

The Effect of the Global Campaign against Intimate Partner Violence on Individuals' Attitudes in 37 Countries

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Abstract

Previous research finds that individuals in a wide variety of countries worldwide became increasingly likely during the 2000s to state that they reject intimate partner violence as acceptable behavior. Socioeconomic and demographic predictors such as urban living, media access, educational achievement, and marital status fail to explain the majority of this attitudinal shift. We contend that foreign aid projects aimed specifically at reducing intimate partner violence have played a key role in diffusing global cultural scripts advocating against such violence and are responsible for much of the observed global shift. Drawing upon cross-national survey data and merging it with new data on foreign aid projects by project goal, we employ multilevel models to test the influence of such projects on individuals' attitudes and the overall time trend. We also test counterfactual national-level variables related to functional or modernization theories of attitudinal change, such as economic growth, international trade, foreign direct investment, and women in the labor force. Our preliminary results show that foreign aid projects targeted at reducing intimate partner violence had a substantial effect on this recent ideational shift, net of structural forces. These results demonstrate that one way through which global cultural scripts are diffused is foreign aid projects.

Introduction

Improving the status of women has been a key focus of international development efforts since the 1970s (Dorius and Alwin 2010; Dorius and Firebaugh 2010; Swiss 2012). “Women and Development” and “Gender and Development” initiatives have worked to enhance the position of women in politics, the workplace, and the home. They have made efforts to expand women’s rights and education, improve access to abortion and contraception, encourage lower fertility and later age at first marriage, and eradicate the practice of female genital mutilation (Boyle and Lopez 2006; Boyle et al. 2002). More recently, development efforts have placed particular attention on eliminating domestic violence, especially violence by men against their intimate female partners (Pierotti 2013). As a result, the number of global conferences about intimate partner violence has swelled, along with the number of media campaigns and development initiatives aimed at raising awareness and calling for change.

Scholars of development have contributed to this focus on eliminating intimate partner violence by examining the prevalence and correlates of abuse, the interventions aimed at preventing it, and the efforts to care for the women who experience it. Thus far, most work on intimate partner violence has either investigated trends over time in a single community (e.g. prevalence studies by Schuler et al. 2012; Yount and Li 2014; Yount et al. 2014), or has done so across many nations at one point in time (e.g. Abramsky et al. 2011; 2014; Devries et al. 2013; Kaya and Cook 2010; VanderEnde et al. 2012). There is therefore a need for research that evaluates trends in intimate partner violence across time *and* in multiple nations simultaneously. An example of one such work is Pierotti’s (2013) investigation of shifts in attitudes toward intimate partner violence. Using data from USAID’s Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS),

Pierotti (2013) finds that people in 23 of 26 nations have increasingly over time rejected the notion that intimate partner violence is justifiable. Moreover, Pierotti finds that this shift cannot be explained by cohort effects or by changes in other demographic and economic structures. Education and access to media, which likely contain some anti-domestic-violence messages, explain a portion of this ideational shift, but the strongest predictor of change is simply time. These results support the hypothesis that attitudinal change about intimate partner violence can occur through the spread of global cultural scripts, but further work is needed to empirically verify that this is the case and to identify the mechanisms by which these scripts are spread.

Our goal in this study is two-fold. First, we replicate Pierotti's (2013) study on changes in attitudes toward intimate partner violence and add to it eleven new countries of DHS data. Furthermore, we are currently in the process of incorporating data from over eighty additional DHS and MICS (Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys, which are compatible with the DHS) up through 2016. Second, we provide a multilevel analysis to investigate the influence of national-level variables on the global shift in attitudes. We focus primarily on the importance of foreign aid, but not aid generally speaking but rather targeted at the specific issue of intimate partner violence. We draw upon a new, more detailed dataset of foreign aid projects across the world, and merge it with the individual-level surveys we employ. We test the effects of this mechanisms net of socioeconomic and demographic factors, such as GDP at the national level and household wealth and age at the individual level. While we do not refute the claim made by functional or modernization theories that structural socioeconomic and demographic factors are important in attitudinal change, we emphasize that powerful international institutions can consciously spread cultural scripts about gender and intimate partner violence, and that these scripts can then be consciously and unconsciously carried forth by individuals, the media, formal systems of

education, and other mediums. This is particularly the case in instances of rapid ideational shifts. We draw upon theories of world culture (Meyer et al. 1997; Krücken and Drori 2010) and developmental idealism (Thornton 2001; 2005) in this approach. Only very recently has cross-national multilevel analysis been conducted on attitudinal shifts (Givens and Jorgenson 2013). Our study therefore will significantly contribute to our understanding not only of intimate partner violence, but also global cultural change.

In what follows, we first discuss the growing concern about intimate partner violence worldwide and the possible role of cultural scripts in diffusing attitudinal change. We observe that although cultural scripts have proliferated in recent years, their effect has rarely been the focal topic of development research. After outlining the need to investigate the role that cultural scripts play in the global shift toward rejecting intimate partner violence, we describe our data, explain the multilevel models implemented in our research, and discuss the implications of our results. We stress that our current work is preliminary and based on a smaller subset of surveys and foreign aid data that we are in the process of merging up through 2016. With these additional data, we will be able to do additional over-time analyses that will greatly strengthen the analysis. It will also permit us to provide a broad, global assessment of some scholars recent observation that attitudes toward intimate partner violence since 2010 may be flattening (Cools and Kotsadam 2017).

Growing Concern about Intimate Partner Violence Worldwide

Defined as “any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological, or sexual harm to those in the relationship” (Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002), intimate partner violence (IPV) against women is a pressing health, human rights, and gender

equality concern worldwide. In 2006, a WHO study of 15 countries estimated that the female lifetime prevalence of physical or sexual IPV ranges from 15% (Ethiopia) to 71% (Japan), with six countries presenting a prevalence above 50% (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). Overall, IPV is the most common form of violence experienced by women worldwide (Devries et al., 2013). Indeed, it is estimated that IPV is the cause of one in three homicides of women worldwide (Stöckl et al., 2013). In addition to the manifest injustice that IPV represents, IPV is associated with a number of negative repercussions, including poor physical, mental, and reproductive health of victims, greater stress and poorer health outcomes for the children of victims, and—on a community and nationwide scale—diminished employment, worker retention, and productivity (Campbell, 2002; Coker, Smith, Bethea, King, & McKeown, 2000; Friedemann-Sánchez & Lovatón, 2012; Saito, Creedy, Cooke, & Chaboyer, 2012).

In the United States and Europe, opposition to IPV began to rise in the 1970s as one of many cultural scripts prevalent in the broader women's rights movement of the time. IPV had been discussed and opposed previously, but never on the large and public scale that it was at that time. Over the years, the new rejection of IPV gradually gained footing beyond women's rights advocates, extending to the general public of North America and Europe (Straus and Gelles 1986), where it is today the dominant norm.

A unique attribute of this recent era of opposition to IPV is its prevalence as a topic of discussion in the public sphere. In Figure 1, we present data on the usage of common English terms for IPV as they have arisen in books and academic articles over the second half of the twentieth century. The figure shows the rate at which a series of common terms for IPV appear across the millions of books in the Google Books database and across hundreds of thousands of

academic articles in JSTOR's online database.¹ We see that there was very little discussion of IPV prior to 1970, but that since the late 1970s there has been an exponential increase in its prevalence. The majority of the texts evaluated in this figure are from North America and Europe, but the women's rights movements of these regions have not limited their efforts to their own countries. In recent decades, they have integrated their campaigns into the work of many international development agencies and large international NGOs (Swiss 2012). They have done so by successfully proposing and promoting United Nations treaties like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women as early as 1979, by organizing international summits and conferences on women's rights, and by lobbying foreign governments to instate gender quotas for parliamentary positions. Their work has also encouraged nations to pass laws explicitly protecting women from domestic abuse (Pierotti 2013). Most countries now have such laws, the presence of which likely contributes to the legitimization of global cultural scripts advocating against IPV.

Following this trend, there has been an increase in the proportion of global development projects focused on eliminating violence against women. This trend can be seen in Figure 3, which presents the cumulative amount of foreign aid devoted to projects with an 'anti-violence against women' component. Prior to 1990 very little aid was allocated to this purpose. Although some countries have received a greater share of such aid than have others, aid for the prevention of violence against women has become pervasive over the last two decades.

¹ Terms included in our search are: 'violence against women,' 'violence against men,' 'abuse against women,' 'abuse against men,' 'domestic violence,' 'domestic abuse,' 'intimate partner violence,' 'intimate partner abuse,' 'wife-beating,' 'husband-beating,' and 'intimate partner-beating.' We also included all the different capitalized, lowercase, hyphenated, and non-hyphenated forms these terms may take. For books, our data are the number of times these terms appear each year divided by the total number of words in the database per year. For newspapers, our data are the number of articles that contain at least one of these terms per year divided by the total number of articles per year.

Although research, initiatives, and foreign aid for combatting violence against women have grown in recent years, very little attention has been given to shifts in popular attitudes about IPV. In this project, we ask whether and how such popular attitudes have changed, with particular emphasis on the role of cultural scripts and their spread by powerful international organizations, foreign visitors, the media, educational institutions, and other mediums.

Theories of Attitudinal Change and Hypotheses

We draw upon two theoretical frameworks to construct our hypotheses about what factors have been most important in shaping individuals' attitudes about IPV in recent years: developmental idealism and world society theory. We contrast these frameworks with more standard approaches to attitudinal change from modernization theory.

Developmental idealism

Thornton and colleagues (Thornton 2005; Dorius et al. forthcoming) argue that ideational factors are important forces in global social change. Drawing on previous work in this area (e.g. Holland and Quinn 1987; D'Andrade 2005), they posit that there are widespread models of development idealism that specify what constitutes a 'modern society' and what 'modern' behavior entails. According to these models, it is the values, beliefs, and practices of so-called 'developed' societies that are identified as 'modern' and that spread to 'less developed' societies as a blueprint for modernization (Thornton 2005). For example, Thornton and his colleagues (Abbasi-Shavazi 2009; Abbasi-Shavazi et al. 2012; Binstock et al. 2013; Cammack and Heaton 2011; Thornton 2005; Thornton et al. 2012a; 2012b; 2014; Thornton and Philipov 2009) have documented the global diffusion of developmental models of what constitutes 'modern' family

life—namely, lower fertility, higher age at first marriage, more divorce, and greater use of contraception. Today, development idealism can be argued to have expanded to include attitudes that label intimate partner violence as inappropriate and ‘backward.’ This is supported by Pierotti’s (2013) finding that people in 23 of 26 African, Asian, Latin American, and Middle Eastern countries have increasingly rejected IPV as justifiable behavior. We expect to find similar results in our expanded analysis of 37 countries. Thus, formally stated, our central hypothesis drawn from development idealism is as follows:

Hypothesis one: Greater percentages of people around the world are rejecting IPV as acceptable behavior.

World society theory

Similarly to development idealism, world society theory posits that ‘global’ cultural models about many aspects of social life are diffusing around the world (Meyer et al. 1997). Scholars writing from this perspective tend to measure the diffusion of what they refer to as “world cultural models” as they appear in a variety of forms. For example, they document the global spread of isomorphic behavior in the signing of human rights treaties, the similarity in the content of national school textbooks, and the nearly identical mission statements of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) (Boli and Thomas 1997; Fiala and Lanford 1987; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005). World society theory is particularly valuable for our purposes because of its identification of many mechanisms through which cultural models have diffused worldwide, including educational institutions, INGOs, and international conferences. Recently, world society scholars have proposed the operation of foreign aid as a mechanism for the diffusion of global cultural scripts—and specifically scripts about gender (Peterson 2011; Swiss

2013). While recognizing that foreign aid has historically served many different purposes, these scholars argue that foreign aid is one medium through which powerful countries can spread their cultural ideals about gender to countries with very different ideals. Following this line of thought, we contend that foreign aid specifically earmarked for improving the status or well-being of women (i.e. “gendered aid”) will spread global cultural scripts about gender, and that gendered aid allocated to projects explicitly focused on eliminating violence against women will be influential in changing individuals’ reported attitudes towards IPV.

Hypothesis two: Gendered foreign aid is positively associated with increasing rejection of IPV.

Hypothesis three: Foreign aid for ‘Violence Against Women’ projects is positively associated with increasing rejection of IPV.

While we believe that gendered aid will impact attitudes about IPV, it may be that foreign aid interventions that do not specifically target gender do not serve to help disseminate global cultural messages about IPV. We do not expect other forms of aid—for example, aid to the energy sector or aid for building roads—to have such an effect on IPV attitudes. Easterly (2006), Mayo (2009), and others have strongly criticized foreign aid as an ineffective means to bring about change. While we agree that aid may not stimulate economic growth, we argue that in the case of cultural changes related to IPV, foreign aid focused on improving the status and well-being of women can have an effect.

Hypothesis four: Aggregate foreign aid is not associated with increasing rejection of IPV.

In addition to foreign aid, we apply world society theory to argue that there are significant national variables that may influence the spread of cultural scripts about IPV. For example, drawing on recent ethnographic research showing that foreigners from countries where developmental models originated and are especially pervasive bring these models with them when they arrive in new places (Hannan 2012; Swidler and Watkins 2009), we expect that international travellers are a likely mechanism through which cultural scripts about IPV spread to nations that are less connected to world society. These foreigners often interpret the behavior and ideas of people in other countries less connected to the world polity as ‘uncivilized’ and ‘primitive,’ even ‘barbaric.’ Thus, international travelers are likely to be mechanisms through which developmental models spread, including opposition to pre-existing gender relations that include domestic violence.

Hypothesis five: Tourism is positively associated with increasing rejection of IPV.

Finally, we argue that urban living, access to mass media, and formal education are additional means by which global cultural models may diffuse (Frye 2012; Pierotti 2013).

Hypothesis five: Higher levels of education, media consumption, and urban living are associated with increasing rejection of IPV.

Socioeconomic Theories of Attitudinal Change

Socio-economic theories of change posit that as societies experience economic growth and industrialization they move from “traditional, survivalist attitudes” to value-systems grounded in freedom of expression and egalitarianism (Inglehart and Baker 2000). According to this theoretical framework, individual and community-level factors such as wealth, industrial or

commercial employment (as opposed to agricultural), and high levels of education should be positively associated with attitudinal rejection of IPV and low levels of reported IPV (Abramsky et al. 2011). Additionally, changes in demographic structure, including older age at marriage, declining fertility rates, and higher contraceptive use, would also be expected to be strong predictors. While we do not argue that socioeconomic and demographic factors have no importance in predicting attitudes, we theorize that they cannot explain the rapid changes in attitudes toward IPV that have taken place in recent years. Likewise, we expect that long-term economic trends—such as economic growth, the rise of foreign direct investment and international trade and even the rise of female participation in the labor market—have not occurred sufficiently rapidly to by themselves explain the rapid shifts in attitudes towards IPV that have taken place recently. We expect that the spread of global cultural scripts has played a more important role.

Hypothesis six: Structural socioeconomic or demographic changes, growth in GDP, trade, foreign direct investment, and the percent of women in the workforce may contribute to but cannot by themselves explain increasing rejection of IPV as acceptable behavior.

Before moving on to our data and methods, we make a final note about our survey data. Respondents may or may not actually reject IPV, but we argue that they are at least more knowledgeable about the socially desirable response as a result of global cultural scripts. Moreover, the stigma for being a victim of IPV has likely lessened with more talk about the issue, emboldening people to stand up against IPV and discuss it in public (Frias and Angel 2013).

Data

Our analysis employs 88 waves from 37 countries of the nationally representative, repeated cross-sectional Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS). We include all countries with at least two waves of data that include our dependent-variable measures, except Turkey and India due to temporary data availability constraints. The countries included are: Armenia, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dominican Rep., Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Malawi, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The modal years between survey waves is 5, with the smallest interval being 3 years and the largest interval being 8 years; the average is 5.37 years. Table 1 shows survey years and sample sizes for each of the 37 countries.

Most surveys sample women 18-49 years of age, though some are limited to only ever-married women. We perform separate between-country analyses on the full sample, only ever married, and never married women to explore variation across marital status.

Our analysis also utilizes longitudinal data at the country level from two primary sources: AidData.org and the World Bank. We employ research release 2.1 of AidData (Tierney et al. 2011), which is the most comprehensive data source on foreign aid projects, recording over one million projects since 1973 that over \$4.9 trillion US dollars. These projects include 42 bilateral donors, 44 multilateral donors, and 209 country recipients. Our data from the World Bank is the World Development Indicators, which includes a variety of economic, political, and social indicators for over 200 countries worldwide. We use the data for 1990-2013 for the World Development Indicators, and data from 1990-2010 for AidData (2010 is the last year available).

We use data from 1990 because there is very little foreign aid targeted at reducing IPV prior to 1990. Thus, we aim to capture the full force of this aid over time, by looking at the cumulative amount of aid since 1990.

Dependent Variable

Our dependent outcome measure is a dichotomous outcome obtained by combining the responses from a series of five questions about IPV attitudes. The respondent is asked whether a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she: goes out without telling him; neglects the children; argues with him, refuses to have sex with him; and burns the food. Our dichotomous outcome represents a rejection of justification for IPV in all scenarios. In some countries, the question wording varies slightly. However, literature suggests that overall trends in the rejection of IPV are not sensitive to these changes (Yount et al 2011; Pierotti 2013). Additionally, in some countries some scenarios are excluded or additional scenarios are presented. Future sensitivity analyses will be performed to examine whether results vary when alternate scenarios are included. In our analyses, we do not include additional scenarios beyond the standard five. A value of 1 represents a rejection of the justification of IPV in all included scenarios; nearly 56% of total respondents rejected all scenarios.

Individual Level Explanatory Variables

Like Pierotti (2013), we believe that, in keeping with world society theory, urban residence, media access, and greater educational attainment will be associated with greater rejection of IPV. These items are thought to be associated with greater exposure to the values of global institutions and global cultural scripts denouncing IPV.

Urban residence is coded dichotomously where urban residence is 1 and rural residence is 0. Media access is also a binary measure, where 1 equals access to newspapers, radio, or television at least once a week or more and less regular or no access is coded as 0. Educational attainment is a categorical measure; respondents are coded as having: no education, primary education, secondary education, or higher education. In our analyses, no education is the reference category.

Additionally, in line with Pierotti's analysis, we include a variable for age, an age squared term, binary measures for Muslim religion and ever married, and a variable for partner's educational attainment, measured in the same way as the respondent's education. The final individual level variable we include, also from Pierotti's models, is a categorical measure of age at marriage: 15 & under, 16 to 19, and 20 & older.

National Level Explanatory Variables

Our variables that reflect the spread of global cultural models through foreign aid and tourism are as follows. First we have the cumulative amount of foreign aid since 1990 for projects of which at least one major component is reducing violence against women. Second, we have the cumulative amount of foreign aid since 1990 devoted to any project related to women broadly speaking. Third, we have the cumulative amount of foreign aid generally. Fourth, we have data on the number of international visitors per capita for each country. We refer to these visitors as tourists, but they are also visitors of all sorts who arrive in the country. Measures of IGO and INGO ties will be added soon. Our national-level variables related to modernization theory are GDP per capita, foreign direct investment per capita, percent of GDP that is international trade, and percent of the labor force that is female.

Methods

First we replicate and extend Pierotti's regression-decomposition-based analysis to 13 additional countries: Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Honduras, Lesotho, Liberia, Mozambique, Niger, Peru, and Sierra Leone. We run multivariate logistic regressions and calculate average marginal effects for each country. For the purposes of replication, we use the same waves for analysis for all countries in Pierotti's analysis; however, nearly half of the original countries, a third wave of data is now available. In future iterations of this paper, we will provide analysis that includes this new third (and in a few cases also a fourth) wave of data. We will also be merging in data from the MICS surveys, a similar cross-national survey program funded by UNICEF that contains all of the same individual-level variables of interest to us.

Second, we use multilevel logistic regression with random effects and scaled country-sum probability weights (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2006) to examine between-country change in the rejection of intimate partner violence. All waves of available DHS data are used in this analysis. We use respondent id as our level 1 identifier and country as our level 2 identifier. Our first model is a null model, in which we consider only our dependent variable of rejection. Our second model is our compositional effects model; we include the same covariates at the individual level used by Pierotti (2013), but we exclude the variables for partners' level of education, age, age squared, and age at first marriage due to modeling complexity issues in Stata that we have yet to overcome. Our third model includes the same individual level covariates, as well as several national level covariates. Though we have data for all of the variables outlined above, due to modeling complexity issues in Stata, we only include the following covariates in

our third model: time, urban living, education achievement, media access, religion, ever married, aggregate foreign aid, gendered foreign aid, violence against women foreign aid, GDP, and percent of women in the labor force. We calculate the natural log of odds of each covariate and we graphically display temporally the average marginal effects for each of the three models.

Results

Temporal Trend. Figure 2 displays the changes in the percent of the population within each country that reject IPV at each time point for which we have data. Data time points are indicated by circles. We interpolated the data between time points, thereby created trend lines for each country. The lines are color-coded by region of the world. The general trend seen across countries is increasing rejection of IPV, similar to Pierotti's (2013) findings. There are a few countries where the trend is particularly steep, such as Nepal. There are a few countries where the trend is going the other way or is about flat, such as Guinea at the bottom of the figure. Across the vast majority of countries we see increasing rejection of IPV, confirming our first hypothesis.

Within-country change. In Figure 4, we present the average marginal effects of the wave term for each country. The average marginal effects for the second survey wave were positive and significant in 28 of 37 countries (excluding Jordan). For most of these countries, individuals in the second survey wave had an approximately .05 to .2 increased probability of rejecting IPV. Like Pierotti, we found the effect was statistically significant and negative in Madagascar and Indonesia, and also found this pattern in Guinea. There was less variation in the results for countries with a negative effect; individuals in the second survey wave were approximately 5% less likely to reject IPV. In Bangladesh, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone,

and Zimbabwe, the wave term was not statistically significant. The full results of our replication analysis are presented in Appendix Table 1 (listed as Table A1).

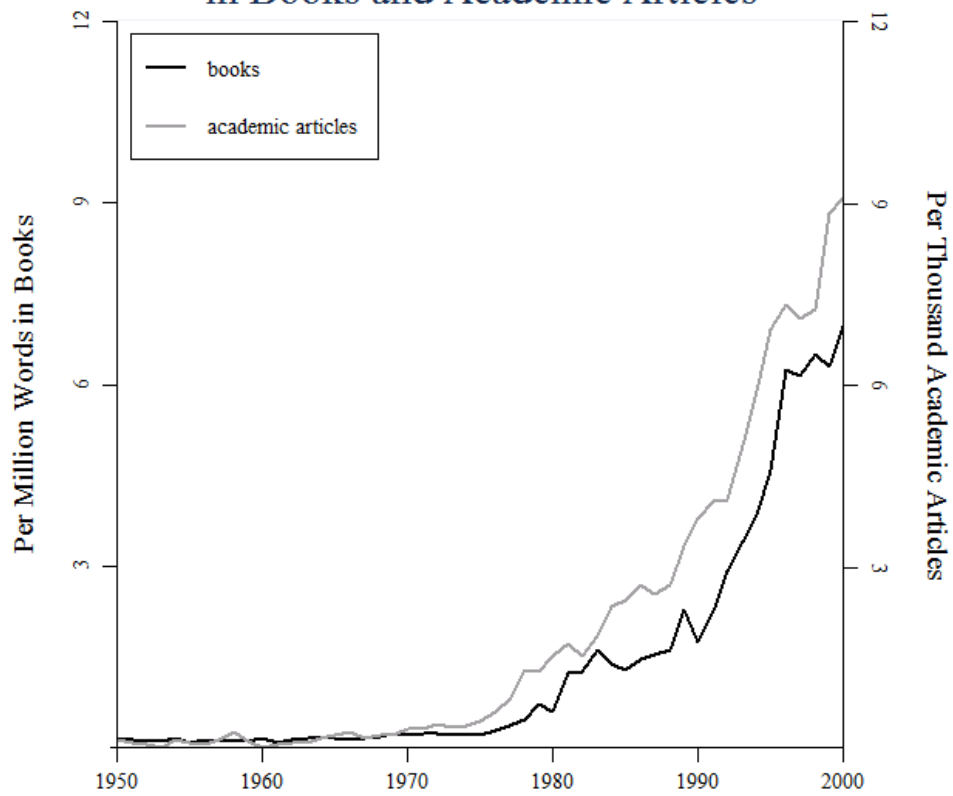
Our analysis differs from Pierotti's in a few important ways. First, we faced temporary data access constraints and could not include Turkey and India in our replication. Second, in analyses where the never-married variable was included (all countries not limited to an ever-married sample), the variable was omitted by Stata due to collinearity. We were not able to ascertain why this error occurred, and present the results of our analysis without this variable. Third, in Jordan two additional scenarios were presented and those variables are not included in our dataset. Our wave term is statistically significant and in the opposite direction of Pierotti's finding. However, in all countries where the sample was already limited to ever-married women besides Jordan, our results are strikingly similar to Pierotti. In Nepal, we note some differences as we excluded the media variable due to differences in the wording of the survey questions used to derive our media access measure. Additionally, even in countries where we excluded the never-married measure, our odds ratios are often similar and sometimes identical to Pierotti's, including the level of significance. Finally, besides our incomplete results in Jordan, we did not find any statistically significant results that countered Pierotti's findings. In further iterations of this paper, we will address each of these issues outlined and provide full estimates for all countries included in our analysis.

National-level Analysis. Our multilevel modeling results are as yet preliminary. Early results are, however, suggestive. The odds ratios for our multilevel models are presented in Table 4. The marginal probabilities for our multilevel models are presented in Table 5. The marginal probabilities are also presented graphically in Figures 5 and 6. Figure 5 contains our results for

our null model, which includes our dependent variable of rejection of IPV and one independent variable: time. Figure 6 contains our results for our compositional effect model, which includes individual-level covariates for urban living, educational achievement, and media access, the three variables that Pierotti (2013) found to be most important.

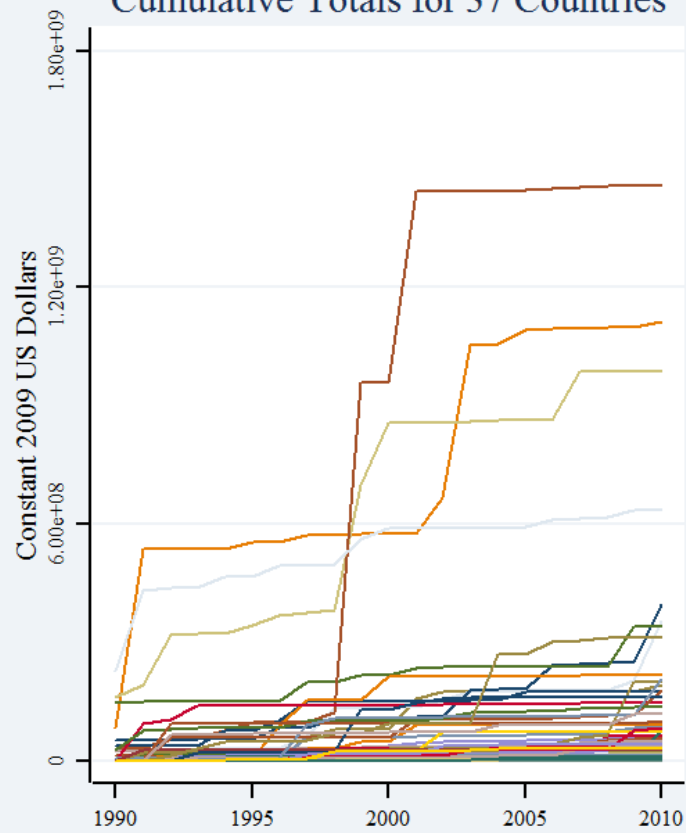
These preliminary results suggest that foreign aid, in particular foreign aid directed at reducing violence against women, has a significant effect on individuals' likelihood of rejecting intimate partner violence. Due to modeling constraints in Stata, our national level variables related to modernization theories of ideational change are not included here. In future analysis, we will utilize more powerful software that can accommodate the large number of observations, time-points, and covariates included in our models.

Figure 1. Terms for 'Intimate Partner Violence' in Books and Academic Articles



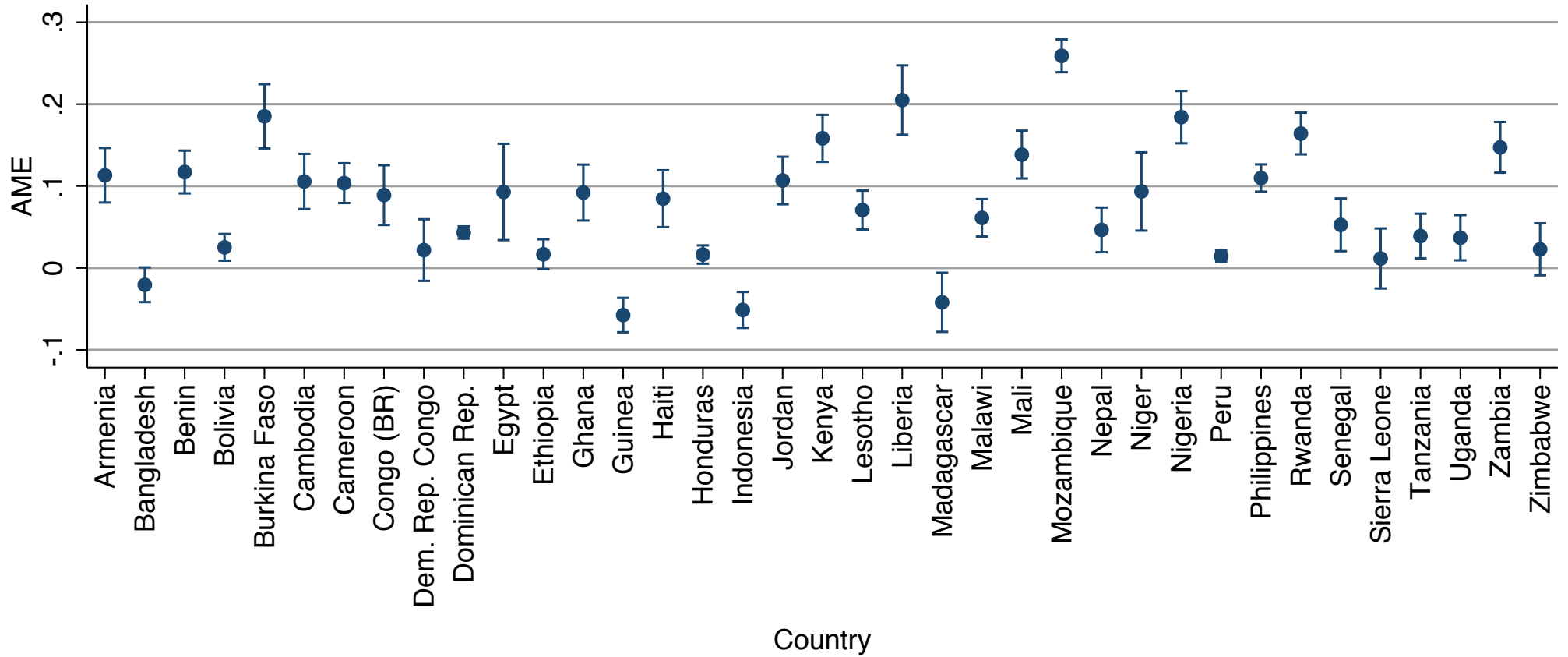
Note: Data come from the English 2012 Corpus of the Google Ngram Viewer (books.google.com/ngrams) and JSTOR Data-For-Research (dfr.jstor.org).

Figure 3. 'Violence Against Women' Aid:
Cumulative Totals for 37 Countries

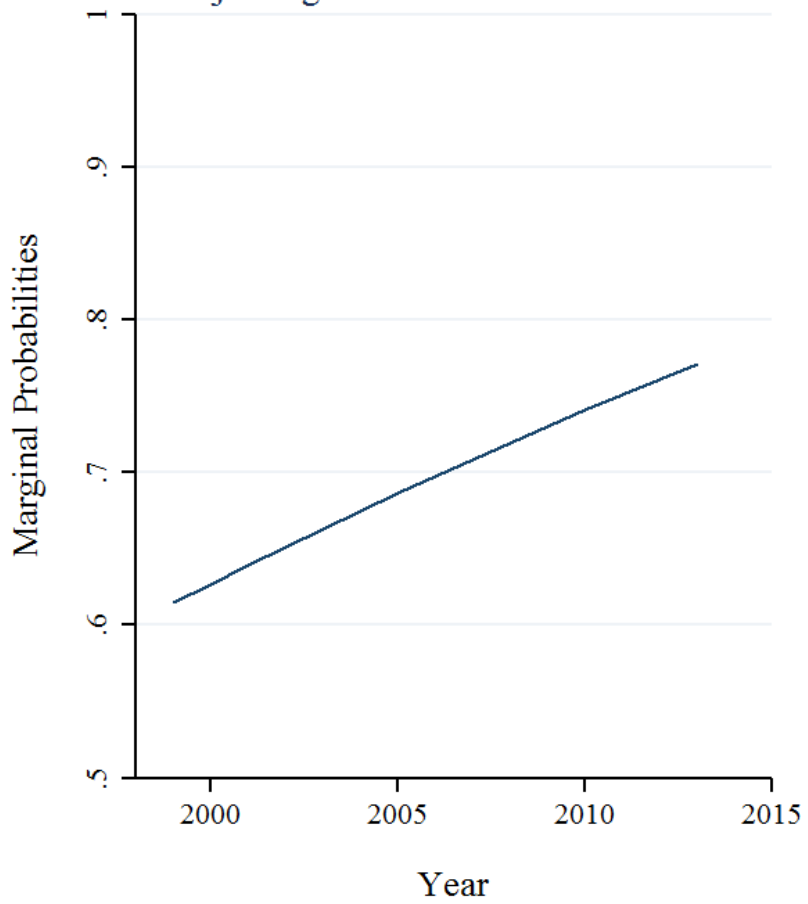


Note: Data come from Aiddata.org.

Figure 4. Average Marginal Effects of Wave on Rejection of IPV
With 95% Confidence Intervals

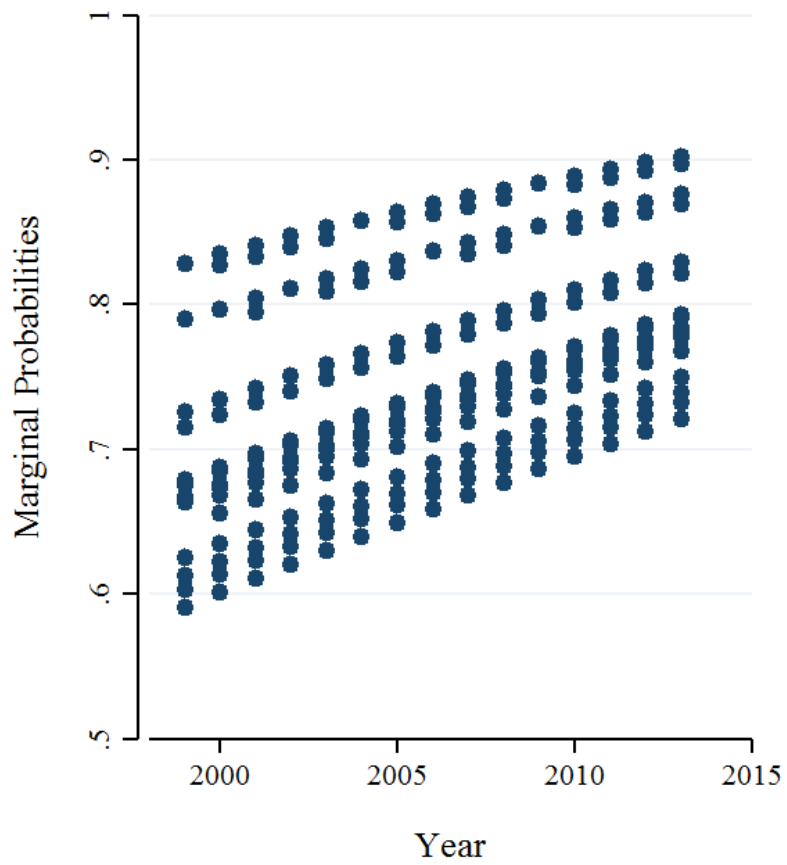


Fitted Marginal Probabilities of Rejecting Intimate Partner Violence



Note: Data come from Demographic and Health Surveys completed in 37 countries.

Fitted Marginal Probabilities of Rejecting Intimate Partner Violence: Individual Level Covariates



Note: Data come from Demographic and Health Surveys completed in 37 countries.

Table 1. Survey Years and Sample Sizes

Country	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3	
	Year	Sample Size	Year	Sample Size	Year	Sample Size
Armenia	2000	6430	2005	6,560	2010	5,915
Bangladesh	2007	10992	2011	17,842	--	--
Benin	2001	6,205	2006	17,763	2012	16,599
Bolivia	2003/04	17,640	2008	16,928	--	--
Burkina Faso	2003	12473	2010	17,073	--	--
Cambodia	2005/06	4,167	2010/11	18,749	--	--
Cameroon	2004	10,648	2011	15,402	--	--
Congo (BR)	2005	7,042	2011	10,807	--	--
Dem. Rep. Congo	2007	9,973	2013	18,807	--	--
Dominican Rep.	2002	23,359	2007	27,152	--	--
Egypt	2005	19,412	2008	16,498	--	--
Ethiopia	2000	15,358	2005	14,041	2011	16,483
Ghana	2003	5,687	2008	4,910	--	--
Guinea	2005	7,931	2012	9,136	--	--
Haiti	2000	10,155	2005/06	10,753	2012	14,285
Honduras	2005	19,943	2012	22,751	--	--
Indonesia	2002/03	29,455	2007	32,811	2012	45,581
Jordan	2002	6,006	2007	10,876	2012	11,352
Kenya	2003	8,179	2008/09	8,437	--	--
Lesotho	2004	7,086	2009	7,622	--	--
Liberia	2007	7,047	2013	9,233	--	--
Madagascar	2003/04	7,943	2008/09	17,343	--	--
Malawi	2000	13,213	2004/05	11,693	2010	23,007
Mali	2001	12,822	2006	14,537	2012	10,424
Mozambique	2003	12,393	2011	13,745		
Nepal	2001/02	8,723	2006/07	10,790	2011	12,674
Niger	2006	9,198	2012	11,144	--	--
Nigeria	2003	7,594	2008	33,188	2013	38,867
Peru	2008	35,396	2012	23,887	--	--
Philippines	2003	13,624	2008	13,589	2013	16,144
Rwanda	2000	10,415	2005	11,304	2010	13,627
Senegal	2005	14,574	2010/11	15,688	--	--
Sierra Leone	2008	7,329	2013	16,588	--	--
Tanzania	2004/05	10,321	2010	10,135	--	--
Uganda	2000/01	7,245	2006	8,526	2011	8,667
Zambia	2001/02	7,654	2007	7,140	--	--
Zimbabwe	1999	5,904	2005/06	8,896	2010	9,171

Table 2. Individual Level Variables

Variable	Frequency	Percent	Variable	Frequency	Percent
Rejection of IPV			Residence		
No	529,676	43.3	Rural	721,175	58.95
Yes	693,635	56.7	Urban	502,136	41.05
Weekly Media Use			Muslim		
No	377,604	30.87	No	594,804	48.62
Yes	831,770	67.99	Yes	334,638	27.36
.	13,937	1.14	.	293,869	24.02
Ever Married			Age at Marriage*		
No	270,333	22.1	15 and under	243,157	25.52
Yes	952,918	77.9	16-19	397,909	41.76
.	60	0	20 and older	311,911	32.73
			.	1	0
Educational Attainment			Partner's Educational Attainment		
None	333,069	27.23	None	245,629	20.08
Primary	408,797	33.42	Primary	302,184	24.7
Secondary	382,527	31.27	Secondary	296,469	24.23
Higher	98,870	8.08	Higher	89,141	7.29
.	48	0	.	289,888	23.7

* Percent of ever-married sample

Table 3. National Level Variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.
Foreign Aid per capita (PC)			GDP % Growth		
	40.68	62.67		1.73	6.74
Women Related Aid (PC)			Foreign Direct Investment, % of GDP		
	.40	1.68		3.92	7.73
Violence Against Women Aid (PC)*			Trade, % of GDP		
	.29	1.42		73.33	38.91
Tourists (PC)			Women's Labor Force Participation, %		
	.13	.29		55.85	18.44

* In 2009 Constant US Dollars

Table 4. Predictors of Rejection of Intimate Partner Violence, Between Country Analy

	Model 1: Null Model	Model 2: Compositional Effects, Ind. Level Predictors	Model 3: Full Model with Ind. and Nat'l Level Predictors
Time	1.07***	1.06**	1.07**
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL PREDICTORS			
Urban		1.43***	1.49***
Education (no education is ref.)			
Primary		1.15*	1.205***
Secondary		1.61***	1.58***
Higher		3.84***	3.97***
Media Access		1.08***	1.063
Muslim		.76***	
Never Married		.86***	
NATIONAL LEVEL PREDICTORS			
Foreign Aid			0.999
Women in Dev. Aid			1.013
Violence Against Women Aid			1.016
Tourists (per capita)			
GDP % Growth			
FDI, % of GDP			
Trade, % of GDP			
Women's Labor Force Part.			

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

Table A1a. Predictors of Rejection of Intimate Partner Violence (Odds Ratios)

	Armenia	Benin	Bolivia	Cambodia	DR	Egypt	Ethiopia	Ghana	Haiti
Wave 2	1.99***	1.73***	1.15**	1.62***	2.04***	1.56***	1.25**	1.48***	1.45***
	<i>1.98***</i>	<i>1.70***</i>	<i>1.17**</i>	<i>1.59***</i>	<i>2.07***</i>	<i>1.55**</i>	<i>1.17</i>	<i>1.51***</i>	<i>1.48***</i>
Urban	1.67***	1.62***	1.24***	1.74***	1.48***	1.56***	1.86***	1.37***	1.52***
	<i>1.66***</i>	<i>1.50***</i>	<i>1.15*</i>	<i>1.74***</i>	<i>1.46***</i>	<i>1.56***</i>	<i>1.73***</i>	<i>1.29**</i>	<i>1.52***</i>
Education (no education is ref.)									
Primary		1.41***	1.11	1.05	1.44***	1.24***	1.22**	1.14	1.14*
		<i>1.34***</i>	<i>1.11</i>	<i>1.06</i>	<i>1.29*</i>	<i>1.24***</i>	<i>1.22*</i>	<i>1.13</i>	<i>1.15</i>
Secondary	1.47**	2.56***	1.65***	1.58***	2.92***	2.52***	2.54***	1.64***	2.39***
	<i>1.06</i>	<i>2.49***</i>	<i>1.64*</i>	<i>1.57***</i>	<i>2.38***</i>	<i>2.52***</i>	<i>2.60***</i>	<i>1.49***</i>	<i>2.08***</i>
Higher	2.68***	10.36***	4.12***	6.72***	5.56***	4.89***	7.69***	4.68***	9.87***
	<i>2.02**</i>	<i>8.64***</i>	<i>3.77***</i>	<i>3.60***</i>	<i>3.72***</i>	<i>4.87***</i>	<i>10.19***</i>	<i>3.42***</i>	<i>5.16***</i>
Media Access	.83	1.05	.97	1.47***	1.48***	1.68***	1.25**	1.39***	1.10
	<i>.84</i>	<i>1.02</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.45***</i>	<i>1.55***</i>	<i>1.67***</i>	<i>1.19</i>	<i>1.42***</i>	<i>1.04</i>
Muslim	N/A	.59***	N/A	.98	N/A	.75***	.89	.71***	N/A
	<i>N/A</i>	<i>.59***</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>.75***</i>	<i>.89</i>	<i>.73**</i>	<i>N/A</i>
Age	1.04	1.08***	1.02	1.03	1.08***	1.01	1.07***	1.07***	1.15***
	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.05**</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.05*</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.05*</i>	<i>1.02</i>	<i>1.14***</i>
Age²	.99	.99***	.99	.99	.99**	1.00	.99**	.99*	.99***
	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00*</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00***</i>
Never Married	1.85*	1.94***	1.02	1.10	1.59***	N/A	1.79***	1.88***	1.06
	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
Age at Marriage (15 and younger is ref.)									
16-19	1.13	1.07	1.05	.97	.99	1.17***	1.19**	1.02	1.01
	<i>1.17</i>	<i>1.07</i>	<i>1.04</i>	<i>.98</i>	<i>1.02</i>	<i>1.17*</i>	<i>1.19*</i>	<i>1.03</i>	<i>1.03</i>
20 and older	1.30	1.28***	1.03	.97	1.02	1.38***	1.12	1.23*	1.07
	<i>1.33</i>	<i>1.31***</i>	<i>1.03</i>	<i>.98</i>	<i>1.11</i>	<i>1.37***</i>	<i>1.12</i>	<i>1.27**</i>	<i>1.10</i>
Husband's Education (no education is ref.)									
Primary		1.36***	1.07	1.03	1.24*	.99	1.13	1.22	.95
		<i>1.39***</i>	<i>1.04</i>	<i>1.03</i>	<i>1.26**</i>	<i>.99</i>	<i>1.14</i>	<i>1.24</i>	<i>.97</i>
Secondary	1.53**	1.48***	1.01	1.20*	1.60***	1.24***	1.32**	1.52***	.95
	<i>1.67**</i>	<i>1.55***</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.21*</i>	<i>1.67***</i>	<i>1.24***</i>	<i>1.38**</i>	<i>1.63***</i>	<i>1.03</i>
Higher	2.06***	2.32***	1.37*	1.98***	2.10***	1.86***	1.43*	1.89***	1.62*
	<i>2.20***</i>	<i>2.52***</i>	<i>1.43*</i>	<i>2.16***</i>	<i>2.36***</i>	<i>1.86***</i>	<i>1.45*</i>	<i>2.12***</i>	<i>1.96***</i>

Pierotti (2013) findings are presented on the first line, and our replication results are presented directly below in *italics* for each quantity of interest.

Note: DR = Dominican Republic. Primary school education was used as the reference group for Armenia because very few respondents had no education. * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

The never married variable was eliminated because of colinearity. We have not determined exactly why this is occurring and how Pierotti overcame the problem.

Table A1b. Predictors of Rejection of Intimate Partner Violence (Odds Ratios)

	India	Indonesia	Jordan	Kenya	Madagascar	Malawi	Mali	Nepal	Nigeria
Wave 2	1.05	.78***	.76***	1.99***	.82*	1.31***	2.84***	1.28***	2.14***
		.78***	1.62***	2.20***	.82*	1.33***	2.98***	1.28**	2.26***
Urban	1.33***	1.38***	1.63***	1.87***	.77**	1.78***	.96	.70***	1.53***
		1.38***	1.63***	1.89***	.78**	1.86***	1.00	.70**	1.47***
Education (no education is ref.)									
Primary	1.04*	.98	1.63**	1.23*	.95	.95	.96	1.00	1.05
		.98	1.74***	1.27**	.94	.93	.98	1.01	1.05
Secondary	1.32***	.95	2.84***	2.07***	.90	1.38***	1.55***	1.09	1.52***
		.95	3.06***	2.02***	.88	1.36**	1.71***	1.10	1.60***
Higher	2.49***	1.45***	4.94***	4.68***	1.53***	6.31***	4.63***	1.73**	2.83***
		1.45***	5.64***	4.13***	1.40*	5.42**	3.01***	1.74**	2.79***
Media Access	.88***	1.11*	1.01	1.40***	.99	1.14***	.99	1.00	1.10*
		1.11*	1.01	1.34**	.98	1.13**	.99	<i>omitted</i>	1.08
Muslim	1.05	1.00	N/A	.94	1.44*	1.53***	.79*	.83	.90*
		1.00	N/A	1.04	1.31	1.57***	.77	.83	.88*
Age	1.00	1.02	.98	1.07***	1.05***	1.09***	1.02	1.02	1.02*
		1.02	1.04	1.03	1.03	1.09***	1.00	1.02	1.02
Age ²	1.00	.99	1.00	.99*	.99**	.99***	.99	.99	.99
		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00***	1.00	1.00	1.00
Never Married	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.93***	1.21*	.79**	1.26*	N/A	1.39***
	N/A	N/A	N/A	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	N/A	<i>omitted</i>
Age at Marriage (15 and younger is ref.)									
16-19	1.24***	1.03	1.22	1.22*	1.06	.96	1.04	1.02	1.16***
		1.03	1.19	1.22*	1.07	.96	1.03	1.02	1.16***
20 and older	1.36***	1.08	1.25*	1.55***	1.10	.96	1.39***	1.05	1.29***
		1.09	1.11	1.60***	1.13	.96	1.41***	1.05	1.29***
Husband's Education (no education is ref.)									
Primary	1.05*	1.08	1.60*	1.02	.99	.96	.83*	1.02	1.01
		1.07	1.54*	1.06	1.01	.99	.83*	1.02	1.00
Secondary	1.18***	1.01	1.66*	1.12	1.14	1.04	1.22*	1.14	1.16**
		1.01	1.67**	1.19	1.16	1.06	1.16	1.14	1.14*
Higher	1.51***	1.27*	2.57***	1.24	1.39**	1.42	1.54***	1.39**	1.20*
		1.26*	2.41***	1.39*	1.43**	1.43	1.57**	1.38**	1.21*

Pierotti (2013) findings are presented on the first line, and our replication results are presented directly below in *italics* for each quantity of interest.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

The never married variable was eliminated because of colinearity. We have not determined exactly why this is occurring and how Pierotti overcame the problem. We eliminated the media variable for Nepal because the media questions are different.

Table A1c. Predictors of Rejection of Intimate Partner Violence (Odds Ratios)

	Philippines	Rwanda	Senegal	Tanzania	Turkey	Uganda	Zambia	Zimbabwe
Wave 2	1.91***	1.80***	1.30***	1.18**	1.04	1.30***	2.03***	1.15*
	<i>1.99***</i>	<i>2.05***</i>	<i>1.29**</i>	<i>1.18**</i>		<i>1.23**</i>	<i>2.17***</i>	<i>1.11</i>
Urban	1.37***	1.21**	1.47***	1.29***	2.03***	1.64***	1.05	1.92***
	<i>1.32***</i>	<i>1.17*</i>	<i>1.45***</i>	<i>1.31**</i>		<i>1.53***</i>	<i>1.08</i>	<i>1.99***</i>
Education (no education is ref.)								
Primary	.95	1.11	1.23***	1.01	1.89***	1.06	.78***	1.29*
	<i>.93</i>	<i>1.15**</i>	<i>1.29***</i>	<i>1.01</i>		<i>1.08</i>	<i>.76***</i>	<i>1.32**</i>
Secondary	1.15	2.13***	1.80***	2.28***	5.75***	1.45***	1.24*	1.87***
	<i>1.09</i>	<i>2.07***</i>	<i>1.97***</i>	<i>2.57***</i>		<i>1.45**</i>	<i>1.15</i>	<i>1.90***</i>
Higher	1.69***	6.35***	5.41***	3.30***	34.13***	2.86***	5.07***	6.42***
	<i>1.44*</i>	<i>4.21***</i>	<i>4.96***</i>	<i>3.35***</i>		<i>3.15***</i>	<i>4.31***</i>	<i>7.43***</i>
Media Access	1.00	1.23***	1.35***	1.12*	N/A	1.20**	1.40***	1.05
	<i>.98</i>	<i>1.24***</i>	<i>1.40***</i>	<i>1.10</i>		<i>1.20**</i>	<i>1.37***</i>	<i>1.01</i>
Muslim	.31***	N/A	.66***	N/A	N/A	.94	1.42	.71
	<i>.33***</i>	<i>N/A</i>	<i>.75*</i>	<i>N/A</i>		<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.39</i>	<i>.74</i>
Age	1.04**	1.09***	1.07***	1.05*	1.09***	1.06**	1.09***	1.13***
	<i>.99</i>	<i>1.04</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.02</i>		<i>1.03</i>	<i>1.05*</i>	<i>1.14***</i>
Age²	.99**	.99***	.99***	.99*	.99***	.99**	.99***	.99***
	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>		<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>1.00***</i>
Never Married	1.61***	1.29*	1.50***	1.31**	N/A	1.13	.94	2.03***
	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>		<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>	<i>omitted</i>
Age at Marriage (15 and younger is ref.)								
16-19	1.21**	1.05	1.28***	1.04	1.03	1.04	.98	1.22**
	<i>1.25**</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.28***</i>	<i>1.05</i>		<i>1.04</i>	<i>.99</i>	<i>1.21**</i>
20 and older	1.30***	1.13	1.43***	1.05	1.10	1.04	1.04	1.39***
	<i>1.42***</i>	<i>1.15</i>	<i>1.49***</i>	<i>1.06</i>		<i>1.06</i>	<i>1.08</i>	<i>1.38***</i>
Husband's Education (no education is ref.)								
Primary	1.24	1.13*	1.09	1.13	1.20	.90	.84	.96
	<i>1.31*</i>	<i>1.04</i>	<i>1.06</i>	<i>1.14</i>		<i>.89</i>	<i>.85</i>	<i>.96</i>
Secondary	1.31*	1.41***	1.30**	1.62***	1.83***	1.03	.81*	1.20
	<i>1.42*</i>	<i>1.28**</i>	<i>1.26**</i>	<i>1.60***</i>		<i>1.04</i>	<i>.83</i>	<i>1.19</i>
Higher	1.45**	1.63*	1.62***	1.47**	2.91***	1.19	1.18	1.53*
	<i>1.65**</i>	<i>1.70*</i>	<i>1.57**</i>	<i>1.45*</i>		<i>1.17</i>	<i>1.26</i>	<i>1.49*</i>

Pierotti (2013) findings are presented on the first line, and our replication results are presented directly below in *italics* for each quantity of interest.

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

The never married variable was eliminated because of colinearity. We have not determined exactly why this is occurring and how Pierotti overcame the problem.

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