

Violence: From the Public to the Domestic  
Examining the impact of political instability on the intimate partner violence in Uganda and  
Kenya

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## Introduction

### *The Contagion of Violence*

The countries having internal conflicts, almost 40 in numbers, are home to 38% of the global population (Burnham and Robinson, 2007). There exists an understandable assumption that the worst effects of conflict result from violence-related deaths, which affect combatants more than civilians and are relatively restricted to “theaters of violence.” However new lines of scholarship are beginning to document the wide-ranging effects of political instability on a myriad of health outcomes, and on populations that may not seem directly involved in active hostilities.

An increasingly rich body of literature documents the “contagion” of violence. Like diseases and many complex social phenomena, violence can be transmitted across individuals, groups, generations and different levels of social organization. In a 2012 report titled “Contagion of Violence,” the Institute of Medicine (IOM) notes that in the past 25 years, there has been a significant shift in the way that scholars, programmers, activists and service providers think about this problem (Institute of Medicine, 2012). One line of investigation looks at how exposure to political violence increases perpetration of other kinds of violence. A number of researchers have looked at the ways that violence at a broad political level can “trickle down” to community, family and individual violence (Mullins et al., 2004, Cummings et al., 2010, 2011; Dubow et al., 2010;). This paper will explore this phenomenon by examining how conflict violence may lead to an increase in intimate partner violence (IPV) in two post-conflict countries: Uganda and Kenya.

### *Violence: from the Political to the Domestic*

The perpetration of intimate partner violence can be a major factor affecting the physical and mental health of individuals before, during and after conflict (Stark et al 2011). Experiencing IPV can lead to physical and mental harm, reproductive health problems, sexually transmitted infections, and HIV infection. It can also lead to reduced income and loss of productivity for individuals and households affected by IPV (Head et al, 2014).

A recent review of DHS data on IPV was published from 95 surveys in 47 countries from 2000 to 2011. At least 10% of married women in every country surveyed experienced

physical or sexual partner violence, with the prevalence of IPV ranging from a low of 12% in Burkina Faso to a high of 64% in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Head et al, 2014).

Because this form of abuse occurs in homes rather than in war fields and may be condoned or overlooked because of cultural norms, IPV is often far less visible than conflict-related violence. This form of abuse, however, may be more common than sexual violence perpetrated by armed actors during war (Stark et al 2010; Peterman et al 2011; Parmar et al 2012). Conflict may exacerbate intimate partner violence through a number of pathways including: acculturating individuals to violence (Buvinic et al, 1999; Annan & Brier, 2010); increasing stress levels and aggression (Catani, 2010); putting financial strain on families and threatening established gender roles and norms (Jewkes, 2002); and increasing stigma against women who may have had stigmatizing experiences during conflict (Annan & Brier, 2010; Kelly et al, 2011); and increasing alcohol and drug use as a coping mechanism.

Exposure to political violence and to human rights abuses has been linked to higher rates of IPV perpetration among men (Clark et al., 2010; Gupta et al., 2009; Gupta et al, 2010; Vinck and Pham 2013). Women who have higher levels of conflict-related abuses also report higher levels of IPV during and after conflict (Saile et al, 2013; Falb et al 2013; Gupta et al, 2012; Vinck and Pham 2013). In a cross-sectional survey of refugees affected by the Burmese conflict, women who experienced conflict victimization were 5.9 times more likely to report past-year IPV than women who did not report conflict victimization (Falb et al 2013). In Cote D'Ivoire, women who reported family victimization during the conflict had 1.7 greater odds of reporting past-year in-law abuse compared to women whose families were not victimized (Gupta et al 2012). An abstract submitted to the Population Association of America in 2014 found that exposure to violent conflict in Rwanda significantly increased an individual's risk of IPV. Experiencing one violent conflict per year within a 50 km radius corresponded with a 1.1% increase in IPV (Janko et al, 2014).

### Project Aim

This project seeks to fill the gap in understanding about the effects of conflict by using data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) to look at health outcomes in two sub-Saharan countries affected by conflict. This preliminary analysis will provide a unique

perspective by combining DHS data with information from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) data in Uganda and Kenya. The DHS data will provide information about health and social outcomes, while the ACLED data are used to provide a measure of the extent to which a community has been affected by conflict. This will allow the creation of a measure of “conflict-affectedness” at the sub-national district level. This information is combined with DHS data to examine the links between health and conflict.

Research Question:

**Evaluate the link between conflict-affectedness and intimate partner violence as measured by the DHS domestic violence module**

Using DHS and ACLED data, this research assesses whether individuals in geographic units that experience more conflict are more likely to experience higher levels of domestic abuse, as measured by the DHS.

*Hypothesis: Women in areas that experience more intra-country conflict than others are more subjected to IPV than those that experience less conflict.*

Country Backgrounds

While both Kenya and Uganda have experienced political violence in the past, the nature of these conflicts is notably different. Kenya experienced acute election-related violence during a 3 month period from 2007-2008. In contrast, Uganda has experienced more than 2 decades of conflict in the northern region as a result of violence perpetrated by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). Below are brief descriptions of each country’s conflict context.

*Kenya*

Kenya is a low middle income country in east Africa – it is the ninth largest country on the continent with a population of 45 million (CIA World Factbook; World Bank, 2014). The 2002 Kenyan election saw the first transfer of power to an opposition party since its independence in 1963. Kenya’s political crisis erupted after a disputed election in 2007 and lasted from December 27 until February 28, 2008. On this date, the opposing parties in the election signed a power-sharing agreement that eased tensions and placed both opposing politicians in positions of power in the national government (CIA World Factbook, 2014; BBC, 2014).

The contested results of Kenya's 2007 presidential elections split the population along already tense ethnic and economic lines, resulting in protests marked by physical and sexual violence targeting both women and men. In the three months of violence, more than 1,100 people were killed, 600,000 were internally displaced, and sexual violence was perpetrated on a massive scale (ICC Observers, 2010). Reported rapes increased significantly in the capital during those months, where the majority of survivors were under the age of 18 and victims of gang rape. Men were also sexually assaulted on the basis of their ethnicity and political affiliation; men of the opposition candidate's Luo tribe were forcibly circumcised by members of the Kikuyu tribe (Agence France Press, 2008).

Data from the 2008-2009 DHS survey show that nearly one-quarter of ever-married women in Kenya have experienced physical partner violence and 17% have experienced sexual violence. Almost 50% of ever-married women have experienced physical, sexual or emotional abuse from a partner. More than half of women surveyed said that wife beating was justified for at least one reason (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Twenty-one percent of women surveyed stated that they had experienced sexual violence from a stranger.

### *Uganda*

Uganda is located in the Great Lakes region of Africa. It is geographically smaller than Kenya, with 36 million people compared to Kenya's 45 million. In contrast to Kenya, Uganda is considered a low income country (CIA World Factbook; World Bank, 2014). One reason cited for Uganda's relatively slow growth despite pro-market policies in the 1980s is the decades-long war waged by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the north of the country.

Formed in the northern territory of the Acholi tribe in the 1980s, the LRA is known for its brutal abuse of civilians and widespread abduction of children into its ranks. Human Rights Watch estimates that the group has abducted at least 20,000 children and the displaced over 1.9 million people in Northern Uganda. The Ugandan government responded to the LRA threat by displacing civilians into displacements camps. While the camps were ostensibly intended to protect local populations, a lack of services and basic resources resulted in

widespread disease and high rates of mortality in these areas. The combination of predation by the LRA and dislocation also meant that traditional leadership structures were disrupted.

Data from the Ugandan DHS, which is one of the best sources of information on population-based health outcomes, shows that in 2008 when the LRA threat in Uganda was diminishing, 46% of ever-married women report being either physically or sexually abused by their partner. More than 80% of the sample said that beating of a woman by her partner was justified in some circumstance.

## Data and Methods

### *Study Overview*

This project undertakes a preliminary analysis of a dataset combining DHS survey data on health and domestic violence outcomes with independent information drawn from the ACLED data set to evaluate systematic differences in experiences between areas affected by conflict and those not affected. Because DHS surveys are not longitudinal, this project will examine cross-sectional variation in self-reported indicators of gender equity and domestic violence. The Kenya conflict occurred from December 2007-February 2008. The DHS survey was conducted shortly thereafter from November 2008 to February 2009. ACLED data is only available from 1997 onwards, so the earliest decade of violence in Uganda is not recorded. However all ACLED data from 1997-2006 is used to measure conflict in Uganda. The Uganda DHS was conducted from May to October 2006.

### *Data sources*

The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Program has been collecting data since 1984 in over 90 countries. The program, funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), examines fertility, family planning, maternal and child health, gender dynamics, HIV/AIDS, malaria, and nutrition. A notable strength of DHS data is the fact that it brings standard procedures and methods across a large range of surveyed countries. A core standard questionnaire is administered in all countries, with some variation to ensure that questions are culturally appropriate and relevant.

While the DHS survey has changed significantly over time, these data are still able to provide information about how key health and behavioural outcomes in a given country evolve over time. The DHS Women's Questionnaire collects data on women ages 15-49 years, including demographic information, contraceptive use, employment, empowerment, as well as information about the women's husband. Currently, geographic information systems (GIS) data is collected in all surveyed countries and linked to survey results. This geographic information makes it possible to link DHS data with Armed Conflict Location & Event (ACLED) data.

ACLED data provides the dates and locations of all political violence events in over 50 countries. Data exists for all African countries and for Haiti, Laos, Cambodia, Nepal, Myanmar since 1997. ACLED data focuses specifically on coding the date, location, and implicated actors of a political event, which may occur in the course of civil and communal conflicts, violence against civilians, rioting and protesting. Armed actors may include governments, rebels, militia, organized political groups, ethnic groups, and civilians. Detailed geographic information for each event is coded including the name of the location as stated in media reports, GIS coordinates of that location, and the geo-referenced spatial precision scale of information.

The database draws on three different types of sources in order to achieve comprehensive event reporting: local, regional, national and continental media is reviewed daily; NGO reports are used to ensure reporting occurs in remote or hard-to-access locations; and Africa-focused news reports and analyses are used supplement previous sources. ACLED states that this methodology achieves the most comprehensive source material currently available for digital conflict event coding. Every event is indexed with its source(s) so users can refer to the original report (Raleigh et al 2010).

### *Measures*

#### *Conflict affectedness*

The ACLED data will allow for the creation of a "conflict-affectedness" variable using data on the location and nature of conflict-related events. ACLED data contains information on conflict-related events including battles, riots and violence against civilians. The number of

deaths experienced by each district was used to create a variable of “conflict affectedness.” Because there was significant variation in number of fatalities per district in each country, fatalities were partitioned into tertiles. Thus, districts were classified as “no/low conflict,” “mid-conflict” and “high-conflict.” Other studies have used an approach where no fatalities classified a district as conflict free and any fatalities classified the district as “conflict affected.” However the current approach allows for an examination of different levels of conflict and the relationship with IPV.

### *Domestic violence*

Measured as any person who responds yes to having experienced either partner physical or sexual abuse in the past year.

### *Analysis*

Data from the DHS surveys collected IPV information in the domestic violence module.

Women who respond yes to having experienced either partner physical or sexual abuse in the past year are considered experienced IPV.

Regression (1):

$$\text{Logit}(Y_{ij}) = \beta_0 + b_0i + \beta_{1, \text{mid}} I(\text{mid} - \text{conflict})_i + \beta_{1, \text{high}} I(\text{high} - \text{conflict})_i + \beta_2 X_{ij} + \varepsilon_i$$

In regression equation (1),  $i$  indexes the district and  $j$  indexes the individual.  $Y_{ij}$  is the outcome, whether a woman ( $j$ ) in district ( $i$ ) has experienced violence in the last 12 months.  $\beta_0 + b_0i$  defines the district level log odds of women experiencing violence in district  $i$  given no-low conflict. The conflict affectedness variable is then defined conflict as  $\beta_{1, \text{medium}}$  and  $\beta_{1, \text{high}}$ .  $\beta_2$  contains fixed effects which account for woman level characteristics including i) age ii) number of living children under 5 iii) religion iv) education level v) husband or partners' education level vi) wealth index. For a complete list of independent variables, see next section (Table 8).

Analysis was conducted using the `xtmelogit` command with Stata/SE 13.1 (StataCorp, College Station, TX).



### *Independent Variables*

As in previous analysis looking at IPV using DHS data, this project will take a block modeling approach, similar to the approach taken in a previous analysis of partner violence in DHS data (Hindin, 2008). This involves entering each set of related covariates into the model in stages, beginning with demographic characteristics. (Table 8). This approach allows the researcher to observe the effect of adding each subsequent block of variables to those already in the model, and helps identify confounding. A variable is identified as a confounder or mediator if, when added to a simple logistic regression, it changes the coefficient of the variable in the simple logistic regression by 20% or more.

Block 1 – Demographic and Wealth characteristics	Age
	Number of living children under 5
	Religion
	Education level
	Partner’s education
	Wealth index
	Labor market participation
	Marriage versus cohabitation
	Age at marriage/cohabitation
	Years of marriage/cohabitation
Block 2 – Exposure to violence as a child	Battered by father
	Father battered mother
	Partner alcohol abuse
Block 3 – Additional variables	Respondent’s attitudes towards beating

### Results

#### *Country characteristics*

Kenya is divided into 48 districts, with an average of 179.7 people surveyed per district by the DHS. In Kenya, the fatalities per district ranged from 0-86 with a mean of 17.5. Uganda has 58 districts with an average of 144.4 people surveyed per district. An average of 235 fatalities were recorded per district in Uganda (range 1-2,099).

	Kenya	Uganda
Number of districts	48	58
Average number of people per district	179.7	144.5

Average number of fatalities per district	17.5 (range 0-86)	235 (range 1-2,099)
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Box plots for both countries show the proportion of IPV in each district, by conflict tertile (Figures 1 and 2). In Uganda, the proportion of IPV seems to decrease slightly in each subsequent conflict tertile, while in Kenya, IPV seems to increase in districts with medium and high levels of conflict.

### *Model Results*

The results of this preliminary analysis show that, in Kenya, women living in districts with the highest level of conflict (tertile 3) had 2.2 times greater adjusted odds (CI 1.4-2.8,  $p < 0.001$ ) of experiencing IPV than women living in districts with the lowest conflict designation (Table 3). There was no significant difference in the adjusted odds of IPV comparing mid-level conflict to low-level conflict. The adjusted odds of experiencing IPV at the highest tertile of conflict compared to the lowest was significant across all three models. The aOR was attenuated in models 1 (demographic characteristics) and 2 (childhood experiences with violence) to 2.2 in model 3 (husband alcohol abuse and attitudes towards beating). This suggests that the respondent's attitudes towards wife beating and partner's alcohol abuse mediated the effect of conflict on IPV. In the final Kenya model, having children under the age of five, having a partner with primary school education compared to no education, not living with your partner, being divorced, growing up in a house where the father battered the mother, and partner alcohol abuse were all significantly associated with higher risk of IPV. Having higher education and living with one's partner (compared to being married) were protective factors and significantly decreased the odds of IPV.

In Uganda, women living in districts with the highest levels of conflict were 50% less likely than women living in low-conflict districts to report IPV (aOR=0.5, CI 0.3-0.9,  $p < 0.05$ ) (Table 4). This effect estimate was consistent across the models. Women who engaged in seasonal labor, compared to year-round employment, and women whose partner's drank alcohol were significantly more likely to experience IPV.

### Discussion

In Kenya, a woman living in a district with the highest levels of conflict was more than twice as likely to experience IPV compared to a woman living in a low-conflict district, after

controlling for relevant individual characteristics. In Uganda, these results were reversed. After controlling for individual level characteristics, a woman living in a Ugandan district with the highest levels of conflict were half as likely to experience IPV compared to a woman living in a low-conflict district.

While both Uganda and Kenya models showed a significant effect of conflict on IPV, the models had effects in opposite directions. The very different character of each conflict might account for this result. While Uganda has experienced decades-long instability in the north due to predation from one active rebel group, Kenya experienced three months of acute election-related violence.

Women living in Kenyan districts in the highest tertile of conflict-fatalities were more than twice as likely to experience IPV compared to women living in districts with the lowest level of conflict. In contrast, women living in Ugandan districts with the highest level of conflict were 50% less likely to experience IPV compared to women in “peaceful” districts.

It is possible that long-term interventions from non-governmental organizations in Uganda could have an effect on women’s experience of IPV in conflict-affected areas. It is also possible that communities with very high levels of violence from external sources may be less violence in the home because of a sense of exhaustion with aggression, or a need to develop greater cohesion within the home to survive external threats.

Understanding “hidden” and long-term impact of conflict will help service providers and practitioners better anticipate and address these issues. Understanding the extent to which IPV may be affected during and post conflict can help local health systems, religious organizations, civil society and non-governmental organizations anticipate this problem. It is possible that higher rates of post-conflict violence are an unrecognized problem that impedes recovery. By acknowledging and addressing these problems, communities can more effectively rebuild.



Figure 1. Kenya Proportion of IPV in each District by Conflict Tertile

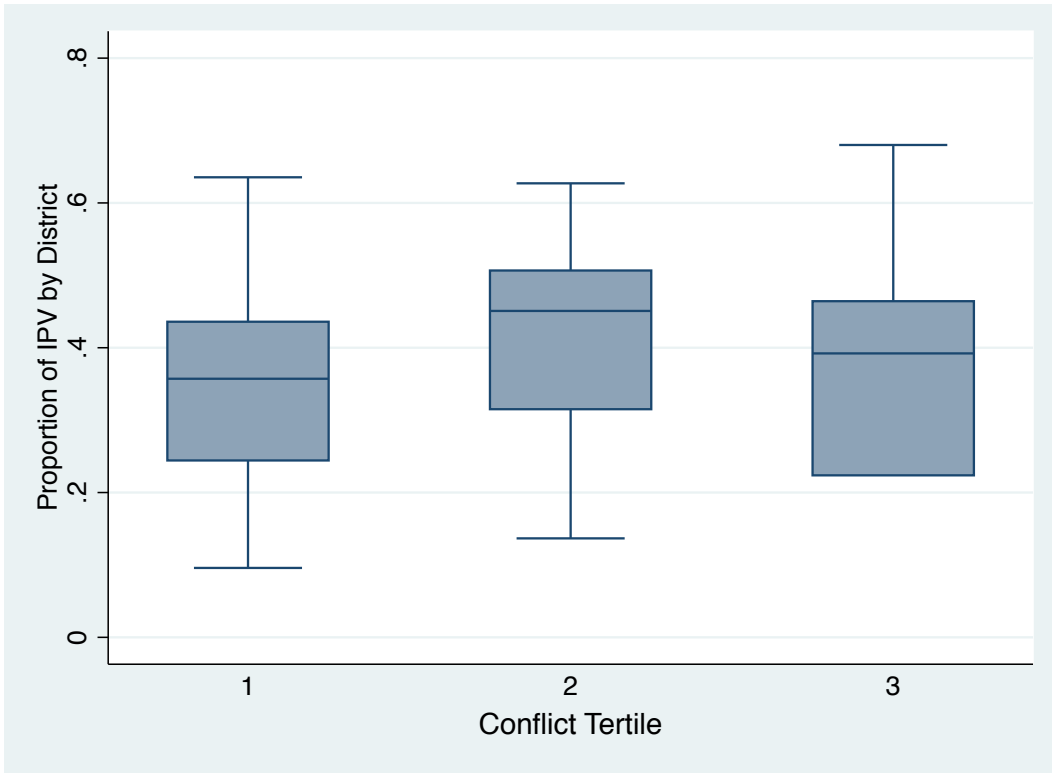


Figure 2. Uganda Proportion of IPV in each District by Conflict Tertile

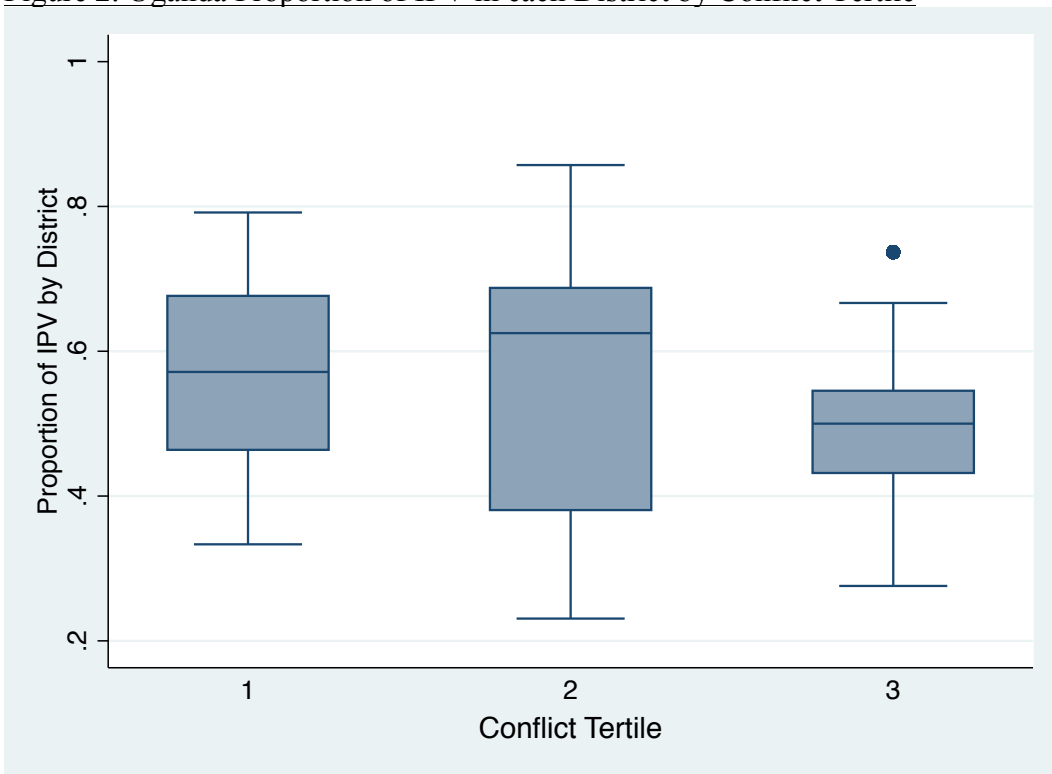


Table 3.1 Kenya models adjusted for individual level characteristics			
	Model 1 Demographic variables, marriage characteristics, and partner characteristics	Model 2 Demographic variables, marriage characteristics, partner characteristics, and childhood experiences with violence	Model 3 Demographic variables, marriage characteristics, partner characteristics, childhood experiences with violence, attitudes towards wife beating and partner alcohol abuse
	Adjusted odds Ratio (CI)	Adjusted odds Ratio (CI)	Adjusted odds Ratio (CI)
<b>Conflict category</b>			
Low conflict (ref)	--	--	--
Mid-level conflict	1.5 (1.0 - 2.4)	1.5 (1.0 - 2.4)	1.5 (0.8 - 2.8)
High conflict	1.8* (1.1 - 2.9)	1.8* (1.1 - 2.9)	2.2* (1.2 - 4.2)
<b>Age</b>			
	1.0 (1.0 - 1.1)	1.0 (1.0 - 1.1)	1.0 (1.0 - 1.1)
<b>Number of living children under 5</b>			
	1.2** (1.1 - 1.3)	1.2** (1.1 - 1.3)	1.2* (1.0 - 1.3)
<b>Religion</b>			
Catholic (ref)	--	--	--
Protestant	0.8 (0.7 - 1.0)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.0)	1.1 (0.8 - 1.4)
Muslim	0.5** (0.4 - 0.8)	0.5** (0.4 - 0.8)	0.8 (0.4 - 1.3)
No religion	0.9 (0.5 - 1.6)	0.9 (0.5 - 1.6)	1.1 (0.6 - 2.1)
Other	0.6 (0.1 - 2.4)	0.6 (0.1 - 2.6)	2.5 (0.3 - 19.6)
<b>Education level</b>			
No education (ref)	--	--	--
Primary	0.9 (0.6 - 1.3)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.3)	1.0 (0.7 - 1.5)
Secondary	0.6* (0.4 - 0.9)	0.6* (0.4 - 0.9)	0.8 (0.4 - 1.3)
Higher	0.5* (0.3 - 0.8)	0.5* (0.3 - 0.9)	0.4* (0.1 - 0.9)
<b>Partner's Education level</b>			
No education (ref)	--	--	--
Primary	1.5* (1.1 - 2.2)	1.5* (1.1 - 2.1)	1.8** (1.2 - 2.9)
Secondary	1.3 (0.9 - 1.8)	1.3 (0.9 - 1.8)	1.6 (1.0 - 2.6)
Higher	1.0 (0.6 - 1.5)	1.0 (0.6 - 1.5)	1.1 (0.5 - 2.1)
Don't know	6.2 (0.5 - 83.9)	6.9 (0.5 - 95.6)	
<b>Wealth Index</b>			

Poorest (ref)	--	--	--
Poorer	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.6 - 1.3)
Middle	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	1.1 (0.7 - 1.6)
Richer	0.9 (0.7 - 1.3)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	1.0 (0.7 - 1.6)
Richest	0.8 (0.6 - 1.2)	0.8 (0.6 - 1.1)	0.8 (0.5 - 1.4)
<b>Labor market participation</b>			
All year (ref)	--	--	--
Seasonal	1.0 (0.8 - 1.2)	1.0 (0.8 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)
Occasional	0.9 (0.6 - 1.4)	0.9 (0.6 - 1.3)	0.9 (0.5 - 1.6)
Other	0.3 (0.0 - 3.2)	0.3 (0.0 - 3.3)	0.2 (0.0 - 3.0)
<b>Civil Status</b>			
Married (ref)	--	--	--
Living together	0.7* (0.5 - 1.0)	0.7* (0.5 - 1.0)	0.5* (0.3 - 0.9)
Widowed	0.9 (0.6 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.6 - 1.2)	0.8 (0.5 - 1.2)
Divorced	4.5*** (2.5 - 8.0)	4.4*** (2.5 - 7.9)	3.7** (1.4 - 9.7)
Not living together	4.0*** (2.9 - 5.5)	4.0*** (2.9 - 5.6)	3.1*** (1.8 - 5.2)
<b>Age at marriage/cohabitation</b>	0.9** (0.9 - 1.0)	0.9** (0.9 - 1.0)	0.9 (0.9 - 1.0)
<b>Years of marriage/cohabitation</b>	0.9 (0.7 - 1.1)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.1)	0.8 (0.6 - 1.2)
<b>Battered by father</b>		1.0 (0.6 - 1.4)	1.1 (0.6 - 1.9)
<b>Father battered mother</b>		1.1*** (1.0 - 1.1)	1.1* (1.0 - 1.1)
<b>Partner alcohol use</b>			2.5*** (2.0 - 3.2)
<b>Respondent's attitudes towards beating (never versus ever justified)</b>			0.8 (0.6 - 1.1)

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

Table 4. Uganda models adjusted for individual level characteristics			
	Model 1 Demographic variables, marriage characteristics, and partner characteristics	Model 2 Demographic variables, marriage characteristics, partner characteristics, and childhood experiences with violence	Model 3 Demographic variables, marriage characteristics, partner characteristics, childhood experiences with violence, attitudes towards wife beating and partner alcohol abuse
	Adjusted odds Ratio (CI)	Adjusted odds Ratio (CI)	Adjusted odds Ratio (CI)
<b>Conflict category</b>			
Low conflict (ref)	--	--	--
Mid-level conflict	1.1 (0.8 - 1.6)	1.1 (0.8 - 1.6)	0.9 (0.6 - 1.4)
High conflict	0.6** (0.4 - 0.8)	0.6** (0.4 - 0.8)	0.5* (0.3 - 0.9)
<b>Age</b>	1.0 (0.9 - 1.1)	1.0 (0.9 - 1.1)	1.0 (0.9 - 1.1)
<b>Number of living children under 5</b>	1.1 (1.0 - 1.3)	1.1 (1.0 - 1.3)	1.1 (0.9 - 1.2)
<b>Religion</b>			
Catholic (ref)			
Protestant	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.2)	0.9 (0.7 - 1.3)
Muslim	0.6** (0.4 - 0.8)	0.6** (0.4 - 0.8)	0.6 (0.4 - 1.1)
Pentecostal	0.9 (0.6 - 1.4)	0.9 (0.6 - 1.4)	1.0 (0.6 - 1.8)
Sda	0.5 (0.2 - 1.1)	0.5 (0.2 - 1.1)	0.8 (0.3 - 2.2)
Other	0.6 (0.3 - 1.3)	0.6 (0.3 - 1.3)	1.0 (0.4 - 2.4)
<b>Education level</b>			
No education (ref)			
Primary	1.1 (0.9 - 1.5)	1.1 (0.9 - 1.5)	1.4 (1.0 - 1.9)
Secondary	1.1 (0.7 - 1.9)	1.1 (0.7 - 1.9)	1.1 (0.6 - 2.0)
Higher	1.4 (0.6 - 3.5)	1.4 (0.6 - 3.5)	1.9 (0.5 - 7.7)
<b>Partner's Education level</b>			
No education (ref)			
Primary	0.9 (0.6 - 1.3)	0.9 (0.6 - 1.3)	0.9 (0.5 - 1.4)
Secondary	0.8 (0.5 - 1.3)	0.8 (0.5 - 1.3)	0.8 (0.4 - 1.3)
Higher	0.5* (0.2 - 0.9)	0.5* (0.2 - 0.9)	0.5 (0.2 - 1.1)
Don't know	0.4*	0.4*	0.5



	(0.2 - 0.9)	(0.2 - 0.9)	(0.2 - 1.3)
Missing	0.5	0.5	0.2
	(0.1 - 3.8)	(0.1 - 3.8)	(0.0 - 2.6)
<b>Wealth Index</b>			
Poorest (ref)			
Poorer	1.0	1.0	1.0
	(0.7 - 1.4)	(0.7 - 1.4)	(0.6 - 1.5)
Middle	1.0	1.0	1.0
	(0.7 - 1.4)	(0.7 - 1.4)	(0.6 - 1.6)
Richer	1.2	1.2	1.2
	(0.8 - 1.8)	(0.8 - 1.8)	(0.7 - 2.0)
Richest	0.8	0.8	0.7
	(0.5 - 1.2)	(0.5 - 1.2)	(0.4 - 1.3)
<b>Labor market participation</b>			
All year (ref)			
Seasonal	1.6***	1.6***	1.6**
	(1.2 - 2.0)	(1.2 - 2.0)	(1.1 - 2.2)
Occasional	1.0	1.0	0.9
	(0.6 - 1.7)	(0.6 - 1.7)	(0.5 - 1.7)
Other	4.9	4.9	4.2
	(0.5 - 53.5)	(0.5 - 53.4)	(0.4 - 48.9)
<b>Civil Status</b>			
Married (ref)			
Living together	1.2	1.2	1.2
	(0.9 - 1.6)	(0.9 - 1.6)	(0.8 - 1.8)
Widowed	0.8	0.8	0.6
	(0.5 - 1.4)	(0.5 - 1.4)	(0.3 - 1.2)
Divorced	2.0	2.0	3.1
	(0.7 - 5.1)	(0.7 - 5.1)	(0.8 - 12.1)
Not living together	1.9**	1.9**	1.6
	(1.3 - 2.9)	(1.3 - 2.9)	(1.0 - 2.6)
<b>Age at marriage/cohabitation</b>	1.0	1.0	1.0
	(0.9 - 1.1)	(0.9 - 1.1)	(0.9 - 1.1)
<b>Years of marriage/cohabitation</b>	1.2	1.2	1.1
	(0.8 - 1.7)	(0.8 - 1.7)	(0.7 - 1.7)
<b>Battered by father</b>		1.0	0.8
		(0.7 - 1.3)	(0.5 - 1.2)
<b>Father battered mother</b>		1.0	1.0
		(1.0 - 1.1)	(1.0 - 1.1)
<b>Partner alcohol use</b>			1.8***
			(1.4 - 2.4)
<b>Respondent's attitudes towards beating (never versus ever justified)</b>			1.2
			(0.8 - 1.7)
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05			

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