. Previous studies in developing countries have reported a significant relationship between household wealth and experiencing IPV (Yount and Carrea, 2006; Luke, Schuler, Mai, Vu Thien and Minh, 2007; Kwagala et al, 2013). In contrast, this study found that women in the middle wealth quintile had higher odds of reporting IPV. Similar results are found marginally for Zambia and Bolivia, in a multi-country study by Hindin et al. (2008). A backlash hypothesis within the feminist discourse may be appropriate for interpreting findings of a relationship between higher levels of wealth and increased prevalence of IPV. It asserts that men who direct violence toward empowered women may be threatened by the loss of authority, power, and masculinity status due to the social mobility of women, and use violence as a means to keep women in "their place" so as to maintain the status quo (Brownmiller, 1975).

The findings on attitudes justifying wife beating and having witnessed parental violence agree with other studies done in Africa (Antai, 2011; Kwagala et al, 2013; Gage and Hutchinson, 2006; Klomegah, 2008; Hindin et al., 2008). The finding that IPV victims often justify wife beating reflects both the persistence of cultural norms that privilege men with power over women (Simpson, 2005; Fourie, 2004; Dover, 2005) and also the lack of progress in the fight against gender inequality in the Zambian society. The same explanation suffices for the link between being a victim of violence and having witnessed parental violence. Women who grew up witnessing violence between their parents may be more likely to accept it as part of everyday life.

Men's jealousy and alcohol consumption are common predictors of intimate partner violence against women in Africa (Koenig et al., 2003; Kimuna and Djamba, 2008). These two factors could be constructed as precursors to the enactment of violence against women, which in a male-dominated society like Zambia is plausible (OMCT, 2002). However, the causal direction between consuming alcohol and perpetrating IPV is confounding. It is not clear whether alcohol consumption causes violence against women or the desire to commit physical or sexual violence against women causes alcohol consumption.

Contrary to other studies elsewhere (Antai, 2011; Kwagala et al, 2013), this study did not find occupation, educational attainment, and area of residence to be significantly associated with IPV in the adjusted model. This difference in findings should help to highlight the importance of analysing factors specific to the population under study.

The second part of our analysis, which examined the relationship between IPV and use of maternal health care, shows a significant relationship only between IPV and facility delivery at the bivariate level, which shows that women who reported ever experiencing IPV are less likely to deliver at a health facility compared with women who reported never experiencing IPV. But after adjusting for key socio-demographic factors, such as area of residence, educational attainment, birth order, and wealth, the analysis did not find place of delivery or number of ANC visits to be significantly associated with IPV. This finding means that the odds of accessing maternal health and antenatal care are not significantly different between women who reported ever experiencing IPV and those who reported never experiencing it. These findings are consistent with other studies done in Zambia (Hindin et al., 2008; Stewart, Sommerfelt, Borwankar, Oluwole, Fogg… Goings, 2010) and in Nepal (Tuladhar et al., 2013).

It is important to explore the reasons that encourage women to go for antenatal checks and subsequently deliver in a health facility, despite experiencing physical or sexual violence. It may be that women who experience spousal violence

fear the health risks to the unborn baby and thus are motivated to ensure its safety by consistently complying with the recommended number of ANC visits and by delivering at a health facility. Another reason could be that male partners become involved in encouraging their wives to attend ANC and deliver at a health facility regardless of their violent behaviour because of the symbolic meaning attached to children as wealth for the family and a source joy and privilege (Koech and Njoroge, 2014). This can act as a motivation for men to be helpful during the process of childbirth.

The availability of health care services, community knowledge, and acceptance of maternal health services also influence use of maternal health care services (Lubbock and Stephenson, 2008). Where maternal health services are easily accessible and women know the importance of accessing these services, there is a high likelihood that they will use such services, even when facing IPV victimization. This may be true for Zambia because of the strides the country has made in providing maternal health services in the last 5-10 years. The 2013-2014 ZDHS reported that 96% of mothers received ANC from a skilled provider (a doctor, clinical officer, nurse, or midwife) for their most recent birth in the five years preceding the survey, and 68% of births took place in a health facility.

This study has strengths and limitations. Firstly, it is probable that sensitive topics such as physical and sexual violence always suffer from underreporting due to many cultural and other underlying factors. Thus, it is likely that it underestimates prevalence of IPV among the selected sample population. The second limitation is that the cross-sectional nature of the study design used in the DHS limits determination of causality between the variables. Also, the definition of ever experiencing physical or sexual violence used in this study may not reflect the current situation, and cannot help in deciphering whether the violence was in fact committed by the woman's current partner. These limitations notwithstanding, using DHS data has important strengths. The survey uses probability sampling procedure to select participants from the entire country, which validates generalisation of the findings to the whole population, and its standard form allows for comparability within and between countries and between repeat surveys. Data are collected through a carefully designed questionnaire by highly experienced interview teams with extensive training and supervision.

5. Conclusion

The current study found that in Zambia the socio-demographic characteristics of women that are associated with experience of IPV include marital status, household wealth, occupational status, witnessing parental violence, and attitudes justifying wife beating. Partner characteristics include alcohol consumption and jealousy. The study also discovered that IPV is not strongly associated with use of maternal health care except at a bivariate level, where place of delivery is associated with IPV. These findings underscore the importance of addressing issues of gender equality and problematic cultural norms embedded in our society that make women vulnerable to IPV. Although the relationship between IPV and use of maternal health care was not found to be statistically significant, its direction gives important insight that calls for the need to continue with programmes aimed at increasing access to and knowledge about maternal health care services.

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