

Explaining Aboriginal/ Non-Aboriginal Inequalities in Postseparation Violence Against Canadian Women: Application of a Structural Violence Approach

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Abstract

Adopting a structural violence approach, we analyzed 2004 Canadian General Social Survey data to examine Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in postseparation intimate partner violence (IPV) against women. Aboriginal women had 4.12 times higher odds of postseparation IPV than non-Aboriginal women ($p < .001$). Coercive control and age explained most of this inequality. The final model included Aboriginal status, age, a seven-item coercive control index, and stalking, which reduced the odds ratio for Aboriginal status to 1.92 ($p = .085$) and explained 70.5% of the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in postseparation IPV. Research and action are needed that challenge structural violence, especially colonialism and its negative consequences.

Keywords

Aboriginal women, coercive control, intimate partner violence, postseparation, structural violence

Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a major form of gender-based violence (Mahoney, Williams, & West, 2001). Although women's experiences of IPV cut across

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socioeconomic, racial, ethnic, and cultural divides, social inequalities in IPV exist. For example, Aboriginal women in Canada more often report IPV by a current partner compared with non-Aboriginal women, with 1- and 5-year prevalence rates of IPV roughly three to four times higher among Aboriginal women (Brownridge, 2008; Mihorean, 2005). Aboriginal women (54%) also report higher rates of severe forms of IPV such as being forced into unwanted sexual activity, threatened with a gun or knife, choked, or beaten compared with non-Aboriginal women (37%; Mihorean, 2005).

Compared with IPV in ongoing relationships, relatively little research has examined *postseparation* intimate partner violence (PSIPV) against women (Brownridge, 2006; Hardesty, 2002). Available studies indicate that women are vulnerable to PSIPV, including spousal homicides (Wilson & Daly, 1993). Nonlethal past-year PSIPV rates are 2 to 7 times greater than IPV rates among married or cohabitating women (Brownridge, 2006; Brownridge et al., 2008b; Smith, 1990). One Canadian study has examined rates of physical and sexual postseparation IPV by a male ex-partner among 365 separated women and examined the role of Aboriginal status among other “risk markers” (Spiwak & Brownridge, 2005). They found that Aboriginal women more often reported separation IPV by an ex-partner in the 12 months preceding the interview compared with non-Aboriginal women (Spiwak & Brownridge, 2005). The study was limited to a small sample of women whose marital status was reported as separated at the time of the interview. To our knowledge, there is no published research in Canada that examines rates of PSIPV against Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women among all women vulnerable to PSIPV.

Conceptual Approach to Explaining PSIPV Inequalities

This study adopts a *structural violence approach* that integrates insights of anticolonial and feminist theories. In adopting this approach, our analysis underscores the importance of historical and social contexts to PSIPV. Structural violence has been defined as the

social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm’s way . . . the arrangements are *structural* because they are embedded in the [social,] political and economic organization of our social world; they are *violent* because they cause injury to people (typically, not those responsible for perpetuating such inequalities). (Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac, & Keshavjee, 2006, p. 1686, italics in original)

Structural violence includes “a host of offensives against human dignity: extreme and relative poverty, social inequalities ranging from racism to gender inequality, and the more spectacular forms of violence that are uncontestedly human rights abuses” (Farmer, 2005, p. 8). A structural violence approach to understanding Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV challenges explanations of violence against Aboriginal women that implicitly or explicitly blame Aboriginal culture or Aboriginal women for the high rates of “victimization” they experience.

Colonialism is indisputably a form of structural violence that is deeply interwoven in the social, political, and economic fabric of society (Farmer, 1992, 2005; Sterritt, 2007; Weaver, 2009). Scholars of anticolonial theories share a common concern regarding the past and ongoing colonization of indigenous Peoples, and its far-reaching negative consequences for indigenous communities (Browne, Smye, & Varcoe, 2007; Sterritt, 2007; Weaver, 2009).

There are numerous ways in which colonialism has and continues to shape North American Aboriginal women's experiences today. For example, colonialism has been associated with increased gender inequality within Aboriginal communities. Prior to colonization, most Aboriginal communities in North America valued women highly allowing them to own property and hold significant social, economic, and political decision-making power (Smith, 2003; Sterritt, 2007; Weaver, 2009). Colonization resulted in Aboriginal women's devaluation, for example, by colonizers refusing to negotiate with women regarding issues of land and people, and often forbidding Aboriginal women to sign treaties (Sterritt, 2007; Weaver, 2009). Such colonial policies and practices, and their altering of gender relations, is believed to have increased Aboriginal women's IPV vulnerability by impacting, for example, power dynamics in Aboriginal women's intimate relationships with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men (Sterritt, 2007; Weaver, 2009). It is important to recognize that non-Aboriginal men are often the perpetrators of IPV against Aboriginal women (Bubar & Thurman, 2004; Smith, 2003; Weaver, 2009).

Feminist theorists have long posited a link between systematic gender inequality in patriarchal societies and IPV against women (Davies, Ford-Gilboe, & Hammerton, 2009; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). Importantly, many feminist theorists warn against making assumptions that confuse patriarchy with the cultural beliefs and practices of "subordinate" groups (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). All too often "culture" is blamed when women of color experience IPV, which stereotypes communities of color as being inherently violent and perpetuates a long history of white supremacy (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). The tendency to examine racial oppression as separate from gender oppression is also problematic (Smith, 2003). Indigenous scholar Andrea Smith (2003) argues that "[t]he issues of colonial, race, and gender oppression cannot be separated . . . when a Native woman suffers abuse, this abuse is not just an attack on their identity as a woman, but on her identity as Native" (p. 73).

There are many ways in which gender inequality is expressed and maintained in society. Men's regular use of coercive control tactics over women is arguably one of the most salient ways in which gender inequality is exerted and maintained in intimate relationships (Davies et al., 2009; Williamson, 2010). In this study, we use coercive control tactics to measure gender inequality in intimate relationships. We do not view these tactics as isolated acts by individuals, but as linked to systematic devaluation of women in a patriarchal society, while also acknowledging diversity of experiences shaped by the social contexts of women and men as well as other systems of oppression at play (Hunnicuttt, 2009).

Research has shown that partner coercive control tactics are associated with current and ex-partner IPV against women in general (Brownridge et al., 2008a, 2008b). Brownridge

et al. (2008b) examined correlates of physical and sexual IPV in a national sample of separated, divorced, and married women in Canada. They found that among married women, a current partner's jealousy and possessiveness was associated with significantly increased odds of IPV by a current partner. Brownridge (2003, 2008) has shown that Aboriginal women more often experience coercive control by a current partner than non-Aboriginal women, and that coercive control is associated with IPV by a current partner for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. Data from the 1999 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS) showed that 5.1% of Aboriginal women compared with 1.0% of non-Aboriginal women reported that their current partner restricted their knowledge of and access to the family income (Brownridge, 2003). Controlling for this type of coercive control resulted in a 67% reduction in the odds ratio (OR) for current-partner IPV among Aboriginal compared with non-Aboriginal women (Brownridge, 2003).

Present-day social and economic marginalization is another negative consequence of past and ongoing colonialism (Adelson, 2005; Smylie, 2009). Although there is great variability in socioeconomic conditions among Aboriginal Peoples and non-Aboriginal populations in Canada, when examined in broad groupings, Aboriginal Peoples have lower educational attainment, reduced employment, and lower incomes than the non-Aboriginal population (Adelson, 2005; Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts, & Johnson, 2006; Smylie, 2009). Certain colonial policies and practices have discriminated against Aboriginal women, resulting in their social and economic marginalization. For example, until 1985, the Indian Act in Canada discriminated against Aboriginal women who married non-Aboriginal men, making them ineligible to be recognized as "Status Indians" by the Canadian government, and thus unable to receive associated social and economic benefits (Sterritt, 2007). It has been argued that Aboriginal women's socioeconomic disadvantage creates a social context that increases Aboriginal women's vulnerability to IPV (Weaver, 2009).

In Canada, the links between socioeconomic conditions and IPV against women are inconclusive. An analysis of the 1999 Canadian GSS found that separated women who reported high school as their highest level of education more often reported PSIPV by an ex-partner than those who reported completing less or more than high school (Spiwak & Brownridge, 2005). However, studies of 1999 and 2004 Canadian GSS data did not find statistically significant associations between women's education or employment status and current-partner IPV against Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal women (Brownridge, 2003, 2008), or between women's employment status and ex-partner IPV against Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal women (Spiwak & Brownridge, 2005). Likewise, analyses of the 1999 Canadian GSS found that low household income was associated with women reporting IPV by a current or ex-partner (Romans, Forte, Cohen, Du Mont, & Hyman, 2007), but no association was observed between women's estimated annual personal income and PSIPV among separated women (Spiwak & Brownridge, 2005). To our knowledge, no studies have examined the association between government assistance and IPV or PSIPV against Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in Canada. In the United States, government assistance has been found to be associated with IPV against women in general (Lown, Schmidt, & Wiley, 2006) and against Native American women in particular (Malcoe, Duran, & Montgomery, 2004).

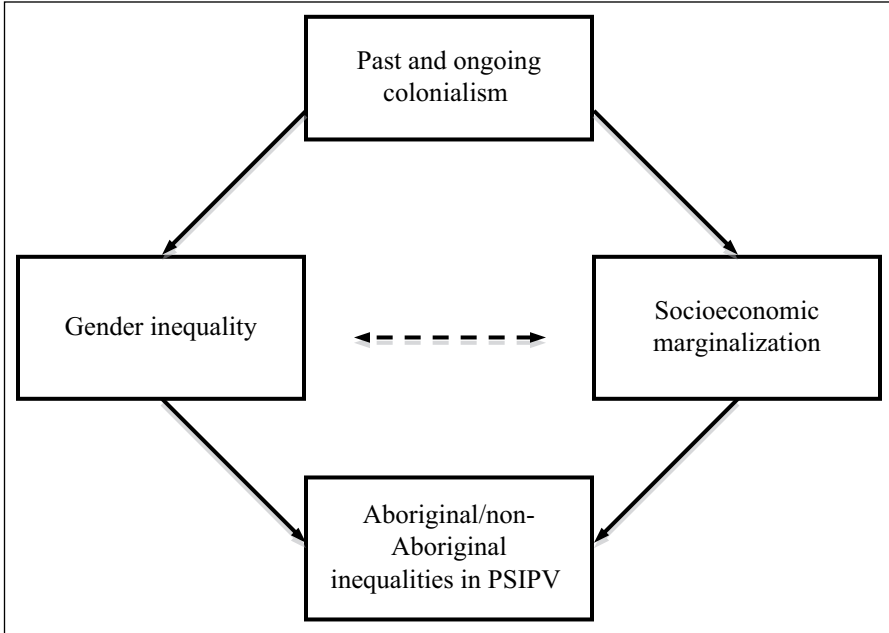


Figure 1. Conceptual model explaining Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in postseparation intimate partner violence (PSIPV) against Canadian women.

We used a structural violence approach to guide our analyses of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV (Figure 1). We hypothesized that two negative consequences of colonialism—gender inequality (measured by male coercive control) and socioeconomic marginalization (measured by inequalities in education, household income, personal income, and government assistance)—would at least partly explain inequalities in PSIPV between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in Canada. We addressed the following research questions:

Research Question 1: How do rates of PSIPV differ by type of IPV for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in Canada?

Research Question 2: Do Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal differences in the distribution of coercive control, socioeconomic, and demographic determinants explain the higher rates of PSIPV observed among Aboriginal compared with non-Aboriginal women in Canada?

Method

Data Source

We analyzed data from the 2004 Canadian GSS, a survey conducted by Statistics Canada, which every 5 years focuses on criminal victimization, including IPV, among

individuals aged 15 years and older in the 10 provinces. Respondents are selected using random digit dialing and data are collected via computer-assisted telephone interviewing. Excluded from survey participation were residents of the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and Nunavut (Statistics Canada, 2005b).

Study Population

The study population included all Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal 2004 GSS female participants who reported having been previously married or in a common-law relationship *and* who reported contact with an ex-partner in the 5 years preceding the interview. Some eligible women were also currently married or in a common-law relationship with another partner. The final study population consisted of 2,355 women (125 Aboriginal and 2,230 non-Aboriginal).

Study Outcome

IPV was operationalized as *physical IPV* (having something thrown at respondent that could hurt; pushed, grabbed, or shoved in a way that could hurt; slapped; kicked, bit, or hit with a fist; hit with an object; beaten; choked; and/or threatened with or having a knife or gun used) and/or *sexual IPV* (being forced into unwanted sexual activity) perpetrated by an intimate partner.

PSIPV (0 = no, 1 = yes) was the main outcome variable, defined as IPV perpetrated in the 5 years preceding the interview by an ex-partner after the respondent and the ex-partner separated. A respondent was assigned a "1" if she reported IPV by an ex-partner and answered "yes" to the question: Did any of the violence happen after you split up? A respondent was assigned a "0" if she (a) did *not* report IPV by an ex-partner, (b) reported IPV by an ex-partner but stated that the IPV only happened while they were living together and not after they split up, or (c) reported IPV by an ex-partner, but reported that the IPV neither happened while living together nor after they split up (very few respondents fell into this category).

Descriptive IPV Variables

Past-year PSIPV (0 = no, 1 = yes) was based on a derived GSS variable that measured IPV by an ex-partner in the preceding 12 months.

Nine dichotomous variables (0 = no, 1 = yes) were created to examine whether the respondent reported experiencing specific acts (described above) of PSIPV perpetrated by an ex-partner in the 5 years preceding the interview. These variables were not mutually exclusive.

For respondents who reported PSIPV, Statistics Canada created a variable to measure the *single most* serious type of PSIPV perpetrated by an ex-partner in the 5 years preceding the interview. The summary severity variable was coded from least to

highest severity as follows: 1 = thrown anything at you, 2 = pushed/grabbed/shoved, 3 = slapped, 4 = kicked/bit/hit with fist or object/beaten, 5 = choked, 6 = threatened/used gun or knife, and 7 = forced into sexual activity.

A three-level categorical variable measured the timing of the reported PSIPV as follows: 1 = *preseparation IPV only*, 2 = *pre- and postseparation IPV*, and 3 = *postseparation IPV only*.

Aboriginal Status

We consider “Aboriginal” a sociocultural and political construct, not a biological one. Biological understandings of differences among ethnic and cultural groups may result in reification of racial and ethnic categories, and differences in health based on no evidence (Drevdahl, Philips, & Taylor, 2006). Aboriginal Peoples in Canada are extremely diverse, representing a myriad of cultural groups, beliefs, and practices. Nevertheless, we believe that Aboriginal Peoples share common experiences of colonization and resistance to that colonization, which most non-Aboriginal Canadians have not experienced.¹ Thus, we operationalized Aboriginal status as self-reported Aboriginal background (0 = non-Aboriginal, 1 = Aboriginal). All 2004 GSS participants were asked: “Canadians come from many cultural or racial backgrounds. I’m going to read you a list. Are you . . . Aboriginal? (i.e., North American Indian, Métis, or Inuit)?”

Explanatory Variables

Coercive control variables. Seven dichotomous (0 = no, 1 = yes) variables were created based on GSS *yes/no* questions measuring whether the respondent’s ex-partner had engaged in any of seven coercive control tactics listed in Table 3. We created a coercive control index measuring the *number of types* of coercive control tactics used by an ex-partner. Respondents were assigned a score from 0 to 7 by summing values on the seven coercive control variables. Respondents with an index score of 7 reported all seven types of coercion by an ex-partner.

A three-level categorical stalking variable (0 = no stalking, 1 = stalking by an ex-spouse, 2 = stalking by someone other than an ex-spouse) was created from two derived GSS variables based on a series of questions on incidents of stalking-related behaviors in the 5 years preceding the interview, the nature of the stalking and relationship to the stalker. If the respondent reported stalking, but did not state or did not know who the stalker was, she was assigned a “2” (we assumed respondents would have known if the stalker was an ex-spouse).

Preseparation IPV (0 = no, 1 = yes) was operationalized as physical and/or sexual IPV in the 5 years preceding the interview perpetrated by an ex-partner *and* occurring before the respondent and the ex-partner separated.

Socioeconomic Variables

The respondent's highest level of formal education was grouped as follows: 1 = university or community college degree/diploma/certificate, 2 = some university or community college, 3 = high school diploma, and 4 = did not earn high school diploma.

A three-level employment status variable (1 = full-time employed, 2 = part-time employed, 3 = unemployed) measured respondent's employment in the 12 months preceding the interview. The variable was based on three GSS questions that measured employment status, hours usually worked at all jobs, and the main activity of the respondent in the past 12 months. Respondents were considered full-time employed if they (a) reported working at least 35 hr per week, *or* (b) their main activity was retirement. Respondents were considered part-time employed if they reported working less than 35 hr per week. Respondents were considered unemployed if they reported not working in the past 12 months *and* that their main activity had been looking for paid work, going to school, caring for children, household work, maternity/paternity leave, long-term illness, volunteer work, or "other."

We analyzed two income measures. Household income (1 = less than CAD\$15,000 and 0 = CAD\$15,000 or more) was based on a derived GSS total household income variable. The respondent's estimated annual personal income from all sources, before deductions, was measured as a continuous variable.

Government assistance (0 = no, 1 = yes) measured whether the respondent's main source of income in the 12 months preceding the interview was from employment insurance, worker's compensation, guaranteed income supplement or survivor's allowance, child tax benefit, or provincial or municipal social assistance or welfare. Respondents were assigned a "0" if they reported no income or that their main source of income was employment or self-employment; benefits from Canada or Quebec Pension Plan, Retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities; basic old age security; child support/alimony; or "other income" (e.g., rental income, scholarships, and/or savings).

Demographic Variables

We analyzed two demographic variables. Age was examined for three reasons: (a) several studies have demonstrated that young age is associated with IPV by a current and ex-partner (Brownridge, 2008; Brzozowski et al., 2006; Spiwak & Brownridge, 2005); (b) Aboriginal women tend to be younger than non-Aboriginal women; and (c) controlling for age has been shown to significantly reduce the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in IPV by a current partner (Brownridge, 2003, 2008). A continuous measure, in 1-year intervals, of respondent's age at the time of the interview was used in bivariate analyses. A recoded measure with 5-year age intervals was used in multivariate analyses to allow for more meaningful interpretations of logistic models.

In the context of separation, having children with an ex-partner has been argued to be an indicator of structural gender inequality because it complicates women's ability to leave and provides men with an opportunity to continue exerting control over women (Davies et al., 2009). We analyzed having children with an ex-partner because

being a mother has been shown to be associated with PSIPV (Davies et al., 2009) and IPV by a current partner among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women (Brownridge, 2003). Generally speaking, Aboriginal women have more children than non-Aboriginal women in Canada (Brownridge, 2003). Having a child or children with an ex-partner (0 = no, 1 = yes) measured whether the respondent and her ex-partner had any mutual children under the age of 18 at the time of the interview.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using STATA 10.0. We weighted all analyses for the sampling design. First, we examined 5-year prevalence rates for each IPV variable among all women and by Aboriginal status. We computed chi-square tests of significance to test if the rates were equal for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. Second, we examined bivariate associations between the explanatory variables and Aboriginal status, and the explanatory variables and PSIPV. We computed chi-square tests of significance for categorical explanatory variables and F tests of significance for continuous variables.

Next, we fitted a series of logistic regression models to explain the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in PSIPV—a model with Aboriginal status alone, one with Aboriginal status and age, and several three-variable models with Aboriginal status, age, and one potential explanatory variable at a time. A potential explanatory variable was only assessed in multivariate analyses if the variable was significantly associated with either Aboriginal status or PSIPV in bivariate analyses, suggesting it may be important in explaining the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in PSIPV. We computed ORs and 95% confidence intervals (CIs) for all models. We used the following formula to quantify the percent reduction in Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal inequality in PSIPV (as measured by the OR) accounted for by the adjusted factors (Szklo & Nieto, 2007, p. 160):

$$\% \text{ of inequality explained} = \frac{\{(\text{unadjusted OR} - \text{adjusted OR}) / (\text{unadjusted OR} - 1.0)\} \times 100}$$

We fitted a final logistic regression model by sequentially adding covariates that had resulted in the greatest decrease in the OR of PSIPV associated with Aboriginal status in the three-variable models described above. If a covariate did not result in at least a 20% decrease in the inequality in PSIPV using the above formula, and if the covariate was not statistically significant after being added to the model, the covariate was removed and the next one was added and examined.

Results

A total of 22.4% of Aboriginal women compared with 6.6% of non-Aboriginal women reported PSIPV within a 5-year period after the respondent and ex-partner separated ($p < .001$; Table 1). Among women who reported PSIPV, one third (33.4%) reported

IPV within the 12 months preceding the interview (data not shown). Analyses of specific acts of PSIPV revealed that compared with non-Aboriginal women, abused Aboriginal women had significantly higher rates of being slapped (68.0% vs. 39.8%, respectively) and being kicked, bit, or hit with a fist (59.7% vs. 34.6%, respectively). Among women experiencing PSIPV, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women reported high rates of severe PSIPV, including being forced into sexual activity (29.7%), incidents involving a gun or knife (27.9%), being choked (34.2%), and/or being beaten (35.2%). Analysis of data that ranked the *single most* serious type of PSIPV showed that 70% of women who experienced PSIPV reported severe abuse. A total of 29.2% of women experiencing PSIPV were forced into sexual activity (ranked the most severe), 18.1% reported incidents involving a gun or knife (ranked second in severity), 9.4% reported being choked (ranked third in severity), and 13% were kicked, bit, hit with a fist or an object (data not shown).

There were significant differences by Aboriginal status in the timing of IPV among women who reported IPV by an ex-partner. Among non-Aboriginal women the dominant pattern was preseparation IPV *only* (65.7%). In contrast, the majority of Aboriginal women experienced PSIPV, with 32.1% reporting preseparation IPV and PSIPV, and 25.6% reporting PSIPV *only*.

As shown in Table 2, the mean age for Aboriginal women in the study sample was 38.5 years compared with 44.8 years for non-Aboriginal women ($p < .001$). Although Aboriginal women had somewhat lower levels of completed education, higher unemployment, lower household incomes and lower annual personal incomes than non-Aboriginal women, these differences were not statistically significant. One in 5 Aboriginal women reported receiving government assistance compared with 1 in 12 non-Aboriginal women ($p < .001$). A total of 53.9% of Aboriginal women had a child or children with an ex-partner compared with 37.5% of non-Aboriginal women ($p < .01$).

There were significant differences in all coercive control variables by Aboriginal status, with Aboriginal women consistently reporting more coercive control by an ex-partner than non-Aboriginal women (Table 3). Aboriginal women experienced more types of coercive control by an ex-partner ($M = 3.2$) than non-Aboriginal women ($M = 1.8$; $p < .001$). Aboriginal women more often reported stalking by an ex-partner or someone else compared with non-Aboriginal women (40.8% vs. 22.1%, respectively). Preseparation IPV by an ex-partner was about 2 times higher among Aboriginal (29.0%) than non-Aboriginal women (15.6%; $p < .01$).

As shown in Table 4, women who reported PSIPV were significantly younger than women who reported no PSIPV. PSIPV rates were significantly higher (15.0%) among women receiving government assistance than among those not receiving government assistance (6.7%), and among women who reported having a child or children with an ex-partner (10.9%) compared with women not having children with an ex-partner (5.1%). There were no significant differences in employment or income variables by PSIPV status.

Women who experienced coercive control by an ex-partner reported PSIPV rates 3 to 19 times higher than women not controlled by an ex-partner (Table 5). There was

Table 1. Five-Year Prevalence Rates of IPV Perpetrated by an Ex-Partner Among All Women^a and by Aboriginal Status, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada.

	All women ^a	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal	<i>p</i> ^b
	% ^c	% ^c	% ^c	
Among women who reported contact with an ex-partner ^d				
Postseparation IPV ^d	7.4	22.4	6.6	.0000
Among women who reported contact with an ex-partner and who reported postseparation IPV ^d				
Types of IPV				
Threw something at her	56.6	52.4	57.3	.7005
Pushed, grabbed, or shoved	87.9	— ^e	— ^e	NA
Slapped	44.1	68.0	39.8	.0274
Kicked/bit/hit with a fist	38.4	59.7	34.6	.0491
Hit with an object	31.7	34.3	31.2	.7868
Beaten	35.2	40.3	34.3	.6337
Choked	34.2	52.8	30.9	.0762
Threatened/used gun or knife	27.9	31.5	27.3	.7066
Forced into sexual activity	29.7	22.5	30.9	.4398
Among women who reported contact with an ex-partner ^d and who reported IPV				
Timing of ex-partner IPV				
Preseparation IPV only	63.5	42.3	65.7	
Pre- and postseparation IPV	17.1	32.1	15.5	
Postseparation IPV only	19.4	25.6	18.8	.0242

Note. IPV = intimate partner violence.

^aLimited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years.

^b*p* value from chi-square test measuring the difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women; significant values < .05 are bolded.

^cPercentages are weighted for sampling design.

^dWithin the 5 years preceding the interview.

^eStatistics Canada would not release these results due to small unweighted cell counts.

a very strong positive correlation between the *number of types* of coercive control tactics and PSIPV rates. The 5-year prevalence of PSIPV ranged from 39.3% among women who reported that the ex-partner used all seven types of coercive control tactics to 15.4% among women who reported the ex-partner had used four types, to 0.4% among women who reported no coercive control by an ex-partner. Thus, there was a significant difference in the coercive control index by PSIPV: The *mean number of types* of coercive control experienced by women reporting PSIPV was 4.7 compared with 1.6 for women not reporting PSIPV. There were also large and statistically significant differences in PSIPV prevalence by presence or absence of stalking by an ex-spouse and by preseparation IPV.

Sample sizes varied between 2,326 and 2,355.

Table 2. Demographic and Socioeconomic Variables by Aboriginal Status, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada.

	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal	<i>p</i> ^a
Age, M (SE)	38.5 (1.414)	44.8 (0.361)	.0000
Education, %			
University or college degree, diploma, or certificate	40.0	51.7	.0967
Some university or college	24.8	17.4	
High school diploma	14.4	16.2	
Did not receive high school diploma	20.8	14.6	
Employment, %			
Full-time employed	57.2	65.7	.1324
Part-time employed	22.0	21.2	
Unemployed	20.8	13.1	
Household income, %			
\$15,000 or more	83.6	89.4	.0747
<\$15,000	16.5	10.6	
Annual personal income, mean (SE)	26,649.3 (2,554.157)	30,914.9 (626.515)	.1048
Government assistance, %			
Yes	19.7	8.3	.0009
No	80.3	91.7	
Child(ren) with ex-partner, %			
Yes	53.9	37.5	.0033
No	46.1	62.5	

Note. Limited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years. All results are weighted. Percentages in table may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding.

^a*p* value from chi-square and *F* tests measuring the difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women: significant *p* values < .05 are bolded.

Table 6 presents ORs of the association between Aboriginal status and PSIPV before and after controlling for potential explanatory variables. In the unadjusted logistic regression model, Aboriginal women had 4.12 times higher odds of PSIPV than non-Aboriginal women (95% CI = [2.34, 7.26], *p* < .001). Controlling for age decreased the OR of PSIPV associated with Aboriginal status to 3.26 (95% CI = [1.77, 6.00], *p* < .000).

We examined the association between Aboriginal status and PSIPV by a series of logistic models controlling for age and one covariate. Adding government assistance or having child(ren) to this model decreased the OR for Aboriginal status to 3.11 and 3.08, respectively. Adding each coercive control variable substantially reduced the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in PSIPV by 11.5% to 61.5%, depending on the coercive control variable examined. For example, adding the coercive control variable

Table 3. Partner Coercive Control by Aboriginal Status, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada.^{a,b,c}

	Aboriginal	Non- Aboriginal	<i>p</i> ^a
Limited respondent contact with family and friends, %			
Yes	43.3	24.2	.0001
No	56.7	75.8	
Jealous and did not want respondent to talk to other men, %			
Yes	58.2	31.9	.0000
No	41.8	68.1	
Demanded to know who respondent was with/where at all times, %			
Yes	50.7	26.1	.0000
No	49.3	73.9	
Prevented respondent's knowing about/access to family income even if she asked, %			
Yes	31.6	15.0	.0001
No	68.4	85.0	
Harmed/threatened to harm someone close to respondent, %			
Yes	33.5	14.5	.0000
No	66.5	85.5	
Damaged or destroyed respondent's possessions or property, %			
Yes	37.2	20.0	.0002
No	62.8	80.0	
Put respondent down or called her names to make her feel bad, %			
Yes	63.4	44.6	.0007
No	36.6	55.4	
Coercive control index, mean (SE)	3.2 (0.297)	1.8 (0.055)	.0000
Stalking, %			
No stalking	59.1	80.9	
Stalking by ex-spouse	11.2	4.4	.0000
Stalking by someone other than ex-spouse	29.6	17.7	
Preseparation IPV, ^b %			
Yes	29.0	15.6	.0015
No	71.0	84.4	

Note. Limited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years. All results are weighted. Percentages in table may not add up to 100.0 due to rounding. IPV = intimate partner violence.

^a*p* value from chi-square and *F* tests measuring the difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women, significant *p* values < .05 are bolded.

^bWithin the past 5 years by an ex-partner.

that measured whether the ex-partner had harmed or threatened to harm someone close to the respondent reduced the OR for Aboriginal status to 2.35 (95% CI = [1.14, 4.82]), a 40% reduction in the inequality. Adding stalking or preseparation IPV to the model

Table 4. PSIPV by Categorical Demographic and Socioeconomic Variables, and Mean Age and Income by PSIPV Status, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada.

	PSIPV ^a	No PSIPV	<i>p</i> ^b
Age, mean (SE)	35.6 (0.931)	45.2 (0.366)	.0000
Education, %			
University or college degree/ diploma/certificate	7.1	92.9	.9040
Some university or college	7.4	92.6	
High school diploma	7.1	92.9	
Did not receive high school diploma	8.6	91.4	
Employment, %			
Full-time employed	6.7	93.3	.1656
Part-time employed	7.3	92.7	
Unemployed	10.5	89.5	
Household income, %			
\$15,000 or more	7.3	92.7	.2638
Less than \$15,000	9.6	90.4	
Annual personal income, mean (SE)	30,315.4 (2,353.968)	30,734.9 (630.393)	.8633
Government assistance, %			
Yes	15.0	85.0	.0002
No	6.7	93.3	
Child(ren) with ex-partner, %			
Yes	10.9	89.1	.0000
No	5.1	94.9	

Note. Limited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years.

All results are weighted. PSIPV = postseparation intimate partner violence.

^aIntimate partner violence was perpetrated by an ex-partner during the 5 years preceding the interview, and occurred after the respondent and ex-partner separated.

^b*p* value for chi-square and *F* tests measuring the difference between women reporting PSIPV versus not reporting PSIPV; significant *p* values < .05 are bolded.

with Aboriginal status and age moderately reduced the OR for Aboriginal status to 2.79 and 3.00, respectively. The greatest decrease in the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in PSIPV resulted after controlling for age and the coercive control index; in this model, the OR for Aboriginal status was 1.86 and no longer statistically significant (*p* = .107).

The final logistic regression model (Table 7) included Aboriginal status, age, the coercive control index and stalking. The explanatory variables were added sequentially to the model based on the criteria discussed above. After controlling for these covariates, the OR for Aboriginal status was reduced to 1.92 (95% CI = [0.91, 4.03], *p* = .085) accounting for 70.5% of the inequality in PSIPV between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women.

Table 5. PSIPV by Categorical Partner Coercive Control Variables, and Mean Coercive Control Index by PSIPV Status, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada.

	PSIPV ^a	No PSIPV	<i>p</i> ^b
Limited respondent contact with family and friends, %			
Yes	19.6	80.4	.0000
No	3.2	96.8	
Jealous and did not want respondent to talk to other men, %			
Yes	16.1	83.9	.0000
No	3.0	97.0	
Demanded to know who respondent was with/where at all times, %			
Yes	18.1	81.9	.0000
No	3.3	96.7	
Prevented respondent's knowing about/access to family income even if she asked, %			
Yes	18.0	82.0	.0000
No	5.3	94.7	
Harmed/threatened to harm someone close to respondent, %			
Yes	26.5	73.5	.0000
No	3.8	96.2	
Damaged or destroyed respondent's possessions or property, %			
Yes	24.6	75.4	.0000
No	2.8	97.2	
Put respondent down or called her names to make her feel bad, %			
Yes	15.2	84.8	.0000
No	0.8	99.2	
No. of types of coercive control tactics			
0	0.4	99.6	.0000
1	2.7	97.2	
2	5.3	94.7	
3	8.1	91.9	
4	15.4	84.6	
5	22.7	77.3	
6	24.9	75.1	
7	39.3	60.7	
Coercive control index, mean (SE)	4.7 (0.163)	1.6 (0.053)	.0000
Stalking, %			
No stalking	4.2	95.8	.0000
Stalking by ex-spouse	44.5	55.5	
Stalking by someone other than ex-spouse	12.4		
Preseparation IPV, ^c %			
Yes	21.2	78.8	.0000
No	4.7	95.3	

Note. Limited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years. All results are weighted. PSIPV = postseparation intimate partner violence.

^aIntimate partner violence was perpetrated by an ex-partner during the 5 years preceding the interview, and occurred after the respondent and ex-partner separated.

^b*p* value for chi-square and *F* tests measuring the difference between women reporting PSIPV versus not reporting PSIPV; significant *p* values < .05 are bolded.

^cWithin the past 5 years by an ex-partner.

Table 6. Logistic Regression Odds Ratios of Postseparation IPV Associated With Aboriginal Status, Before and After Controlling for Covariates, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada (n = 2,332).

	OR	95% CI	p ^a
Unadjusted model			
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	4.12	[2.34, 7.26]	.000
Model controlling for age			
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	3.26	[1.77, 6.00]	.000
Age (per 5-year increase)	0.75	[0.69, 0.81]	.000
Demographic and socioeconomic variables: Models controlling for age and one covariate			
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	3.08	[1.66, 5.72]	.000
Child(ren) with ex-partner (yes vs. no)	1.55	[1.03, 2.33]	.038
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	3.11	[1.66, 5.83]	.000
Government assistance (yes vs. no)	1.71	[1.00, 2.94]	.051
Coercive control variables: Models controlling for age and one covariate			
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.75	[1.44, 5.24]	.002
Limited respondent contact with family and friends (yes vs. no)	5.78	[3.81, 8.76]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.49	[1.29, 4.81]	.007
Jealous and did not want respondent to talk to other men (yes vs. no)	4.55	[2.94, 7.06]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.62	[1.36, 5.04]	.004
Demanded to know who respondent was with/where at all times (yes vs. no)	4.83	[3.16, 7.37]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.56	[1.36, 4.81]	.004
Prevented respondent's knowing about/ access to family income (yes vs. no)	4.10	[2.69, 6.26]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.35	[1.14, 4.82]	.020
Harmed/threatened to harm someone close to respondent (yes vs. no)	8.30	[5.41, 12.73]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.64	[1.34, 5.18]	.005
Damaged or destroyed respondent's possessions or property (yes vs. no)	9.64	[6.28, 14.82]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.75	[1.41, 5.35]	.003

(continued)

Table 6. (continued)

	OR	95% CI	<i>p</i> ^a
Put respondent down or called her names to make her feel bad (yes vs. no)	19.19	[9.97, 36.94]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	1.86	[0.87, 3.94]	.107
Coercive control index (per 1 unit increase)	1.75	[1.60, 1.91]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	2.79	[1.49, 5.23]	.001
Stalking			
No stalking	1.00	—	
Stalking by ex-spouse	13.47	[7.83, 23.16]	.000
Stalking by someone other than ex-spouse	2.46	[1.51, 3.99]	.000
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	3.00	[1.58, 5.70]	.001
Preseparation IPV ^b (yes vs. no)	3.62	[2.31, 5.67]	.000

Note. Postseparation IPV was perpetrated by an ex-partner during the 5 years preceding the interview, and occurred after the respondent and ex-partner separated. Limited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years. All results were weighted. IPV = intimate partner violence; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval. Sample sizes varied between 2,326 and 2,355.

^a*p* value for adjusted Wald test with *t* distribution; significant *p* values < .05 are bolded.

^bWithin the past 5 years by an ex-partner.

Discussion

Ours is the first national-level study to examine Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV against Canadian women, making important contributions to the sparse knowledge on violence against Aboriginal women and to the literature on IPV post separation. Our study is unique in its adoption of a structural violence approach to understanding Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV. Our findings demonstrate that compared with non-Aboriginal women in Canada, Aboriginal women had a fourfold higher odds of PSIPV during the 5 years preceding the interview, and that coercive control and age explained much of the inequality between these two groups of women. To our knowledge, this is one of very few studies to examine the association between coercive control and Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in IPV.

Our finding that Aboriginal women in Canada experience much higher rates of PSIPV is consistent with the few existing Canadian studies that have found Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in IPV by a current partner (Brownridge, 2003, 2008). Our finding indicates that this IPV inequality persists and worsens in the

Table 7. Final Model Explaining Inequalities in Postseparation IPV for Aboriginal Compared With Non-Aboriginal Women, 2004 General Social Survey, Canada (*n* = 2,332).

	OR	95% CI	<i>p</i> ^a
Aboriginal status (Aboriginal vs. non-Aboriginal)	1.92	[0.91, 4.03]	.085
Age (per 5-year increase)	0.80	[0.72, 0.88]	.000
Coercive control index (per 1 unit increase)	1.63	[1.48, 1.80]	.000
Stalking			
No stalking	1.00	—	—
Stalking by ex-spouse	4.45	[2.39, 8.29]	.000
Stalking by someone other than ex-spouse	1.71	[1.00, 2.90]	.048

Note. Postseparation IPV was perpetrated by an ex-partner during the 5 years preceding the interview, and occurred after the respondent and ex-partner separated. Limited to women who reported contact with an ex-partner within the past 5 years. All results are weighted. IPV = intimate partner violence; OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval.

^a*p* value for adjusted Wald test with *t* distribution; significant *p* values < .05 are bolded.

postseparation period, highlighting that it is often difficult for Aboriginal women to escape IPV after separating. This finding is important because significant efforts have been spent theorizing why women *do not* leave abusive partners (Anderson & Saunders, 2003), perpetuating the idea that leaving will end the abuse. This study clearly challenges this assumption, especially for Aboriginal women.

This study highlights some important findings related to Aboriginal status, coercive control, and PSIPV. First, our findings show that Aboriginal women report experiencing much higher rates of coercive control by an ex-partner than non-Aboriginal women. Which determinants explain this differential occurrence of coercive control? This question cannot be answered based on the analyses we presented. However, from structural violence and anticolonial perspectives, we hypothesize that colonialism and associated patriarchal attitudes, policies and practices imposed on Aboriginal Peoples have promoted the devaluation and social marginalization of Aboriginal women in society, which has increased the social acceptability of coercive control against Aboriginal women by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ex-partners (recall that we did not have data on the Aboriginal status of ex-partners of Aboriginal women, thus assumptions should not be made that the ex-partners were necessarily Aboriginal). We conceptualized male coercive control as an indicator of gender inequality. As discussed in the introduction, gender inequality is expressed in many ways in society; however, male coercive control is a dominant conceptual understanding of gender inequality in the field of violence against women (Davies et al., 2009). As we discuss in the limitations section below, data availability prevented us from examining other indicators of gender inequality. The finding that Aboriginal women experience more coercive control than non-Aboriginal women suggests that coercive control is not only

an issue of gender inequality, but that “patriarchal systems are bound up with other systems of domination” (Hunnicuttt, 2009), including colonialism (Smith, 2003).

Second, our findings demonstrate a very strong correlation between coercive control and PSIPV. This relationship appears to be fully nested; women may experience coercive control without PSIPV, but they almost never experience PSIPV without at least some coercive control (see Table 5). Our findings are based on cross-sectional data, thus causality cannot be determined. Nevertheless, they provide a basis for speculation of a causal link between coercive control and physical and sexual PSIPV. This raises the question as to which is more important for prevention: understanding and addressing coercive control or understanding the mechanisms by which coercive control leads to PSIPV. We argue for both. It is important to understand and address coercive control, because coercive control is a form of abuse in itself even if it is not associated with PSIPV. In addition, coercive control has been linked to negative mental health consequences for women including posttraumatic stress disorder and depression (Mechanic, Weaver, & Resick, 2008). It is also important to understand the mechanisms by which coercive control may cause PSIPV, because understanding causal mechanisms can improve understandings of how to prevent PSIPV among Aboriginal women experiencing postseparation coercive control. The latter is particularly important from a policy perspective.

We found no significant associations between education, employment status, household income or annual personal income, and Aboriginal status or PSIPV at the bivariate level. Brownridge (2008) found some evidence that “social background” (age, respondent’s education, previous marriage/common-law union) and “situational” factors (respondent’s and partner’s employment, cohabitation/common-law union, rural residence, partner’s alcohol abuse and family size) partially explained the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality in IPV by a current partner. Because Brownridge examined the impact of these factors in “blocks” of variables, it is not possible to discern the amount of the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequality explained by any particular factor. Although our study findings could mean that these socioeconomic conditions played no role in explaining Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV, we believe other explanations should be considered. First, our only available socioeconomic measures were for the respondent, whereas previous research has shown that the *partner’s* socioeconomic position, rather than the respondent’s, is a stronger predictor of IPV outcomes among Native American women (Malcoe et al., 2004). The 2004 GSS only provides socioeconomic data of respondents’ current partners. Further research is needed to examine the impact of the ex-partner’s socioeconomic position in explaining inequalities in PSIPV between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. Second, selection bias is a plausible explanation. The 2004 GSS did not sample people from the three territories (Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and Nunavut) or people residing in institutions (Statistics Canada, 2005b). In addition, while most Canadian households (roughly 96%) own a landline telephone (Johnson, 2006), the use of random digit dialing to select respondents may have disproportionately sampled respondents from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Finally, the overall response rate of 74.5% (Statistics Canada, 2005a) may disproportionately reflect respondents from

higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Our lack of significant associations between Aboriginal status and key socioeconomic measures is contrary to other Canadian national-level data demonstrating significant socioeconomic disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2010a, 2010b). Thus, our results should at best be generalized to Aboriginal women living in the provinces who live in households with landline telephones.

We found that having children with an ex-partner and receiving government assistance were significantly associated with both Aboriginal status and PSIPV in bivariate analysis, and that these variables had some explanatory value in our three-variable multivariate models, but dropped out of the final model. Having children with an ex-partner is believed to increase women's exposure to their ex-partner and to increase their vulnerability of PSIPV (Davies et al., 2009). Because Aboriginal women have more children than non-Aboriginal women (Brownridge, 2003), having children with an ex-partner is likely an important factor in explaining Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV. However, the observed strong association between coercive control variables and PSIPV may have overshadowed the potential explanatory effects of children and government assistance, particularly given our limited sample size which allowed for only a limited number of variables to be included in our final model.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that young age is an important determinant of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV. This finding is consistent with studies examining Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in IPV by a current partner (Brownridge, 2003, 2008). In terms of implications for practice, this finding suggests that prevention and intervention efforts should focus on younger Aboriginal women in particular.

There are three main limitations of our study. First, the "Aboriginal" and "non-Aboriginal" categories represent crude categories of women with great ethnic and cultural diversity within them. Because our aim was to explain broad Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV applying a structural violence approach and because the sample of Aboriginal women in the 2004 GSS was relatively small, we decided not to further subdivide the two categories. From structural violence and anticolonial perspectives, all Aboriginal Peoples have experienced theft and loss of land, whereas non-Aboriginal populations in Canada have benefited from colonialism and its policies such as the Indian Act.

Second, we hypothesized that two negative consequences of colonialism—gender inequality and socioeconomic marginalization—would at least partly explain inequalities in PSIPV between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in Canada. Some may argue that gender inequality experienced by Aboriginal women may not be entirely caused by colonialism. Yet, indigenous scholars have repeatedly stressed that one cannot examine inequalities related to Aboriginal women without simultaneously considering the role of colonialism (Smith, 2003; Sterritt, 2007). Thus, we framed our research questions, analysis and interpretation using a conceptual approach and model that centered an anticolonial perspective and took into account historical as well as present-day social contexts of violence against Aboriginal women.

Third, there are limitations of the 2004 GSS data in adequately operationalizing structural arrangements such as colonization and gender inequality. The available 2004 GSS variables only measure limited present-day consequences of colonization and one dimension of gender inequality. Direct measures of colonization such as residential school attendance and history of forced foster care, as well as additional measures of gender inequality such as contextual measures of wage inequality between men and women, would have strengthened the application of a structural violence approach by providing a more comprehensive assessment of the core constructs in our conceptual model. For example, because our analysis of gender inequality was limited to measures of male coercive control, we could not explore other ways in which gender as a social structure creates different opportunities and constraints for men and women at the individual, interactional, or institutional levels (Risman, 2004), nor how their consequences shape PSIPV differently for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. Further research is required to test our conceptual model using other measures.

Aboriginal women continue to experience devastating consequences of past and ongoing colonialism, which many argue are the primary reasons for Aboriginal women's marginalization in Canadian society today (Feminist Alliance for International Action, 2008; Sterritt, 2007) and the deep-rooted social and health inequalities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Research explaining Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal health inequalities has been criticized for its focus on individual-level "risk factors," which are often genetic or biological in nature (Fee, 2006). A key strength of our analysis was our attempt to frame Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV within a structural violence framework, wherein we theorized and assessed gender inequality and socioeconomic marginalization in historical and social contexts, including the colonial context.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the goal of a structural violence approach must be to translate research into action. As Farmer (2005) argues, examining social inequalities from a structural violence perspective is not only about documenting and explaining inequalities, but also acting on these. Our findings suggest that to address Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in PSIPV, actions must address coercive control by ex-partners against Aboriginal women. From a structural violence perspective, policies focusing on prevention and intervention of coercive control (and consequently PSIPV) against Aboriginal women must be rooted in the social. More research is needed to examine social determinants of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal coercive control as well as PSIPV, which will shed light on new policy directions. Thus far, the dominant antiviolence policy approach has centered on solutions within the criminal justice system, which have tended to be short-term and individual focused such as transition homes and victim or family counseling (Crocker, 2010; Paterson, 2009). To address the root causes of the issue and provide long-term solutions, we argue that policies must address Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal inequalities in key social determinants such as income, education, employment, and housing, especially for Aboriginal women. The

importance of supporting women's resistance to violence through ensuring access to a range of flexible and equal public and private resources has been argued (Paterson, 2009). Working toward equity in access as well as outcomes in areas such as income, education, employment, and housing are important steps in challenging negative consequences of past and ongoing colonialism. Specific prevention and intervention efforts may include offering safe, affordable, and supportive housing, and providing public income support to Aboriginal women and their children. It is important that such efforts target all, and not just those classified by the government as "Status," which would reinforce long-standing discrimination and separation (Sterritt, 2007). Finally, policy efforts must be guided by the voices of Aboriginal Peoples and reflect their "rights, interests, knowledge, traditions and beliefs," including recognition of their inherent right to self-governance and self-determination (Reading, Kmetec, & Gideon, 2007, p. 26). Challenging past and ongoing colonialism, and associated negative consequences, is key in addressing Aboriginal women's increased vulnerability to PSIPV.

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Note

1. Some non-Aboriginal Canadian immigrants have experienced colonization in their originating countries.

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