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WOMEN'S AND MEN'S EXPERIENCE OF SPOUSAL VIOLENCE IN TWO AFRICAN COUNTRIES: DOES GENDER MATTER?

DHS ANALYTICAL STUDIES 27



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The main objectives of the MEASURE DHS project are:

- to provide decision makers in survey countries with information useful for informed policy choices;
- to expand the international population and health database;
- to advance survey methodology; and
- to develop in participating countries the skills and resources necessary to conduct high-quality demographic and health surveys.

DHS Analytical Studies No. 27

**Women's and Men's Experience of
Spousal Violence in Two African Countries:
Does Gender Matter?**

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Preface

One of the most significant contributions of the MEASURE DHS program is the creation of an internationally comparable body of data on the demographic and health characteristics of populations in developing countries.

The *DHS Comparative Reports* series examines these data across countries in a comparative framework. The *DHS Analytical Studies* series focuses on analysis of specific topics. The principal objectives of both series are to provide information for policy formulation at the international level and to examine individual country results in an international context.

While *Comparative Reports* are primarily descriptive, *Analytical Studies* comprise in-depth, focused studies on a variety of substantive topics. The studies are based on a variable number of data sets, depending on the topic being examined. A range of methodologies is used in these studies, including multivariate statistical techniques.

The topics covered in *Analytical Studies* are selected by MEASURE DHS staff in conjunction with the U.S. Agency for International Development.

It is anticipated that the *DHS Analytical Studies* will enhance the understanding of analysts and policymakers regarding significant issues in the fields of international population and health.

Ann Way
Project Director

Executive Summary

A large body of global research documents the high prevalence of intimate partner violence (IPV) against women across the world and the resulting socioeconomic costs and reproductive and other health consequences for societies, women, and their children (United Nations 2006; Watts and Zimmerman 2002; Campbell 2002). In this literature, IPV is accepted as gender-based, directed disproportionately at women because of their gender. A contrary body of predominantly US-based research argues that IPV is not necessarily gender-based, and that women are as aggressive as men, or even more aggressive, in committing violence against their partners (Archer 2000, 2002; Straus 1990, 1993; Gelles and Straus 1988; White et al. 2000). The debate about gender symmetry challenges us to document the prevalence of IPV experienced by men in developing country settings and to examine how men's experience of IPV compares and contrasts with IPV experienced by women in its extent, severity, frequency, and health consequences.

To better understand the role of gender in IPV outside the developed world, this report compares the experiences of married men and married women with spousal violence, the most common form of IPV, using data from two sub-Saharan African countries, Ghana and Uganda. In these two countries, the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) asked nationally representative samples of women and men about their experience and perpetration of spousal violence using similar questions. Specifically, this paper addresses the following questions:

1. Are the extent, patterns, and severity of the experience of spousal violence similar between men and women?
2. Does the relationship between the experience of and the perpetration of spousal violence differ between men and women? Are women and men equally likely to be victims as well as aggressors of violence?
3. Do the correlates of the experience and perpetration of violence differ between men and women? When these identified correlates are held constant, is gender still a significant predictor of experience and/or perpetration of violence?
4. Is the association between experience and/or perpetration of spousal violence and selected health outcomes similar for men and women?

The analysis finds that spousal violence is relatively common among both women and men in the two countries studied, but finds no evidence of gender symmetry: In Uganda, almost half of married women have experienced spousal physical violence compared with almost one-fifth of married men; and in Ghana, 19 percent of married women have experienced such violence compared with 10 percent of married men. Although women are clearly not the only victims of spousal violence, they are consistently and significantly more likely than men to experience all forms—physical, sexual, and emotional—of such violence. Further, the violence that women experience at the hands of their husbands is more common, more severe, and more likely to result in injuries than the violence that men experience from their wives. Men are significantly more likely than women to report that they have perpetrated violence against their spouse. Few women in both countries report perpetrating violence (6 to 7 percent), and well-over half of these women who report perpetrating spousal violence also report experiencing it, suggesting that they are in mutually violent marriages. For men, the pattern is much different: More than 40 percent of men in Uganda and 16 percent in Ghana report perpetrating violence against their wives, and among these men who perpetrate violence about one-third in both countries also report experiencing spousal violence. These results demonstrate that, in these two countries, men are significantly more likely to be the

aggressors, and women the victims, of spousal physical violence, and that the spousal violence experienced by women is much more syndromic in nature than the violence experienced by men.

The study finds that the most consistent correlates of experience and perpetration of spousal violence were whether the respondent's father beat his/her mother and whether the respondent's spouse drinks alcohol and gets drunk. After controlling for other characteristics, both parental IPV and spousal alcohol use were associated with increased odds of perpetrating violence for both sexes and in both countries. These same factors were also associated with higher odds of experiencing spousal violence for both women and men in Uganda and for women in Ghana. Due to sample-size constraints, results were not statistically significant for men in Ghana. In a model pooling data for women and men, controlling for all other factors including parental IPV and partner alcohol consumption, women still had significantly higher odds of experiencing violence and lower odds of perpetrating violence compared with men.

In examining associations between spousal physical violence and poor health and behavioral outcomes, controlling for background characteristics and associated factors, the report finds that in both countries, women who experienced spousal violence had significantly higher odds of having a self-reported sexually transmitted infection (STI) or STI symptom and of having experienced pregnancy loss (miscarriage or abortion) compared with women who did not experience spousal violence. In Ghana, experience of violence was also associated with higher odds of having a child who died and having a child who is stunted. Ugandan women who perpetrated violence had higher odds of self-reported STIs and Ghanaian women who perpetrated violence had higher odds of pregnancy loss; finally, women in Ghana had a higher number of children ever born and a higher lifetime number of sexual partners, on average, if they had both experienced and perpetrated violence compared with women who had done neither.

Men in both countries who had both perpetrated and experienced spousal violence had higher odds of reporting STIs or STI symptoms; additionally, Ugandan men who perpetrated spousal violence, whether or not they had also experienced spousal violence, had higher odds of having had a non-spousal partner in the past 12 months and having paid for sex, and a higher number of children ever born. Ugandan men who only perpetrated spousal violence had a higher lifetime number of sexual partners, as well as higher odds of having had a child who had died, than men who had not perpetrated violence. Ghanaian men who perpetrated violence had higher odds of having had a child who is stunted and lower odds of having used a condom at last sexual intercourse with their most recent sexual partner. (Note: For men information related to children is based on their wives' reports).

In sum, experiencing violence for women is associated with several poor health outcomes for themselves and their children; whereas for men, perpetrating spousal violence is particularly associated with higher-risk sexual behaviors and some poor health outcomes for their children.

The findings of this report are unambiguous in demonstrating that the level, intensity, and severity of spousal violence against women are much greater than they are against men; that women are much more likely to be the victims and men the aggressors, even after controlling for other relevant factors; that when men do experience violence it is much more likely to be in a mutually violent relationship, while women are much more likely to be only the victims of violence; and that women and the children of women who experience violence are more likely to experience poor health outcomes than men or the children of men who experience violence. Nonetheless, it is important to note that when women are perpetrators of violence, their male partners do suffer at least some of the same health consequences as suffered by women victims.

Based on the findings of this report, it is recommended that elimination of violence against women should remain the highest priority. Nonetheless, programs that are working to reduce violence and its negative health consequences should also take into consideration the fact that not all men are only perpetrators of spousal violence; some are also victims.

1 Introduction

A large body of research, developed mainly over the last few decades, documents the high prevalence of intimate partner violence (IPV) against women across the world and the resulting socioeconomic costs and reproductive and other health consequences for societies, women, and their children (United Nations 2006; Watts and Zimmerman 2002; Campbell 2002). In this literature, IPV against women is accepted as a form of gender-based violence, i.e., “(violence) which is derived from unequal power relationships between men and women. Violence is directed specifically against a woman because she is a woman, or affects women disproportionately” (UNFPA 1998). An understanding of IPV against women as a gendered phenomenon, with its roots largely in the patriarchal control of women by men and the associated lower status of women absolutely and relative to men, has direct implications for programs and policies designed to eradicate it. To be successful, IPV eradication programs must be designed to empower women, work with men to change understandings of masculinity to include gender egalitarian behaviors and beliefs, and work to modify gendered institutions, policies, and laws towards greater equality.

Running in parallel to the widespread international acceptance of the gender-based explanation of IPV against women, is an ongoing debate among developed-country researchers on whether IPV is indeed a gendered phenomenon (Steinmetz 1977-78, 1980; Kurz 1989; Gilfus et al. 2010). This debate, which has gone largely unnoticed by researchers focused on the nexus of IPV and health in developing countries, is between feminist researchers who claim that women are the main victims of IPV and family violence researchers who argue that women are likely to be as violent as men in intimate relationships. Evidence for the latter argument comes from some empirical and meta-analytical studies that suggest that women are as aggressive as men, or more aggressive, in committing violence against their partners (Archer 2000, 2002; Straus 1990, 1993; Gelles and Straus 1988; White et al. 2000). These studies are almost exclusively based on data from the developed world. In addition, they often include dating and/or cohabiting youth populations, which are rarely the focus of study in the developing world.

On the other side of the debate, feminist researchers and others challenge these findings on several grounds. For example, Dobash et al. (1992) argue that the findings of gender symmetry in violent behavior are an artifact of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), which is used to measure violence in most research on IPV. Developed by Straus (1990), the full CTS asks about a range of specific acts perpetrated by the respondent against his/her partner that can be construed as acts of aggression (e.g., slapped my partner; pushed or shoved my partner). According to CTS critics (Dobash et al. 1992; DeKeserdy and Schwartz 1998), the true aggressive nature of acts in the CTS cannot be assumed without having information on the motivation for the act, including but not limited to whether the violence was in self-defense, the circumstances in which the act was perpetrated, the severity or force of the act, whether it resulted in injury and who was injured, and the number of times during a given episode that the act was perpetrated—information not provided by the CTS.

Other CTS critics argue that IPV is not an undifferentiated set of behaviors but constitutes several different types of IPV, each with important differences in the initiation, severity and consequences of the violence (Johnson 1995). Not distinguishing among the different types of IPV is not only grossly misleading from a theoretical point of view but also has important consequences for targeting services, designing interventions, and focusing resources on the real victims and the real problem. Johnson and Ferraro (2000) identify three major patterns of IPV¹, not all of which are gendered:

¹ A fourth type of violence discussed is called *mutual violent control* (Johnson 2000) where control and violence are exercised by both partners. Less is known about this form of violence in part because it is believed to be rare.

- *common couple violence* is violence that occurs when one or both members of the couple use violence as part of an argument. Such violence is often mutual, tends to be less severe, and is less likely to cause serious injury. Such violence is not associated with an intent to control and terrorize the partner.
- *intimate terrorism* is violence that is part of a general pattern of behavior aimed at controlling the partner. Although such violence can often escalate, it is not necessarily identified by its severity or frequency but by the fact that it is a part of a syndrome of behavior that creates an atmosphere of fear. Other elements of the syndrome include emotional abuse (Follingstad et al. 1990).
- *violent resistance* is violence perpetrated in self defense.

According to Johnson and Ferraro (2000), IPV in the form of *intimate terrorism* is consistently gendered with the female partner being the most common target. Similarly, violence against the partner in self defense is also mostly associated with women. They further suggest that of these three types of IPV, common couple violence is the most common in population-based samples, leading to the conclusion of apparent gender symmetry in IPV—a conclusion that is misleading since it is based on the dominant form of IPV and masks the forms of IPV that are, in fact, gendered and in which women are the targets. More recent work that has correctly operationalized and distinguished between the different forms of IPV supports these findings (Johnson 2001; Graham-Kevan and Archer 2003). For example, Graham-Kevan and Archer (2003), using British data, find that 87 percent of intimate terrorism IPV is perpetrated by men compared with 45 percent of common couple violence. Further they also find that 33 percent of IPV in a population-based sample is intimate terrorism compared with 88 percent in a shelter sample.

This debate has had little relevance for the developing country context where the very high levels of IPV, particularly in the form of spousal physical or sexual violence by husbands against their wives, are of immediate concern (Kishor and Johnson 2004; Garcia Moreno et al. 2006), and where health research clearly and consistently shows that such IPV against women is strongly associated with women's increased risk of having HIV (Maman et al. 2000; Maman et al. 2002), STIs (Kishor and Johnson 2006; Kishor *forthcoming*), unintended pregnancies, and non-live births (Kishor and Johnson 2006; Hindin, Kishor, and Ansara 2008), among many other adverse health outcomes (Campbell 2002; Garcia Moreno et al. 2006). Further, the western context of more egalitarian gender roles within which this debate was initiated and has largely been playing out may not have much relevance to the more entrenched patriarchal settings of a large part of the developing world.

In many developing countries, commonly held norms about gender roles, including widespread acceptance among women and men of wife beating as justified, are consistent with a high prevalence of wife beating and the social and economic subordination of women (Hindin 2003; Kishor and Subaiya 2008). An important, if rare, study of men's attitudes and practices including gender roles and violent behaviors based on data collected using the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in six countries across the world finds that rigid gender attitudes are highly correlated with men's perpetration of IPV (Barker, Contreras, et al. 2011).

The debate about gender symmetry challenges us to document the prevalence of IPV experienced by men in developing country settings and to examine how men's experience of IPV compares and contrasts with IPV experienced by women in terms of extent, severity, frequency, and health consequences. The conclusion of such a review could have important implications for the way data on IPV are collected and interpreted, how the costs and health consequences of such violence should be measured and accounted for equitably, and how scarce resources should be allocated to improve the health and welfare of women, men, and families.

Thus this report documents and compares the experience of spousal violence, the most common form of IPV, by currently married women and men. The study examines Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data for two sub-Saharan African countries, Ghana and Uganda, where almost identical survey questions asked women and men to report their experience and perpetration of spousal violence. Specifically, we aim to answer the following questions:

1. Are the extent, pattern, and severity of the experience of spousal violence similar between men and women?
2. Does the relationship between the experience of and the perpetration of spousal violence differ between men and women? Are women and men equally likely to be victims as well as aggressors of spousal violence?
3. Do the correlates of the experience and perpetration of spousal violence differ between men and women? When these identified correlates are held constant, is gender still a significant predictor of experience and/or perpetration of spousal violence?
4. Is the association between experience and/or perpetration of spousal violence and selected health outcomes similar for men and women?

While debate continues regarding the answers to these questions in the developed world, the questions have not even been asked for populations in the developing world. This report aims to fill that gap using nationally representative comparable data from the Ghana 2008 and Uganda 2006 DHS surveys. Chapter 2 of this report addresses the questions in items 1 and 2, above; Chapter 3 addresses questions in item 3; and Chapter 4 addresses the question in item 4. Chapter 5 provides conclusions of the study.

1.1 Measurement of Spousal Violence in the DHS

In the DHS, questions on spousal violence are found in the domestic violence module. This module was designed to be administered to women. The questions included in the module are based on a gendered understanding of IPV, which recognizes women as the most common victims of IPV and men as the most common perpetrators. Consequently, more emphasis is placed on the measurement of the prevalence of spousal violence than on its perpetration by women. Accordingly, to collect information on the experience of violence perpetrated by the current/most recent spouse/partner, DHS uses a set of questions loosely modeled after the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) developed by sociologist Murray Straus in the 1970s.² This modified CTS approach used by the DHS to document experience of spousal violence not only asks several questions about different easily understood acts of violence but also affords multiple opportunities to disclose violence. By contrast, to measure the perpetration of violence, the DHS asks only one question.

The key advantage in comparative research of the CTS approach to measuring violence is that, being based on specific acts, it is not affected by different understandings of what is or is not understood as violence. In the CTS, the respondent has to say only whether she/he has experienced the act, not whether or not it constitutes violence since understandings of what constitutes violence could vary across women/men, as also across cultures. However, this advantage of the CTS is also a key disadvantage of the approach. As mentioned above, not everyone agrees that measuring violence through discrete acts is the most meaningful approach to measurement. This approach does not distinguish between different motivations for the violence (Johnson and Ferraro 2000), and measures based on discrete violent

² The DHS questions measuring experience of spousal violence are similar in content and approach to those used by the World Health Organization in its influential multi-country study of violence against women (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, et al. 2005).

behaviors do not capture the “chronic vulnerability and gendered nature of battered women’s experiences” (Smith, Tessaro, and Earp 1995).

Nonetheless, for cross-cultural research focused on monitoring the prevalence of violence, as is the case of the DHS, the advantages of a CTS-type approach appear to outweigh the disadvantages. In order to make valid cross-national comparisons, it is important that the questions mean the same thing in all cultural contexts. In this regard, questions about discrete behaviors travel most easily across cultural and linguistic borders. Further, the DHS domestic violence module contains additional questions that can be used to counter some of the criticisms of the CTS approach. For example, the module collects information on marital control exercised by the respondent’s spouse that can shed light on the context of the violence experienced and/or perpetrated. Further questions on injuries resulting from the violence provide additional information on the severity of the violence and its immediate consequences.

Although the DHS domestic violence module was designed only for women, in the Ghana 2008 and the Uganda 2006 surveys, it was administered to both women and men. The version administered in these countries asked each married woman if her husband/partner, and asked each married man if his wife/partner, ever did any of the following to her/him:³

- a) *Say or do something to humiliate you in front of others?*
- b) *Threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you?*
- c) *Insult you or make you feel bad about yourself?*
- d) *Push you, shake you, or throw something at you?*
- e) *Slap you?*
- f) *Twist your arm or pull your hair? (Note: Men in Ghana were not asked about hair pulling)*
- g) *Punch you with his/her fist or with something that could hurt you?*
- h) *Kick you or drag you or beat you up?*
- i) *Try to choke you or burn you on purpose?*
- j) *Threaten or attack you with a knife, gun, or other weapon?*

Further, women in both Uganda and Ghana were asked if their husband/partner, and in Uganda only men were asked if the wife/partner, ever did the following:

- k) *Physically force you to have sexual intercourse even when you did not want to?*
- l) *Force you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to?*

Respondents who said ‘yes’ to any item, were asked how often this happened in the last 12 months. Respondents who report experiencing one or more of items (a)-(c) have ever experienced emotional spousal violence, those who say ‘yes’ to any item (d)-(j) have ever experienced physical spousal violence, and those who say ‘yes’ to either or both of (k) and (l) have ever experienced sexual spousal violence.

In contrast to the modified CTS approach used to measure prevalence of spousal violence, information on perpetration of violence is obtained in the DHS with only one question. Married women are asked:

Have you ever hit, slapped, kicked or done anything else to physically hurt your (last) husband/partner at times when he was not already beating or physically hurting you?

³ Note that in the DHS, the term ‘husband’ for women includes the partners of women who self-define as married or as cohabiting with a man as if married; and the term ‘wife’ for men includes partners of men who similarly self-define as married or cohabiting with a woman as if married.

The same question is asked of married men with reference to their wife/partner.

The question on perpetration is asked of all respondents irrespective of whether or not they themselves have experienced any spousal violence. In designing the question, the wording was carefully chosen so that spousal violence perpetrated in self-defense is specifically excluded. The wording of this question is clearly a limitation when trying to assess the extent to which spousal violence can be partitioned into the different types of violence identified by Johnson and Ferraro (2000). For one, it is a single question and women/men may not immediately be willing to disclose perpetrating violence. Thus the question may underestimate violence perpetrated by the respondent. Other limitations are that it asks only about physical violence and that it precludes the possibility of measuring violence perpetrated in self defense, or what Johnson and Ferraro (2000) term ‘violent resistance’. Nevertheless this question, in combination with information on the experience of violence, can shed light on the two remaining categories of ‘common couple violence’ and ‘intimate terrorism’. Men and women who have both perpetrated violence and experienced violence are likely to belong to the first group, and those who have not perpetrated but have experienced violence are likely to belong to the second group.

1.2 Data

We use nationally representative population-based survey data from the only two DHS surveys that, as of 2011, have collected data on the experience and perpetration of spousal violence from both men and women, using almost identical questions: Ghana 2008 and Uganda 2006. DHS surveys use multistage probability sampling techniques to obtain a nationally representative sample of households. In sample households, all women and men who stayed in the household the night before the interview and who meet the survey eligibility criteria are eligible to be interviewed face-to-face. DHS surveys typically use three questionnaires—household, woman’s, and man’s—to collect information on a range of socioeconomic, demographic, and health indicators, including information on fertility, family planning, infant and child mortality, maternal and child health, nutrition of women and children, sexual behavior, and HIV-related risk behaviors. In addition, some countries choose to collect data on women’s experience of violence using the domestic violence module. For respondents who have been married more than once, all of the questions on spousal violence are modified to ask only about interactions with the current spouse. Women are interviewed by women, and men by men.

The eligibility for interview criterion for women in both the Ghana and Uganda DHS surveys was all women age 15-49; the eligibility criterion for men was all men age 15-59 in Ghana and all men age 15-54 in Uganda. However, in this report the sample for analysis is much smaller than the full sample of interviewed women and men. The following factors contribute to restricting the size of the final sample:

- a) Violence questions in both Ghana and Uganda were asked of men and women only in a subsample of households. In Ghana, the violence module was administered to men in only one-third of the sample households and to women in the remaining two-thirds; in Uganda, the violence module was administered to men in the one-third of households selected for the male interview and to women in a different one-third of households. Thus, in neither country is there an overlap between households in which men were asked the violence questions and households in which women were asked the violence questions.
- b) Since the focus of this report is on spousal violence, where the term ‘spouse’ includes cohabiting partner, analysis samples are limited to men and women age 15-49 who were either married or cohabitating (hereafter referred to as married) at the time of interview.
- c) In keeping with the World Health Organization (WHO) ethical guidelines (2001) on the conduct of domestic violence research, only one eligible man/woman per selected household receives the violence questions. This subsampling is done within households in the field, and the Kish grid is

used to ensure that the selection is done randomly (Kish 1949). The purpose of this subsampling within households is to maintain confidentiality and ensure respondents' security.

- d) As an added ethical precaution, the interviewer is required to discontinue the interview if privacy cannot be maintained during the implementation of the violence module.

Special domestic violence weights are used to make the survey data on violence nationally representative and to account for nonresponse.

Table 1.1 shows that in Ghana, of the 4,916 women and 4,050 men age 15-49 who were interviewed, 2,950 women and 1,958 men were currently married; in Uganda, of the 8,531 women interviewed, 5,362 were currently married, and of the 2,386 men interviewed, 1,346 were currently married. The specific spousal violence data-related restrictions further limit the final sample sizes for analysis to 1,600 (1425 weighted) women and 594 (534 weighted) men in Ghana, and 1,482 (1,304 weighted) women and 1,148 (994 weighted) men in Uganda.

Table 1.1 also shows that the proportions of women and men eligible for the violence module who were lost due to non-response to the violence module is less than 1 percent in all samples, and those lost because privacy could not be ensured is about 1 percent for eligible women and men in Uganda, and less than 1 percent in Ghana.

Table 1.1. Survey and sample characteristics

Country/ Dates of fieldwork	Sex	Eligibility criterion for DHS individual interview	Number of persons age 15-49 interviewed (unweighted)	Number of currently married/ cohabiting persons age 15-49 interviewed (unweighted)	Number of currently married/ cohabiting persons age 15-49 interviewed with the domestic violence module		Percentage of currently married/ cohabiting persons age 15-49 eligible for the domestic violence module who could not be administered the module due to privacy concerns (unweighted)	Non response for domestic violence module among currently married/ cohabiting persons age 15-49 (unweighted)	Sample design for DV module
					Unweighted	Weighted			
Ghana September- November 2008	Women	All women age 15-49 in one-half of the households selected for household questionnaire	4,916	2,950	1,600	1,425	0.3	0.5	Only one individual per household was selected for the DV module. In the households selected for individual interviews (50% of households selected for the household questionnaire), the domestic violence module was administered to one randomly selected man age 15-54 in one-third of households. In the other two-thirds of households, the domestic violence module was administered to one randomly selected woman age 15-49.
	Men	All men age 15-59 in one-half of households selected for the household questionnaire	4,050	1,958	594	534	0.1	0.2	
Uganda May-October 2006	Women	All women age 15-49	8,531	5,362	1,482	1,304	0.9	0.2	Only one individual per household was selected for the DV module. In the one- third of households where male interviews were conducted, the domestic violence module was administered to one randomly selected man age 15-54. In a different one-third of households, the domestic violence module was administered to one randomly selected woman age 15-49.
	Men	All men age 15-54 in one-third of sampled households	2,386	1,346	1,148	994	1.3	0.2	

Note: Men age 15-54/59 were interviewed, but all analyses in this report limit both genders to age 15-49.

Table 1.2 compares, on key background characteristics, the full samples of currently married women and men in the Ghana DHS and Uganda DHS with the corresponding subsamples for analysis of currently married women and men who completed the domestic violence module. The comparison shows that the two samples do not differ significantly on any key characteristics. Thus the subsamples being analyzed for women and men in both countries are representative of the corresponding full samples of women and men. Notably, the table also shows that the samples for analysis in the two countries are similar in terms of most characteristics. However, the sample for Ghana is very much more urban than the sample for Uganda, and education levels are higher in Ghana than in Uganda.

Table 1.2. Characteristics of currently married women and currently married men age 15-49 in the DHS and in the domestic violence (DV) subsample, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Currently married women		Currently married men		Currently married women		Currently married men	
	All	* Received the DV module	All	* Received the DV module	All	* Received the DV module	All	* Received the DV module
Age								
Mean age	32.8	32.6	36.1	35.9	30.5	30.7	33.9	33.9
Marital status								
Percent married (rather than only cohabiting)	77.6	78.4	88.4	88.3	77.8	78.0	89.0	89.6
Living children								
Mean number	3.0	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.9	4.0	4.5	4.6
Children who have died								
Mean number	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.0
Education								
Mean number of years of education ¹	5.7	5.7	7.7	7.7	4.3	4.3	6.2	6.2
Wealth quintile								
Mean wealth quintile	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.0
Place of residence								
Percent urban	42.3	41.6	42.7	43.6	13.0	13.0	14.4	13.9
Number (weighted)	2,876	1,425	1,950	534	5,337	1,304	1,343	993

¹ Excludes missing values

* Indicates a statistically significant difference between the full sample and those who received the DV module

Both descriptive and multivariate analytical methods are used throughout this report with appropriate tests of statistical significance. All analyses are weighted using the domestic violence weights and use Stata's svy suite of commands to account for the surveys' multistage clustered sample designs.

2 Experience and Perpetration of Spousal Violence among Men and Women

The objective of this chapter is to examine in depth whether, in Ghana and Uganda, the extent, nature, and circumstances of spousal violence experienced by women and spousal violence experienced by men are similar. In addition, the chapter examines whether men and women are equally likely to be victims and to be perpetrators of spousal violence.

In order to compare and contrast the experience of spousal violence by men and women, a comparison of prevalence estimates is only the beginning. This is in part because the modified CTS (Strauss 1990), which is used to measure prevalence of spousal violence in the DHS, asks only about being subjected to different types of acts of spousal violence. Prevalence is estimated based on the numbers who have experienced one or more of these acts. Whether the violence experienced has the same *implications* and *consequences* for men and women will depend not only on whether the same types of acts were perpetrated against them, but also on a number of important factors (see Figure 2.1): a) the motivation behind the act: whether it was perpetrated, for example, in order to hurt, terrorize, or control the victim, or was done, for example, in play or by accident; b) severity of the act, both in the nature of the act itself (for example being slapped versus being burned), and in whether it resulted in injuries; c) intensity of the violence in terms of the force behind the act as well as the number of repetitions of the act in each episode; d) the pattern of violence in terms of its frequency over time, the number and combinations of acts experienced, and the context within which the act or acts were perpetrated, that is, whether the violent act was in isolation or was accompanied by other behaviors that, together with the violence, would show a pattern of syndromic violence; and e) the mutuality of the violence, that is, whether it is one-sided or whether it is perpetrated and experienced by both spouses.

Figure 2.1. Elements of spousal violence



Although the DHS does not ask about motivation for each act, and does not provide information directly on the intensity of the violence, it does provide different types of information that can, on their own and in combination, shed light on the motivation, severity, intensity, and patterns of the violence. The specific information available for men and women in Ghana and Uganda includes information on:

- The *prevalence* of different types of spousal violence, including emotional, physical, or sexual [except for men in Ghana]) violence;
- The prevalence of specific acts of violence of varying inherent severity, and the extent of different types of injuries resulting from the violence (cuts, bruises or aches; eye injuries, sprains, dislocations or burns; deep wounds, broken bones, broken teeth, or any other serious injuries) that together shed light on the *severity of violence*;
- The frequency of acts of violence in the past 12 months, which is used as a proxy for the *intensity* of the violence;
- The experience of one or more of a set of five controlling behaviors exhibited by the respondent's spouse (is jealous or angry if you talk to other men/women; frequently accuses you of being unfaithful; does not permit you to meet your female/male friends; tries to limit your contact with your family; and insists on knowing where you are at all times), which together with the experience of violence itself can shed light on the context of the violence;
- The mutuality of violence, assessed by combining information from the survey question on perpetration of spousal violence with the information on experience of violence. Evidence of mutuality typically points to what Johnson and Ferraro (2000) call common couple violence, whereas the absence of mutuality and the presence of other elements, including controlling behaviors, suggest what they call intimate terrorism.

The rest of this chapter compares men's and women's experience of violence on the various elements of violence as shown in Figure 2.1. The focus is to compare indicators of prevalence, severity, and patterns of violence committed by and against the current spouse for currently married women and currently married men, and to see if the conclusions from these comparisons are similar for the two countries. Ninety-five percent confidence intervals are estimated for each indicator and compared for men and women for overlap. If the confidence intervals do not overlap, the estimates are considered to be statistically significantly different. It should be noted that this is a conservative method to detect statistically significant differences. In all analyses, the surveys' multistage clustered sample designs are taken into account using Stata's svy suite of commands.

2.1 Prevalence of Different Forms of Violence

Table 2.1 provides information for currently married men and women on their experience of different types and combinations of spousal violence perpetrated by the current spouse, ever and in the past 12 months. The table provides estimates first for any type of violence experienced, then for one or more types of violence experienced, and finally for combinations of violence experienced.

Table 2.1. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 by their experience of different types and combinations of violence perpetrated by the current spouse, ever and in the past 12 months, Ghana and Uganda

Type of spousal violence experienced	Ever experience				Experience in the past 12 months							
	Ghana		Uganda		Ghana		Uganda					
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women				
Experience of any type												
Any physical violence	9.9	*	18.5	19.1	*	47.2	9.1	*	16.8	11.8	*	35.8
Any sexual violence	na		5.6	7.0	*	29.5	na		4.8	5.9	*	25.9
Any emotional violence	18.6	*	31.7	33.5	*	46.8	17.4	*	29.7	24.0	*	40.7
Physical or emotional violence	22.3	*	36.4	39.5	*	61.3	21.0	*	33.6	28.3	*	52.2
Physical or sexual violence	na		20.7	23.9	*	55.6	na		18.7	15.8	*	46.7
Emotional or sexual violence	na		33.1	36.5	*	54.6	na		31.1	26.6	*	49.4
Emotional or physical or sexual violence	na		37.1	42.0	*	65.3	na		34.2	30.3	*	58.1
Experience of more than one type												
Physical and emotional	6.2	*	13.7	13.2	*	32.8	5.5	*	12.9	7.5	*	24.3
Physical and sexual only	na		0.8	0.5	*	3.7	na		0.8	0.6		2.7
Physical and emotional only	na		11.1	11.3		15.3	na		10.8	6.2	*	12.1
Emotional and sexual only	na		1.5	2.2		4.3	na		1.3	1.9	*	5.0
Physical and emotional and sexual	na		2.7	1.8	*	17.4	na		2.1	1.3	*	12.2
Number of respondents	534		1,425	993		1,304	534		1,425	993		1,304

na = Not available

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

The prevalence of any type of violence is much lower in Ghana than in Uganda, for both men and women. Further, irrespective of the type or combination of violence, there is no evidence of gender symmetry in the prevalence of violence: Prevalence of each type of violence is significantly lower among men than among women.

Overall, in Ghana, 22 percent of men compared with 36 percent of women, and in Uganda, 40 percent of men compared with 61 percent of women, have experienced physical or emotional violence in their current marital relationship. Women in Ghana are 1.9 times as likely and in Uganda are 2.5 times as likely as men to have ever experienced any physical violence in their current marital relationship. Women in Ghana are 1.7 times as likely and in Uganda are 1.4 times as likely as men to have experienced emotional violence. Similar statistically significant gender differentials are observed for recent experience (in the past year) of physical violence and emotional violence.

Gender differentials in the experience of sexual violence, or in any violence combinations that include sexual violence, can only be examined for Uganda, since men in Ghana were not asked questions about sexual violence. Nevertheless, it should be noted that almost two of every five women (37 percent) in Ghana have ever experienced physical or sexual or emotional violence in their current relationship, and about one in every three (34 percent) have experienced one or more of these three forms of violence in the past 12 months.

In Uganda, 7 percent of men report having experienced sexual violence compared with 30 percent of women, and 24 percent of men report having experienced physical or sexual violence compared with 56 percent of women. Further, women are 1.6 times as likely as men to have ever experienced any emotional, physical or sexual violence, and almost twice as likely as men to have experienced one or more of these types of violence in the past 12 months.

An important element in comparing the experience of spousal violence by gender is whether men and women are equally likely to experience more than one type of violence from their spouse. The answer to

this question will contribute to understanding the syndromic nature, if any, of the violence experienced by men and women.

As shown by the lower horizontal panel in Table 2.1, women are much more likely than men to experience more than one type of violence ever in their relationship, as well as in the past 12 months. In Ghana, for example, 6 percent of men have ever experienced both physical and emotional violence compared with 14 percent of women, and in Uganda the corresponding proportions are 13 percent for men and 33 percent for women. The differentials by gender in the experience of emotional and physical violence in the past 12 months are similar to those for ever-experience of more than one type of violence. If sexual violence is also taken into consideration, the gender differentials widen further. In Uganda women are about 10 times as likely as men to have experienced all three types of violence—physical, emotional, and sexual—ever or in the past 12 months. Two percent of Ugandan men have experienced all three forms of spousal violence compared with 17 percent of Ugandan women.

Table 2.1 also shows that the majority of both men and women who report ever experiencing any spousal violence also report spousal violence in the past 12 months. For example, in Ghana, more than 9 of every 10 men and women who have ever experienced any spousal physical or emotional violence have also experienced it in the past 12 months. In Uganda the pattern is similar, although the proportions are lower and the gender differential is greater.

2.2 Severity of Violence

Table 2.1 shows clearly not only that women in Ghana and Uganda are much more likely than men to experience spousal violence, but also that women are much more likely than men to suffer more than one kind of violence. However, the table does not address the issue of the severity of the violence experienced. Do men and women experience the same types of violent acts, and experience them with the same levels of severity? Further, as mentioned earlier, respondents are counted as having experienced violence if they say that they have been subjected to even one of the violent acts asked about. Thus, a comparison of prevalence indicators such as ‘experienced physical violence’ or ‘experienced emotional violence’ does not provide information on the number and types of violent acts that men and women experience. Table 2.2 provides information on women’s and men’s experience of one or more of 12 sets of acts of violence, each with a differing level of potential severity, and the total number of these acts ever experienced. The 12 sets encompass physical, sexual, and emotional violence.

As Table 2.2 shows, sets of acts of physical violence include: pushed, shook or threw something at you; slapped you; twisted your arm or pulled your hair⁴; punched you with her/his fist or with something that could hurt you; kicked you, dragged you, or beat you up; tried to choke or burn you on purpose; and threatened or attacked you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon. In both Ghana and Uganda, the physically violent set of acts that men most often report is ‘pushed, shook or threw something at you’; while the act that women most often report is ‘slapped you’, followed by the set ‘pushed, shook or threw something at you’. In both countries women are much more likely than men to experience each of the different acts of physical violence. The gender differentials are statistically significant for almost all physically violent acts in Uganda, but only for some in Ghana, where the prevalence of violence for both men and women is much lower than in Uganda.

⁴ Pulled your hair is not asked of men in Ghana.

Table 2.2. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 by the acts of spousal violence that they have ever experienced, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana			Uganda		
	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women
Experience of physical violence acts						
Pushed, shook, or threw something at you	5.8		8.2	9.9	*	24.0
Slapped you	3.3	*	14.6	7.7	*	38.5
Twisted your arm or pulled your hair ¹	2.0		4.0	3.0	*	13.6
Punched you with the fist or with something that could hurt you	2.4		4.5	7.7	*	19.0
Severe acts						
Kicked you, dragged you, or beat you up	1.1	*	7.5	2.2	*	21.4
Tried to choke or burn you on purpose	1.0		0.9	2.8	*	5.7
Threatened or attacked you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon	0.9		1.3	5.1		6.5
Number of types of physical violence acts experienced						
1	5.7		7.2	9.2	*	14.6
2	2.3	*	5.5	5.1	*	10.0
3	1.3		2.6	2.3	*	8.8
4	0.6		1.6	1.7	*	6.2
5	0.0	*	1.2	0.2	*	4.2
6	0.0	*	0.2	0.3	*	1.9
7	0.0	*	0.2	0.4		1.5
Sexual violence acts						
Physically forced you to have sexual intercourse with her/him even when you did not want to	na		4.6	5.5	*	28.4
Forced you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to	na		2.3	3.1	*	15.4
Number of types of sexual violence acts experienced						
1	na		4.3	5.5	*	15.1
2	na		1.3	1.6	*	14.4
Emotional violence acts						
Say or do something to humiliate you in front of others	12.2		16.2	13.8	*	22.1
Threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you	6.7		8.0	8.5	*	20.0
Insult you or make you feel bad about yourself	12.8	*	26.6	28.7	*	40.4
Number of types of emotional violence acts experienced						
1	9.0	*	17.0	20.5		21.5
2	6.1		10.1	8.6	*	15.1
3	3.5		4.5	4.4	*	10.2
Number of respondents	534		1,425	993		1,304

¹ For men in Ghana item included only arm twisting

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

The set of acts for which the gender differential is greatest is ‘kicked you, dragged you, or beat you up on purpose’. In Ghana women are almost 7 times as likely and in Uganda are almost 10 times as likely as men to experience these acts of violence. The other severe sets of acts of physical violence, namely ‘tried to choke or burn you on purpose’ and acts involving weapon violence, are both relatively rare in Ghana for men and women. In Uganda, there is no significant gender differential in the proportions of men and women who have experienced weapon violence (5 percent of men and 7 percent of women); however, women are twice as likely as men to report ever having been choked or burned on purpose and this differential is statistically significant.

Women are much more likely than men to experience multiple sets of acts of physical violence (Figure 2.2). In Ghana, similar proportions of men and women (6 percent and 7 percent, respectively) have experienced any one set of acts of physical violence; but 4 percent of men and 11 percent of women have experienced at least two sets of acts of violence and 1 percent of men and 3 percent of women have experienced four or more sets of acts of physical violence. In Uganda, the differentials are even greater: women are less than twice as likely as men to have experienced only one set of acts of physical violence (9 percent of men versus 15 percent of women), but they are more than five times as likely as men to have experienced four or more sets of acts of violence (3 percent of men versus 14 percent of women).

Figure 2.2. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 by number of acts of physical violence that they have ever experienced in their current marital relationship

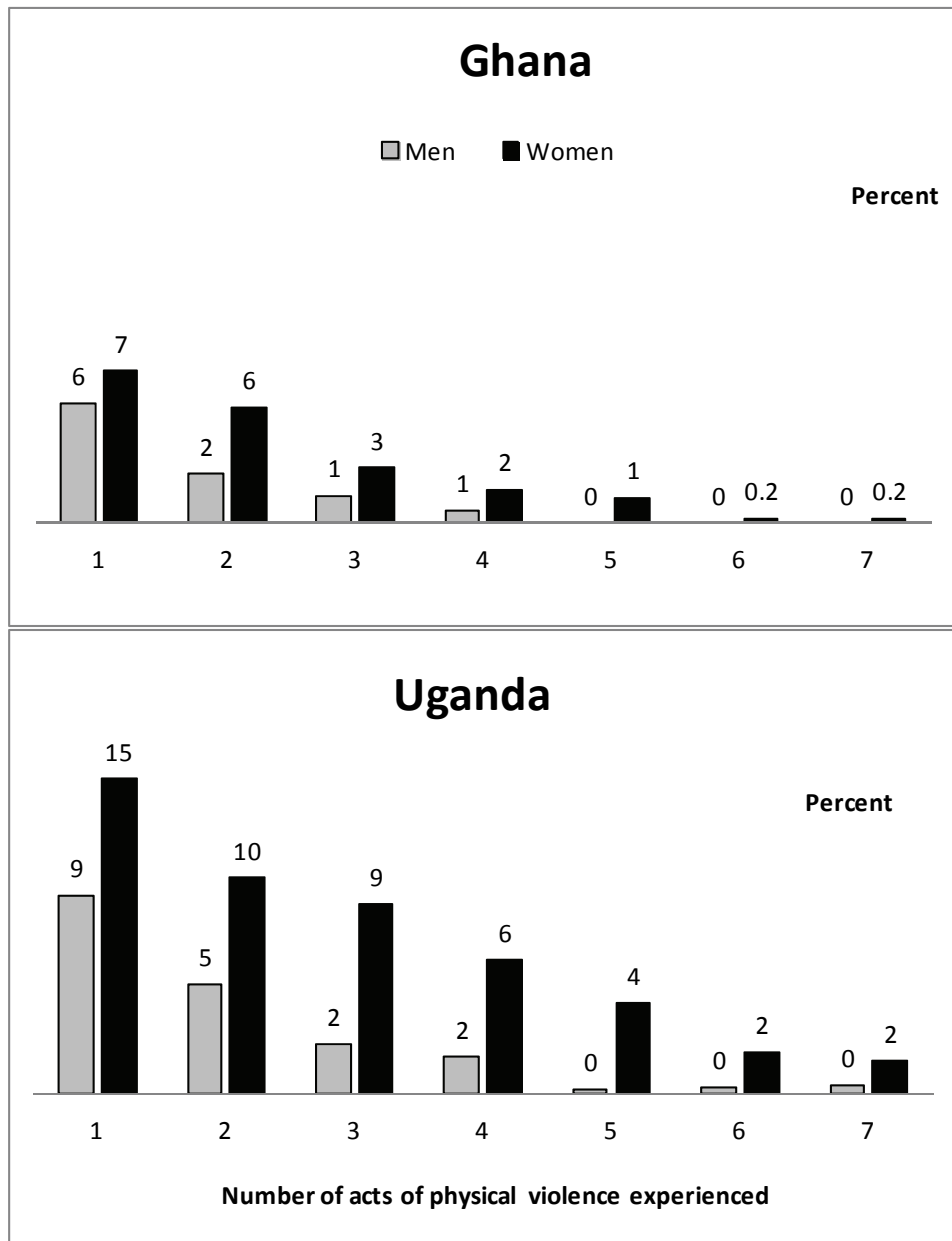


Table 2.2 includes two sets of acts of sexual violence: ‘physically forced you to have sexual intercourse with her/him even when you did not want to’ and ‘forced you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to’. A comparison of the number of acts of sexual violence experienced by men and women can only be done for Uganda, where the gender differentials are significant: about five times as many women as men in Uganda have experienced each of the two acts of sexual violence asked about. Further, 2 percent of men have experienced both acts of sexual violence compared with 14 percent of women.

Table 2.2 also presents three sets of acts of emotional violence: ‘say or do something to humiliate you in front of others; threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you; and insult you or make you feel bad about yourself’. Gender differentials tend to be smallest in the experience of these acts of emotional violence. Nonetheless, women are more likely than men to experience each of the acts of emotional violence, even though several of these differentials are statistically significant only in Uganda. Further, in Ghana, women are 1.3 times as likely as men to have experienced all three types of acts of emotional violence, and in Uganda, women are 2.3 times as likely as men to have experienced all three acts.

These data clearly indicate that not only is the prevalence of different types of violence higher among women than among men, but also that women are far more likely than men to experience multiple violent acts, including those that are severe.

In addition to the nature of the violent act itself, the severity of violence can also be measured by its consequences. The DHS questions provide information on whether men and women have ever had any of three different groups of injuries as a result of the violence: cuts bruises or aches; eye injuries, sprains, dislocations or burns; and deep wounds broken bones, broken teeth or any other serious injury. Table 2.3 shows the percentage who have had different types of injuries among currently married men and currently married women who have experienced any type of spousal physical violence. It is important to note that the denominators for Ghana in this table are quite small, particularly for men, as relatively few men have experienced spousal physical violence. This small sample size limits the ability to correctly detect whether differences are statistically significant.

Table 2.3. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have experienced spousal physical violence ever by the types and number of injuries ever reported, Ghana and Uganda

Type of injury	Among those who have ever experienced physical violence					
	Ghana			Uganda		
	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women
Among those who have experienced any act of physical violence						
Cuts bruises or aches	18.6		34.3	23.5		33.6
Eye injuries, sprains, dislocations or burns	3.2	*	16.7	7.5		15.1
Deep wounds, broken bones, broken teeth, or any other serious injury	2.8		7.0	8.2		10.4
Any injury	20.3		38.1	27.9	*	39.7
Number of types of injuries						
1	17.5		22.7	16.9		25.8
2-3	2.8	*	15.4	11.0		13.8
Number of respondents	53		263	190		616

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

The table shows that violence experienced by women more often results in one or more types of injuries than violence experienced by men. Overall, 38 percent of women in Ghana and 40 percent of women in Uganda have one or more injuries compared with 20 percent of men in Ghana and 28 percent in Uganda. Although, gender differentials in specific types of injuries are generally not statistically significant, their consistency is notable. For example, although relatively high proportions of both men and women report cuts, bruises or aches, in Ghana, women are about twice as likely as men to report these types of injuries, and in Uganda, they are at least 1.3-1.4 times as likely to do so. Similarly, the more serious types of injuries, although less common overall, are also consistently more common among abused women than among abused men.

The lower panel of the table shows the percentage of men and women who have ever experienced spousal physical violence by the total number of types of injuries they have experienced. Among men and women in Ghana who have ever experienced spousal physical violence, 18 percent of men and 23 percent of women report having experienced only one type of injury, while 3 percent of men and 15 percent of women report having experienced two or more types of injuries. In Uganda, 17 percent of men and 26 percent of women report having experienced one type of injury and 11 percent of men and 14 percent of women report having experienced two or more types of injuries.

2.3 Intensity of Violence

The intensity of the violence is another aspect on which men's and women's experience of violence can be compared. A direct measure of intensity of violence would involve details about the strength with which force was exercised or 'quantity' of violence per unit of time, such as the number of blows in one episode, or the number of episodes per unit of specified time. Information on these types of direct measures of intensity is not available in the DHS. Instead, the information available on the frequency ('often', 'sometimes', 'not at all') of each violent act in the past 12 months can be used as a proxy for intensity of violence. Accordingly, Table 2.4 shows the frequency of each type of violence and of each type of violent act in the past 12 months among all currently married men and women.

As discussed earlier regarding prevalence, a much higher proportion of women than men have experienced each of three types of spousal violence (physical, sexual, and emotional). Table 2.4 makes clear that in both countries, much higher proportions of women than of men have experienced each of the 12 sets of acts of violence in the past 12 months. While much smaller proportions of both men and women have experienced each set of acts of violence 'often' in the past 12 months, in every case, a higher proportion of women than men report experiencing violence often. Overall, in the 12 months preceding the survey, women in Ghana are seven times as likely and women in Uganda are four times as likely as men to have experienced physical violence often. Women in Ghana are three times as likely and women in Uganda are twice as likely as men to have experienced emotional violence often. Additionally, in Uganda women are 12 times as likely as men to have experienced sexual violence often in the past 12 months.

Table 2.4. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have experienced different acts of spousal violence in the past 12 months, according to type of act and frequency

Type of violent act		Ghana			Uganda		
		Experienced sometimes or often	Experienced only sometimes	Experienced often	Experienced sometimes or often	Experienced only sometimes	Experienced often
Physical violence	Men	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Women	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pushed, shook, or threw something at you	Men	9.1	8.7	0.4	11.8	9.9	1.9
	Women	16.8	13.9	2.9	35.8	29.1	6.7
Slapped you	Men	5.2	4.8	0.4	6.6	5.9	0.7
	Women	7.6	6.4	1.2	18.6	15.5	3.1
Twisted your arm or pulled your hair ¹	Men	3.3	3.1	0.2	5.7	4.7	1.0
	Women	12.8	10.7	2.0	26.8	22.7	4.1
Punched you with the fist or with something that could hurt you	Men	1.5	1.5	0.0	2.0	1.8	0.1
	Women	3.5	2.9	0.6	9.8	8.3	1.5
Kicked you, dragged you, or beat you up	Men	2.2	2.0	0.2	4.5	4.3	0.2
	Women	4.2	3.2	1.0	13.8	12.0	1.8
Tried to choke or burn you on purpose	Men	1.1	1.1	0.0	1.2	1.1	0.2
	Women	6.3	5.1	1.2	15.6	13.7	1.9
Threatened or attacked you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon	Men	0.6	0.6	0.0	1.4	1.3	0.1
	Women	0.7	0.7	0.0	3.9	3.2	0.7
Sexual violence	Men	0.9	0.9	0.0	3.2	2.7	0.5
	Women	1.1	0.9	0.2	4.5	3.9	0.5
Physically forced you to have sexual intercourse with her/him even when you did not want to	Men	na	Na	na	5.9	5.2	0.7
	Women	4.8	3.7	1.2	25.9	17.6	8.3
Forced you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to	Men	na	Na	na	4.8	4.3	0.6
	Women	2.1	1.7	0.4	13.1	9.1	4.1
Emotional violence	Men	17.4	14.6	2.9	24.0	19.4	4.6
	Women	29.7	21.7	8.1	8.3	30.0	10.7
Said or did something to humiliate you in front of others	Men	11.7	9.8	1.9	8.9	7.7	1.2
	Women	15.2	11.1	4.0	19.4	15.0	4.4
Threatened to hurt or harm you or someone close to you	Men	5.4	5.1	0.4	5.5	4.6	0.9
	Women	7.4	5.0	2.4	15.6	11.5	4.1
Insulted you or made you feel bad about yourself	Men	11.7	10.2	1.5	20.5	16.9	3.7
	Women	25.0	18.2	6.8	34.6	25.8	8.8
Number of respondents	Men	534			993		
	Women	1,425			1,304		

¹ For men in Ghana item included only arm twisting.

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

2.4 Spousal Violence and Other Forms of Marital Control

A defining element of ‘intimate terrorism’ is that, for the perpetrating spouse, “violence is only one tactic in a general pattern of control” (Johnson and Ferraro 2000). Thus, in the case of ‘intimate terrorism’ the violence is unlikely to be an isolated act; instead, it will be accompanied by other tell-tale behaviors aimed at controlling different aspects of the intimate partner’s daily life. To examine the context of the spousal violence experienced by currently married men and women, the next two tables provide information on women’s and men’s experience of specific controlling behaviors, and the extent to which

their experience of spousal violence varies by whether they have also experienced the specified controlling behavior.

Accordingly, first Table 2.5 shows the percentage of currently married men and women who have ever experienced the following five controlling behaviors by their current spouse in their marriage: spouse is jealous or angry if the respondent talks to members of the opposite sex; spouse frequently accuses the respondent of being unfaithful; spouse does not permit the respondent to meet same sex friends; spouse tries to limit the respondent's contact with his/her family; and spouse insists on knowing where the respondent is at all times. The table also shows the percent distribution of currently married men and women by the total number of these behaviors that they have experienced. This discussion is followed by Table 2.6 which shows the percentage of men and women who have experienced physical or emotional violence by whether they have ever experienced or not experienced each of the specified behaviors and Table 2.7 which shows the percentage of men and women who have experienced spousal physical violence by the total number of controlling behaviors they have ever experienced.

Table 2.5. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have ever experienced controlling behaviors by their spouse, according to specific types of behaviors and by total number of behaviors experienced, Ghana and Uganda

Controlling behaviors	Ghana			Uganda		
	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women
Spouse jealous or angry if you talk to other women/men	47.7	*	37.6	60.7		56.3
Spouse frequently accuses you of being unfaithful	29.4	*	16.0	37.7		34.9
Spouse does not permit you to meet your male/female friends	13.0		13.7	10.5	*	25.5
Spouse tries to limit your contact with your family	6.3		5.9	4.4	*	18.7
Spouse insists on knowing where you are at all times	52.2		50.5	42.9		50.1
Number of controlling behaviors experienced						
0	30.0		36.2	29.5		28.2
1	24.1		29.7	21.6		17.9
2	21.3		16.9	22.3		20.1
3	18.7	*	10.0	18.3		15.9
4-5	5.9		7.2	8.3	*	17.8
Total	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0
Number of respondents	534		1,425	993		1,304

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

Many of the spousal controlling behaviors that the DHS asks about are reported more often by men than by women, particularly behaviors related to jealousy and accusations of unfaithfulness, and more so in Ghana than in Uganda. Overall, in Ghana men are somewhat more likely than women to report experiencing one or more spousal controlling behaviors, and in Uganda men and women are nearly equally likely to do so.

In looking for evidence of sexual terrorism, the concentration of behaviors is of greater importance than the manifestation of any one behavior, however. In both countries, although a higher proportion of men than women report experiencing two or three spousal controlling behaviors, a greater concentration of such behaviors (four or five) is marginally higher among women than men in Ghana (7 percent versus 6 percent) and significantly higher among women than men in Uganda (18 percent versus 8 percent).

Table 2.6. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have experienced spousal physical or emotional violence by experience of marital control behaviors by spouse, Ghana and Uganda

Controlling behaviors	Experienced behavior	Ghana						Uganda			
		Men		*	Women		Men		*	Women	
		Percent	N		Percent	N	Percent	N		Percent	N
Spouse jealous or angry if you talk to other women/men	No	13.4	279	*	25.9	890	27.3	390	*	46.6	570
	Yes	32.0	255	*	53.8	535	47.4	603	*	72.8	734
Spouse frequently accuses you of being unfaithful	No	14.5	377	*	30.2	1,198	30.1	619	*	51.1	849
	Yes	40.8	157	*	69.0	227	55.0	375	*	80.4	455
Spouse does not permit you to meet your male/female friends	No	18.9	465	*	31.5	1,230	36.8	889	*	56.0	972
	Yes	44.5	69	*	67.1	195	62.2	105	*	77.1	332
Spouse tries to limit your contact with your family	No	21.8	500	*	34.3	1,341	38.0	949	*	56.9	1,061
	Yes	(30.0)	33	*	69.8	84	71.8	44	*	80.6	243
Spouse insists on knowing where you are at all times	No	15.3	255	*	24.2	705	32.6	568	*	51.8	650
	Yes	28.7	279	*	48.3	720	48.6	426	*	70.8	654

Note: Numbers in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

N: Total in denominator

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

When men and women have experienced spousal physical or emotional violence are compared on whether or not they also have experienced controlling behaviors (Table 2.6), the conclusion is clearly that women are the main victims of situations that involve both controlling behaviors *and* violence. This is the case even when some controlling behaviors are experienced more often by men than by women. The data in Table 2.6 consistently show that, for each controlling behavior, both men and women who have experienced the behavior have a much higher prevalence of spousal physical or emotional violence compared with men and women, respectively, who have never experienced the behavior. Of further note is that for all controlling behaviors, except one in Uganda ('spouse tries to limit your contact with your family'), women who have experienced the controlling behavior are significantly more likely to experience physical or emotional violence than men who have experienced the same controlling behavior. The absolute gender differential in prevalence of spousal violence by controlling behavior ranges from 20 to 40 percentage points in Ghana and 9 to 25 percentage points in Uganda, depending on the specific behavior being considered.

Table 2.7 shows the percentage of men and women who have experienced physical violence by the total number of controlling behaviors they have experienced. This comparison shows that, although the prevalence of spousal physical violence increases for both men and women as the number of controlling behaviors experienced increases, at each number of controlling behaviors, women are much more likely than men to have experienced spousal physical violence. These differentials are all significant in Uganda and most are significant in Ghana. Of particular note is the fact that in both countries women who have experienced four or five controlling behaviors are significantly more likely than men who experience the same numbers of behaviors to have experienced spousal physical violence (28 percent of men versus 54 percent of women in Ghana, and 35 percent of men versus 71 percent of women in Uganda).

Table 2.7. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have experienced spousal physical violence, according to the number of marital control behaviors by spouse, Ghana and Uganda

Experienced spousal physical violence and the following numbers of controlling behaviors:	Ghana					Uganda				
	Men		*	Women		Men		*	Women	
	Percent	N		Percent	N	Percent	N		Percent	N
0	5.2	160		7.6	516	12.0	293	*	29.1	368
1	4.5	129	*	14.5	424	13.2	215	*	39.8	234
2	9.2	114	*	23.2	241	24.4	221	*	50.4	262
3	19.5	100		35.9	142	24.1	182	*	57.8	208
4 or 5	(27.5)	32	*	54.1	103	35.0	82	*	70.5	232

Note: Numbers in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

N: Total in denominator

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

2.5 Mutuality of Spousal Violence

A key element that distinguishes ‘common couple violence’ from ‘intimate terrorism’ is the mutuality of the violence (Johnson and Ferraro 2000). In Ghana and Uganda, both men and women were asked a single question to determine whether they themselves had ever perpetrated physical violence against their current spouse: “Have you ever hit, slapped, kicked or done anything else to physically hurt your (last) (wife/partner)/(husband/partner) at times when (she/he) was not already beating or physically hurting you?” Additionally, all respondents who answered ‘yes’ were asked how often this had happened in the past 12 months.

The question on perpetration tries to focus only on physical violence that was initiated by the respondent and not on violence committed in self-defense. Thus on its own, it cannot inform about mutuality of the violence. Mutuality of physical violence, however, can be assessed by combining this information with information on own experience of spousal physical violence. Since information was not sought about perpetration of emotional or sexual violence, these types of violence are not included in this discussion.

Figure 2.3, which shows perpetration and experience of spousal physical violence ever, and in the past 12 months, indicates that far higher proportions of currently married men than currently married women say that they have ever perpetrated violence against their spouse: in Ghana, 16 percent of men versus 7 percent of women, and in Uganda 41 percent of men versus 6 percent of women. Also, men in Ghana are more than one and a half times as likely to report ever perpetrating spousal violence as to report experiencing it, and men in Uganda are more than twice as likely to do so. In contrast, in Ghana, women are almost three times as likely, and in Uganda, eight times as likely, to report ever being victims versus ever being perpetrators of spousal violence. The results for violence in the past 12 months are similar, although the levels and gender differentials are in general smaller than for ever-perpetration and ever-experience. The only exception is that in Ghana similar proportions of men report perpetrating violence (8 percent) as report being victims of it in the past 12 months (9 percent).

Figure 2.3. Experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence (SPV), ever and in the past 12 months, among currently married men and women age 15-49

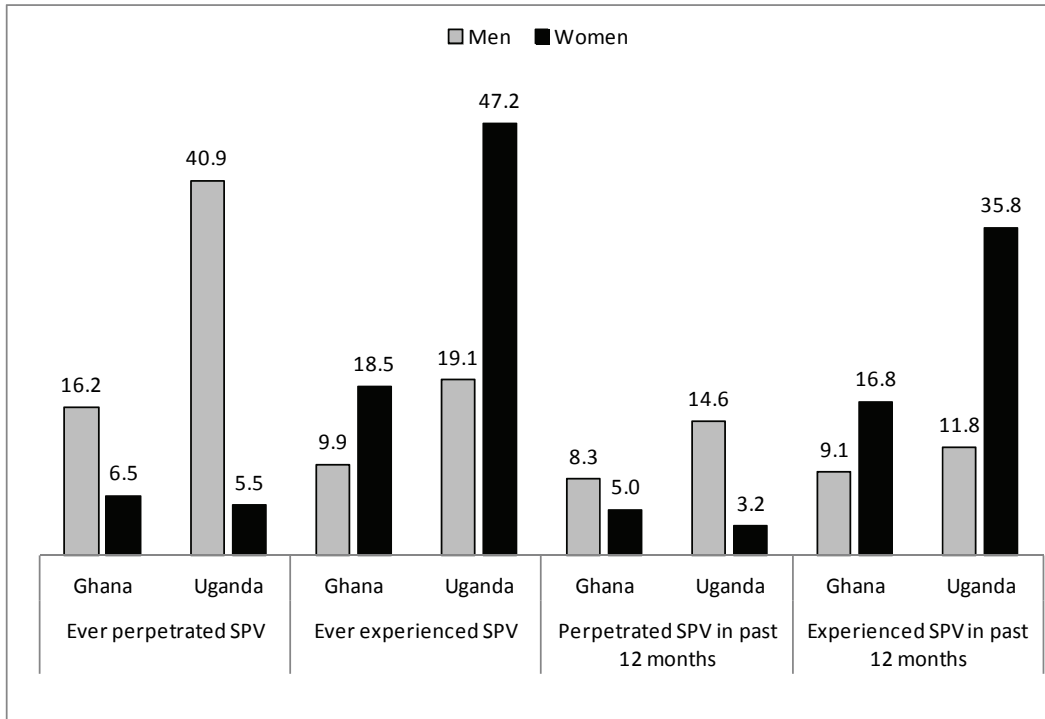


Figure 2.3 does not shed light on whether respondents reporting perpetration are also reporting experience of violence or not. To examine the extent to which violence is being experienced and perpetrated by the same men and women, Table 2.8 shows the percent distribution of all currently married men and women by different combinations of perpetration and experience of spousal physical violence, ever and in the past 12 months. In both Ghana and Uganda, there is virtually no gender differential in the percentages of all men and women who have neither experienced nor perpetrated physical violence. In Ghana, 79-80 percent of men and women are in this category, and in Uganda, 52-53 percent.

Table 2.8 shows that in both countries women are significantly more likely than men to have never perpetrated spousal physical violence but to have experienced it (14 percent of women in Ghana and 43 percent in Uganda compared with 4 percent of men in Ghana and 6 percent in Uganda). Further, men are significantly more likely than women to have perpetrated but not experienced violence (11 percent of men versus 3 percent of women in Ghana, and 28 percent of men versus 1 percent of women in Uganda). In Ghana a similar proportion of men and women have both perpetrated and experienced spousal physical violence, but not in Uganda, where men are almost three times as likely as women to have both perpetrated and experienced violence. Gender differentials in the experience and perpetration of violence in the past 12 months are similar to the gender differentials in ever-perpetration and ever-experience. They are statistically significant, but less pronounced.

Table 2.8. Percent distribution of currently married men and women age 15-49 by whether they have perpetrated and/or experienced spousal physical violence ever and in the past 12 months, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana			Uganda		
	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women
Combinations of ever-perpetration and/or ever-experience of spousal physical violence						
Has perpetrated and experienced	5.7		4.1	13.0	*	4.6
Has perpetrated, not experienced	10.6	*	2.5	27.9	*	0.9
Has not perpetrated, has experienced	4.2	*	14.4	6.2	*	42.7
Has neither perpetrated nor experienced	79.6		79.1	53.0		51.8
Total	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0
Combinations of perpetration in the past 12 months and/or experience in the past 12 months of spousal physical violence						
Has perpetrated and experienced	3.1		3.1	5.6	*	2.7
Has perpetrated, not experienced	5.1	*	2.0	9.0	*	0.5
Has not perpetrated, has experienced	5.9	*	13.8	6.3	*	33.1
Has neither perpetrated nor experienced	85.8		81.2	79.2	*	63.7
Total	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0
Number of respondents	534		1,425	993		1,304

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

Table 2.8 suggests another question: Among men and women who have either perpetrated and/or experienced violence, what proportion have only experienced violence and what proportion have only perpetrated it? With some recalculation, it is clear that among those who have either perpetrated or experienced violence, the majority of men—52 percent in Ghana and 59 percent in Uganda—have perpetrated violence but not experienced it, while the majority of women—69 percent in Ghana and 89 percent in Uganda—have experienced violence but not perpetrated it.

Table 2.9 examines the question of mutuality in some additional ways. The first two rows of the table show the proportions of men and women who have ever perpetrated spousal physical violence, among those who have ever experienced it and among those who have never experienced it, respectively. This comparison shows that in both Ghana and Uganda, women are far less likely than men to perpetrate violence among those who have experienced it; also, in both countries, women are far less likely than men to perpetrate violence among those who have never experienced it. For example, among those who have experienced spousal physical violence, in Ghana, 57 percent of men have perpetrated violence compared with 22 percent of women, and in Uganda, 68 percent of men compared with 10 percent of women. These differences are all statistically significant.

Table 2.9. Combinations of ever-experience and ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence, currently married men and women 15-49, Ghana and Uganda

Combinations	Ghana						Uganda				
	Men			Women			Men			Women	
	Percent	N	*	Percent	N	Percent	N	*	Percent	N	
Perpetrated violence among those who have experienced violence	57.4	53	*	22.1	263	67.9	190	*	9.7	616	
Perpetrated violence among those who have not experienced violence	11.7	481	*	3.0	1,162	34.5	803	*	1.7	688	
Not experienced violence among those who have perpetrated violence	65.0	87	*	37.6	93	68.2	406	*	16.8	72	
Experienced violence among those who have not perpetrated violence	5.0	447	*	15.4	1,332	10.4	587	*	45.2	1,232	

* Indicates that prevalence for men and women is statistically significantly different

The third row of the table shows the percentages of men and women who have never experienced spousal physical violence among those who have ever perpetrated such violence. This comparison shows that two-thirds of men who have perpetrated spousal physical violence in both Ghana and Uganda have not themselves experienced spousal violence; among women the corresponding proportions are lower than for men at 38 percent in Ghana and 17 percent in Uganda.

The bottom row of the table shows the proportions of men and women who have experienced spousal physical violence among those who have not perpetrated it. The data reveal the much greater extent of victimization of women than men among those who have not perpetrated violence. In Ghana, 5 percent of men and in Uganda 10 percent have ever experienced spousal physical violence themselves, among those who have never perpetrated it. The comparable percentages are much higher for women, at 15 percent in Ghana and 45 percent in Uganda.

Together, the data in Table 2.9 provide strong evidence against mutuality in spousal physical violence in both Ghana and Uganda. In each of the two countries, among those who have either perpetrated and/or experienced spousal violence, men are mainly the perpetrators, and women are mainly the victims. Only small proportions of men and women are both victims and perpetrators.

2.6 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has found no evidence of symmetry in men's and women's experience of spousal violence. Not only is the prevalence of spousal violence much higher among women than among men, but also its severity and intensity are much greater for women than men. Further, the violence is much more likely to be of a syndromic nature for women than for men. Finally, the analysis shows that, while men and women both perpetrate violence, among those who experience or perpetrate violence, the majority of women are victims only and the majority of men are perpetrators only.

3 Characteristics of Men and Women Who Experience and Perpetrate Spousal Physical Violence

Chapter 2 presented data that showed that, in the two countries studied, women are significantly more likely than men to be victims of spousal violence, and men primarily the perpetrators. In this chapter, the focus is on a comparison of the characteristics of men and women who are victims, perpetrators, or both. The key question examined here is whether men who are victims, perpetrators, neither, or both differ in their characteristics from women in the same violence category. Only the experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence (rather than spousal emotional or sexual violence) are examined, because the question in the DHS on perpetration of violence asks only about physical violence. Further, discussions below are restricted to the experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence *ever* in the relationship. However, for reference purposes, corresponding tables with results for violence in the past 12 months are provided in the appendix.

To make the comparison of men and women who are victims and/or perpetrators, both bivariate and multivariate analyses are conducted. The bivariate data permit a comparison of women and men in each violence category (experience and/or perpetration of violence), according to several individual, couple or spousal, and household characteristics. The multivariate analyses provide insight into characteristics that have a significant association with a person being in a specified violence category once other relevant characteristics are controlled for. Sampling errors are adjusted for the multistage cluster sample design of the DHS using Stata's svy suite of commands.

The characteristics that could potentially affect men's and women's risk of violence examined in this analysis are drawn largely from the literature on violence against women (Kishor and Johnson 2004; Hindin, Kishor, and Ansara 2008; World Health Organization 2005). Some of these characteristics directly or indirectly reflect individual empowerment and access to knowledge and resources, and others describe the context of respondents' lives.

Individual characteristics examined include age, type of union, number of children ever born, education, and employment for cash. *Age* of individuals is classified into three groups (age 15-24, 25-34, and 35-49) and is a proxy for the length of exposure to lifetime violence, so that indicators of lifetime violence can be expected to increase with respondent age. Running counter to this expectation is the fact that recall can be poor of events that happened years ago. Thus, older respondents may be less likely to remember events that happened in their youth, for example, or early in marriage.

The variable *type of union* classifies respondents according to the type of union they are in (marriage or currently living together 'as if married'). Cohabiting relationships have been associated with a higher risk of violence compared with marital ones (Brownridge 2008; Abramsky et al. 2011).

Number of children ever born (coded as 0, 1-2, 3-4 and 5+) is correlated with age and length of exposure to violence. For women in particular, status in the household and community increases with having children, and so inability to have children in marriage may become a cause for mistreatment and potentially for spousal violence. Another possibility is that having many children could make women more dependent on their partners and hence less empowered and more likely to be victimized.

The respondent's level of *education* is measured by the highest level of schooling they attended (none, primary, and secondary or higher), and *employment status* is measured using responses to survey questions that asked respondents if they had been employed in the past 12 months and, if employed, whether they earned cash for the work they did. The analysis variable has three categories: not working;

working for cash; working but not for cash. Most research on women's experience of violence suggests that risk of violence declines with education, but is often higher for women who are employed.

Another individual characteristic examined is whether the respondents' *fathers ever beat their mothers*. Research has consistently found that women whose fathers beat their mothers have higher rates of spousal violence victimization than women not exposed to violence between parents (Kishor and Johnson 2004; Hindin, Kishor, and Ansara 2008).

Characteristics of the couple and spouse examined include *spousal age difference* (husband is same age or younger than wife; wife is 1-4 years younger; wife is 5-9 years younger; wife is 10-14 years younger; and wife is 15+ years younger); *husband has other wives* (one wife, more than one wife); and *spousal alcohol consumption* (spouse does not drink; drinks but is never drunk; sometimes drunk; and often drunk). Spousal age difference is calculated as the difference between the respondents' own age and the age they reported for their current spouse. If men report having more than one wife (polygyny), the age difference is calculated between the man and the first wife he listed. It is expected that large spousal age differences which can be disempowering for the younger partner, will be positively associated with the experience of violence. The variable 'husband has other wives' derives for men from a direct question to men that asks them how many wives they have; for women it derives from the question asked to them on whether their husbands have other wives.

The analysis includes several additional variables that reflect women's empowerment and attitudes towards gender roles that might affect experience of spousal violence. *Age at first marriage* is examined for both women and men. For women, a very early age at marriage is likely to be disempowering and is expected to be positively associated with their experience of violence. The analysis of women's data includes information on their *participation in decisionmaking*—specifically, two types of decisions (about major household purchases, and about visits to the wife's family or relatives); for men the corresponding data are not on whether men's wives participate in these same decisions, but, instead, derive from questions asked of men about who they think—the husband, the wife, or both jointly—should participate in these decisions.

Another variable examined is based on respondents' *agreement with wife beating* under five different hypothetical scenarios involving a hypothetical husband and wife (if she goes out without telling him; if she neglects the children; if she argues with him; if she refuses to have sex with him; and if she burns the food). This information measures respondents' attitudes toward traditional patriarchal gender roles that include a husband's right to 'discipline' his wife. The variable for analysis is coded: does not agree with any reason; agrees with 1-2 reasons; and agrees with 3 or more, and hence, is negatively associated with beliefs about gender equality.

A final set of variables relates to the respondents' households: rural-urban *residence* and the *wealth quintile* of the household. Prevalence of violence has not been found to vary consistently with residence or with wealth (Kishor and Johnson 2004). Nonetheless, poverty may increase the risk of violence (Jewkes, 2002). Wealth is measured using the wealth index included in the DHS data sets for each country. This index categorizes households into quintiles based on their ownership of different assets and their living conditions. This index is constructed separately for each country (Rutstein and Johnson 2004).

3.1 Characteristics of Those Who Experience and Those Who Perpetrate Spousal Violence: Bivariate Analysis

Table 3.1 provides the percentages of women and men who have ever experienced and who have ever perpetrated spousal physical violence, according to individual, couple/spousal, women's status, and household characteristics.

Individual characteristics

The pattern of variation in the experience of violence by age differs between the two countries studied and between women and men. In Ghana, the experience and perpetration of violence are highest among men age 25-34, but among women they vary little by age; in Uganda, by contrast, experience and perpetration of violence increase with age for men, but for women both are lowest only for the youngest age group and vary little between the two older age groups. In both countries, women are more likely than men to report violence and men are far more likely than women to report perpetration, with the corresponding gender differential being significant for several age groups in Ghana and all age groups in Uganda.

Table 3.1. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have ever experienced spousal physical violence or who have ever perpetrated spousal physical violence, according to background characteristics, Ghana and Uganda

Characteristic	Ghana						Uganda					
	Experienced spousal violence ever		Ever perpetrated spousal violence		Number		Experienced spousal violence ever		Ever perpetrated spousal violence		Number	
	Men	* Women	Men	* Women	Men	Women	Men	* Women	Men	* Women	Men	Women
Individual characteristics												
Current age												
15-24	(10.1)	20.5	(13.2)	7.6	25	256	11.6	* 40.7	25.5	* 4.3	135	361
25-34	15.2	17.2	18.8	* 6.1	210	578	17.2	* 50.5	36.0	* 5.8	398	522
35-49	6.1	* 18.8	14.7	* 6.6	299	592	23.0	* 48.8	49.7	* 6.1	461	420
Type of union												
Married	9.1	* 17.5	16.4	* 6.1	472	1,117	19.9	* 47.9	41.5	* 5.8	890	1,017
Living together	16.1	22.2	15.2	8.1	62	308	12.3	* 44.8	35.6	* 4.4	104	287
Number of children ever born												
0	(6.5)	16.9	(8.7)	12.9	45	109	4.4	* 27.4	10.1	3.2	58	51
1-2	12.1	17.0	16.8	* 4.5	191	487	11.3	* 38.8	28.0	* 4.5	197	309
3-4	12.0	17.7	20.3	* 6.7	171	464	21.4	* 51.8	40.0	* 5.9	204	299
5+	4.9	* 21.8	12.7	7.2	127	366	22.8	* 50.7	49.3	* 6.0	534	645
Education												
None	6.9	* 17.7	18.6	* 4.0	108	408	11.6	* 46.9	45.8	* 5.6	72	298
Primary	15.6	22.8	23.1	* 7.9	69	326	21.8	* 52.1	42.8	* 5.9	654	826
Secondary+	9.7	* 16.9	14.2	* 7.5	356	690	14.7	25.4	34.9	* 3.6	268	180
Employment in the past 12 months¹												
Not working	s	20.5	s	5.8	4	122	s	31.4	s	5.2	3	90
Working for cash	10.9	* 18.2	17.7	* 6.6	457	1,121	17.9	* 43.8	42.3	* 4.1	754	647
Working but not for cash	4.1	* 19.0	8.1	6.6	73	182	22.5	* 53.7	36.9	* 7.2	237	567
Father beat mother												
No	8.8	* 16.9	12.7	* 5.0	390	1,160	10.0	* 37.5	25.3	* 2.7	259	570
Yes	13.1	* 30.2	29.8	* 12.3	108	181	22.0	* 55.9	47.0	* 7.5	601	633
Couple/spouse characteristics												
Spousal age difference²												
Husband same age or younger	(10.2)	27.7	(17.5)	11.5	41	86	17.2	* 49.2	37.7	* 5.3	83	107
Wife is 1-4 years younger	8.3	* 19.9	17.6	* 7.5	181	489	18.6	* 49.5	40.0	* 6.0	387	467
Wife is 5-9 years younger	10.8	19.5	14.3	* 6.6	207	443	20.6	* 45.3	43.0	* 4.8	338	426
Wife is 10-14 years younger	12.8	12.9	19.9	* 3.4	80	228	20.9	* 44.5	40.9	* 5.7	136	169
Wife is 15+ years younger	(4.6)	14.6	(10.1)	5.2	25	164	12.5	* 48.1	38.8	* 5.7	49	132
Husband has other wives												
No	10.2	* 17.6	17.0	* 6.4	487	1,152	17.3	* 46.0	38.0	* 5.8	840	903
Yes	6.5	* 22.2	7.8	7.2	46	273	29.4	* 50.0	56.7	* 4.9	153	401
Spouse's alcohol consumption												
Does not drink	9.1	12.6	15.0	* 3.8	474	903	16.5	* 35.8	36.9	* 3.0	701	596
Drinks but is never drunk	(14.5)	14.3	(15.5)	10.5	20	71	19.1	31.4	42.7	* 2.9	117	85
Sometimes drunk	(13.9)	* 48.6	(28.9)	18.5	39	115	35.6	* 69.9	70.1	* 10.7	49	245
Often drunk	s	* 24.8	s	* 8.9	1	335	27.6	* 54.1	50.0	* 6.7	126	377

Continued...

Table 3.1—Continued

Characteristic	Ghana						Uganda									
	Experienced spousal violence ever		Ever perpetrated spousal violence		Number		Experienced spousal violence ever		Ever perpetrated spousal violence		Number					
	Men	* Women	Men	* Women	Men	Women	Men	* Women	Men	* Women	Men	Women				
Indicators of women's status and gender roles																
Age at marriage³																
<18	(4.6)	*	20.0	(10.8)	7.4	32	556	17.6	*	50.6	53.3	*	6.0	112	788	
18-24	12.1		18.1	19.2	*	6.3	257	715	21.3	*	42.7	41.9	*	4.8	702	474
25+	8.2		14.7	13.8	*	4.2	245	154	11.6	*	(36.1)	29.2	*	(3.7)	179	43
Decisionmaking on major household purchases																
Mainly respondent decides/ should decide	11.1	*	25.8	19.8	*	10.0	255	304	18.8	*	62.7	40.9	*	5.7	685	195
Husband and wife jointly decide/ should decide	8.8		15.3	13.2	*	5.3	237	591	19.2	*	41.8	40.4	*	5.2	282	487
Mainly spouse/other decides/ should decide/ missing	(8.9)		17.7	(12.0)		6.0	41	529	(27.9)		46.7	(46.2)	*	5.7	26	622
Decisionmaking on visits to the wife's family																
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	12.8		24.2	15.5		9.2	154	323	17.2	*	52.0	40.3	*	7.0	579	308
Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide	9.1	*	16.2	17.0	*	5.6	308	854	21.1	*	41.9	39.5	*	4.5	265	522
Mainly spouse/other decides/ should decide/ missing	7.0	*	18.9	14.7		6.2	72	248	23.3	*	50.0	45.5	*	5.6	150	474
Number of reasons wife beating is justified																
Does not agree with any reason	9.3	*	15.4	15.4	*	5.5	409	891	13.2	*	34.9	28.3	*	3.9	430	339
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	9.8	*	26.3	18.8		8.0	86	287	26.5	*	47.1	49.9	*	6.3	295	406
Agrees with 3+ reasons	(15.9)		20.5	(19.3)		8.4	39	247	20.6	*	54.9	51.0	*	5.9	269	558
Household characteristics																
Area of residence																
Urban	10.9	*	19.8	16.5	*	7.1	233	593	13.1	*	29.6	36.2	*	2.4	138	170
Rural	9.1	*	17.5	16.1	*	6.1	301	832	20.1	*	49.9	41.6	*	6.0	855	1,134
Wealth quintile																
Lowest	5.9	*	18.7	13.2		6.8	94	287	29.1	*	57.6	46.9	*	6.6	169	253
Second	11.6		16.7	19.7	*	4.8	105	282	22.7	*	57.0	46.7	*	8.8	226	264
Middle	12.4		21.4	16.9	*	6.2	82	263	16.1	*	47.0	36.6	*	4.7	190	272
Fourth	10.5		20.6	15.5		7.9	137	288	17.1	*	46.0	40.7	*	3.1	209	261
Highest	9.1		15.3	15.9		6.9	116	305	11.7	*	28.4	33.6	*	4.2	199	254
Total	9.9	*	18.5	16.2	*	6.5	534	1,425	19.1	*	47.2	40.9	*	5.5	993	1,304

Note: Persons with don't know or missing information on the variables spousal age difference and father beat mother are not shown. Numbers in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Includes respondents with missing information on employment or earnings.

² For polygamous men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

³ Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

In Ghana, men and women in cohabiting relationships have a higher prevalence of experience of violence than men and women who are married, while cohabiting women also have a higher prevalence of perpetration of violence than married women. In Uganda, however, prevalence of both the experience and the perpetration of violence are higher for married than cohabiting women and men.

In both Ghana and Uganda, the proportion of women who have ever experienced spousal violence increases with number of children born. Women with no children have a lower prevalence of violence than most other women. Compared with women who have children, women without children have lower prevalence of perpetration of violence in Uganda, but a much higher prevalence in Ghana. For men in Uganda, the association of experience of violence and of perpetration, with number of children born is

similar to the corresponding association for women: prevalence increases with higher numbers of children. In Ghana, however, men with 1-4 children have somewhat higher rates of both experience of and perpetration of violence compared with men with no children and men with 5 or more children.

In both countries, prevalence of spousal violence varies nonlinearly with education: men and women with only primary education have the highest levels of experience of violence. Perpetration of violence is also highest among women and men in Ghana and women in Uganda who have only primary education. Among men in Ghana, however, prevalence of perpetration of violence falls with increasing levels of education.

Few currently married men in Ghana and Uganda are unemployed, making it difficult to compare how spousal violence varies by men's employment. Nonetheless, a comparison is possible between men who work for cash and those who do not work for cash. In Ghana, men who are working for cash are at least twice as likely as men who do not work for cash both to experience spousal violence and to perpetrate it; in Uganda, men who work for cash are more likely to have ever perpetrated violence but less likely to have experienced it. For women in Ghana, both experience and perpetration of violence varies little by employment; in Uganda, however, women who are not working for cash have the highest prevalence both of experience of violence and of perpetration of violence.

For men and women in both countries, prevalence of experience and of perpetration of spousal violence is much higher among those whose fathers beat their mothers. Nonetheless, women are much more likely than men to have experienced violence and men are much more likely than women to have perpetrated it, both among those whose mothers were beaten and those whose mothers were not beaten.

Couple and spousal characteristics

In Ghana, men's experience of and perpetration of violence vary inconsistently with spousal age difference. For women, prevalence of experience and of perpetration are highest among those who are the same age as, or older than their husbands, and lowest among those who are at least 10 years younger than their husbands. In Uganda, among women, neither indicator of spousal violence varies much or consistently by spousal age difference; among men, prevalence of experience of spousal violence is lowest among those whose wives are at least 15 years younger than they are, while men's perpetration of violence varies little and inconsistently by spousal age difference.

In Ghana, men who have more than one wife have lower rates of both experience of and perpetration of spousal violence than monogamous men, but in Uganda they have higher rates. For women, experience of violence is somewhat more common among women with husbands who have other wives than among women who are their husband's only wife, while perpetration of violence varies little by the number of other wives a husband has.

Violence is strongly associated with alcohol consumption by the spouse—for both women and men and in both Ghana and Uganda. Among women, some of the highest prevalence of experience of violence—at 49 percent in Ghana and 70 percent in Uganda—is among women whose husbands are sometimes drunk; women whose husbands are sometimes drunk also are more likely than other women to perpetrate spousal violence (19 percent in Ghana and 11 percent in Uganda), but the proportion of women perpetrating violence is a small fraction of the proportion who experience violence. Among men, levels of both perpetration and experience of violence rise with increases in wives' alcohol consumption; however, even among those men whose wives are sometimes or often drunk, the proportion who experience violence is about half the proportion who perpetrate it.

Indicators of women's status and gender roles

Women who marry young have higher rates of both experience and perpetration of spousal violence than women who marry at age 25 or older; by contrast, among men in Ghana, the association of violence with age at marriage is not linear, and among men in Uganda, men who marry at age 25 or older have lower rates of both experience and perpetration of violence than men who marry at younger ages.

In Ghana, experience and perpetration of spousal violence either varies little or tends to be highest among men who say that the husband should be the main decisionmaker and among women who say that they are the main decisionmakers both for major household purchases and for visits to their family or relatives. In Uganda, this pattern is true for women but not for men. Men who say that mainly the husband should make these decisions have the highest prevalence of experience and of perpetration of spousal violence.

In both countries, and for women and men, prevalence of both experience and perpetration of violence is least among those who do not agree with wife beating for any of the different scenarios that the survey asks about. In Ghana, 15 percent of men, and in Uganda 28 percent who disagree with all reasons for wife beating, nonetheless, report having perpetrated spousal violence.

Household characteristics

In Ghana, men and women's experience and perpetration of violence do not vary by residence, whether rural or urban; in Uganda, however, both men and women who live in rural areas have much higher rates of violence—experience and perpetration—than those who live in urban areas. Experience and perpetration of spousal violence varies nonlinearly with household wealth in Ghana, with violence highest among both men and women in households in the middle wealth quintiles. By contrast, in Uganda prevalence of experience of violence declines for both women and men by household wealth, and perpetration also declines by wealth among men, but varies nonlinearly among women. In Uganda, prevalence of experience of violence among men and women in the highest wealth quintile is less than half of the level among those in the lowest wealth quintile.

This review of the characteristics of men and women who experience and who perpetrate violence suggests several common themes. First, neither victims nor perpetrators can be adequately described by any specific set of characteristics. Spouse's alcohol consumption and exposure to violence between parents are the only two characteristics that are consistently related to the likelihood of both experiencing and perpetrating violence, in both countries. Second, in virtually every subgroup, men are much more likely than women in the same subgroup to be perpetrators of violence than its victims, and women are much more likely than men to be victims than perpetrators, with most gender differences being statistically significant. Nonetheless, the pattern of variation by background characteristics in both experience and perpetration of violence tends to vary more between the two countries than between women and men in the same country. The often similar variation by gender can be explained in part by the fact that a majority of the men and at least some of the women who experience violence also perpetrate it (Table 2.8).

3.2 Characteristics of Persons in the Joint Spousal Physical Violence Categories: Bivariate Analysis

As suggested above, some men and women who experience spousal physical violence also perpetrate it. Table 3.2 shows the percent distribution of men and women, according to background characteristics, by specific *joint spousal physical violence category*, namely:

- has perpetrated, but not experienced
- has not perpetrated, but has experienced
- has perpetrated and experienced
- has neither perpetrated nor experienced

Table 3.2. Percent distribution of currently married men and women age 15-49 according to combinations of whether they have ever perpetrated and/or experienced spousal physical violence, according to background characteristics, Ghana and Uganda

		Ghana				Total	Number	Uganda				Total	Number
		Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced			Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced		
Individual characteristics													
Current age													
15-24	*						*	*					
	Men	(7.3)	(4.1)	(6.0)	(82.7)	100.0	25	19.9	6.0	5.6	68.5	100.0	135
	Women	1.5	14.4	6.1	78.0	100.0	256	0.8	37.2	3.5	58.5	100.0	361
25-34	*						*	*					
	Men	10.6	7.0	8.3	74.2	100.0	210	24.7	6.0	11.2	58.1	100.0	398
	Women	2.4	13.6	3.7	80.4	100.0	578	1.3	46.0	4.6	48.2	100.0	522
35-49	*						*	*					
	Men	10.8	2.3	3.8	83.1	100.0	299	33.0	6.3	16.7	44.0	100.0	461
	Women	2.9	15.2	3.6	78.3	100.0	592	0.6	43.3	5.5	50.6	100.0	420
Type of union													
Married	*	*	*				*	*	*				
	Men	11.3	4.0	5.1	79.7	100.0	472	28.1	6.5	13.4	52.0	100.0	890
	Women	2.4	13.8	3.7	80.1	100.0	1,117	0.8	42.9	5.0	51.3	100.0	1,017
Living together	*						*	*					
	Men	5.2	6.1	10.1	78.7	100.0	62	26.3	3.1	9.2	61.4	100.0	104
	Women	2.5	16.6	5.6	75.3	100.0	308	1.4	41.8	3.0	53.8	100.0	287
Number of children ever born													
0	*						*	*					
	Men	(3.7)	(1.5)	(5.0)	(89.8)	100.0	45	8.3	2.6	1.8	87.3	100.0	58
	Women	5.3	9.3	7.6	77.8	100.0	109	0.0	24.3	3.2	72.6	100.0	51
1-2	*						*	*					
	Men	10.2	5.6	6.5	77.6	100.0	191	21.7	5.0	6.3	67.0	100.0	197
	Women	1.8	14.4	2.7	81.2	100.0	487	1.6	35.9	2.9	59.6	100.0	309
3-4	*						*	*					
	Men	12.9	4.6	7.4	75.1	100.0	171	27.8	9.3	12.1	50.8	100.0	204
	Women	3.0	14.0	3.7	79.3	100.0	464	0.7	46.6	5.2	47.5	100.0	299
5+	*						*	*					
	Men	10.4	2.6	2.3	84.8	100.0	127	32.3	5.8	17.0	44.9	100.0	534
	Women	1.9	16.4	5.3	76.4	100.0	366	0.8	45.5	5.2	48.5	100.0	645
Education													
None	*	*	*				*	*					
	Men	14.0	2.3	4.6	79.1	100.0	108	36.0	1.8	9.8	52.3	100.0	72
	Women	1.1	14.9	2.8	81.2	100.0	408	0.9	42.2	4.7	52.2	100.0	298
Primary	*						*	*					
	Men	11.4	3.9	11.6	73.0	100.0	69	27.8	6.8	15.0	50.4	100.0	654
	Women	2.2	17.1	5.7	75.0	100.0	326	0.8	47.1	5.0	47.0	100.0	826
Secondary+	*						*	*					
	Men	9.4	4.9	4.9	80.9	100.0	356	26.0	5.8	8.9	59.3	100.0	268
	Women	3.4	12.8	4.1	79.7	100.0	690	1.3	23.2	2.2	73.3	100.0	180

Continued...

Table 3.2—Continued

		Ghana						Uganda					
		Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced	Total	Number	Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced	Total	Number
Employment in past 12 months													
Not working	*												
	Men	s	s	s	s	100.0	4	s	s	s	s	100.0	3
	Women	2.3	17.0	3.5	77.2	100.0	122	2.2	28.3	3.1	66.5	100.0	90
Working for cash	*							*	*	*	*		
	Men	11.2	4.5	6.4	77.9	100.0	457	29.1	4.8	13.1	52.9	100.0	754
	Women	2.5	14.0	4.1	79.4	100.0	1,121	1.2	40.9	2.9	55.0	100.0	647
Working but not for cash or missing	*							*	*	*	*		
	Men	6.8	2.8	1.2	89.1	100.0	73	24.3	9.8	12.7	53.2	100.0	237
	Women	2.5	14.9	4.1	78.5	100.0	182	0.4	47.0	6.8	45.8	100.0	567
Father beat mother													
No	*	*	*					*	*	*			
	Men	8.6	4.7	4.1	82.6	100.0	108	19.1	3.9	6.1	70.9	100.0	601
	Women	2.1	14.0	2.9	81.0	100.0	181	0.4	35.2	2.3	62.1	100.0	633
Yes	*							*	*	*			
	Men	19.6	2.9	10.2	67.3	100.0	390	31.3	6.3	15.7	46.7	100.0	259
	Women	2.0	19.9	10.3	67.8	100.0	1,160	1.4	49.8	6.1	42.7	100.0	570
Couple characteristics													
Spousal age difference²													
Husband same age or younger	*		*					*	*				
	Men	(8.4)	(1.1)	(9.1)	(81.4)	100.0	41	25.5	5.0	12.2	57.3	100.0	83
	Women	6.1	22.3	5.4	66.3	100.0	86	0.8	44.8	4.4	50.0	100.0	107
Wife is 1-4 years younger	*		*					*	*				
	Men	12.9	3.6	4.7	78.8	100.0	181	28.0	6.5	12.0	53.4	100.0	387
	Women	2.1	14.5	5.4	78.0	100.0	489	1.0	44.5	5.0	49.5	100.0	467
Wife is 5-9 years younger	*		*					*	*				
	Men	8.7	5.2	5.6	80.6	100.0	207	29.4	7.0	13.6	50.1	100.0	338
	Women	2.2	15.2	4.3	78.3	100.0	443	0.9	41.3	4.0	53.8	100.0	426
Wife is 10-14 years younger	*		*					*	*				
	Men	13.0	5.9	6.8	74.2	100.0	80	24.7	4.7	16.2	54.4	100.0	136
	Women	2.6	12.2	0.7	84.4	100.0	228	1.1	39.9	4.6	54.4	100.0	169
Wife is 15+ years younger	*		*					*	*				
	Men	(5.5)	(0.0)	(4.6)	(89.9)	100.0	25	29.9	3.6	8.9	57.6	100.0	49
	Women	1.9	11.3	3.3	83.5	100.0	164	0.8	43.2	4.9	51.1	100.0	132
Husband has other wives													
Yes	*							*	*	*			
	Men	5.7	4.4	2.1	87.8	100.0	46	33.2	5.9	23.4	37.4	100.0	153
	Women	1.3	16.3	5.9	76.5	100.0	273	0.8	45.9	4.0	49.2	100.0	401
No	*							*	*	*			
	Men	11.0	4.2	6.0	78.8	100.0	487	26.9	6.2	11.1	55.8	100.0	840
	Women	2.7	13.9	3.6	79.7	100.0	1,152	1.0	41.2	4.8	53.0	100.0	903
Spouse's alcohol consumption													
Does not drink	*	*	*					*	*	*			
	Men	10.4	4.5	4.7	80.5	100.0	474	26.5	6.1	10.4	57.0	100.0	701
	Women	1.5	10.2	2.4	86.0	100.0	903	0.9	33.8	2.0	63.3	100.0	596
Drinks but is never drunk	*							*	*				
	Men	(7.1)	(6.1)	(8.4)	(78.4)	100.0	20	30.3	6.7	12.5	50.6	100.0	117
	Women	6.8	10.6	3.7	78.9	100.0	71	0.6	29.2	2.3	67.9	100.0	85
Sometimes drunk	*		*					*	*				
	Men	(15.0)	0.0	(13.9)	(71.1)	100.0	39	42.1	7.7	28.0	22.2	100.0	49
	Women	3.6	33.7	14.9	47.7	100.0	115	0.7	59.8	10.1	29.4	100.0	245
Often drunk	*							*	*				
	Men	s	s	s	s	100.0	1	27.9	5.5	22.2	44.5	100.0	126
	Women	3.9	19.7	5.1	71.3	100.0	335	1.1	48.5	5.6	44.8	100.0	377

Continued...

Table 3.2—Continued

		Ghana					Uganda					Total	Number
		Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced	Total	Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced	Total		
Indicators of women's status and gender roles													
Age at marriage¹													
<18	*		*					*	*	*			
	Men	(7.6)	(1.4)	(3.2)	(87.8)	100.0	32	40.3	4.7	12.9	42.1	100.0	112
	Women	3.4	16.0	4.0	76.6	100.0	556	0.9	45.5	5.1	48.5	100.0	788
18-24	*		*					*	*	*			
	Men	12.3	5.2	6.9	75.6	100.0	257	27.3	6.7	14.6	51.4	100.0	702
	Women	1.7	13.4	4.7	80.2	100.0	715	1.0	39.0	3.8	56.3	100.0	474
25+	*		*					*	*	*			
	Men	9.1	3.5	4.7	82.7	100.0	245	22.6	4.9	6.7	65.8	100.0	179
	Women	2.7	13.2	1.5	82.6	100.0	154	0.0	(32.4)	(3.7)	(63.9)	100.0	43
Decisionmaking on major household purchases													
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	13.1	4.4	6.7	75.9	100.0	255	28.2	6.1	12.7	53.0	100.0	685
	Women	2.1	18.0	7.8	72.0	100.0	304	0.7	57.7	5.0	36.6	100.0	195
Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	8.1	3.7	5.1	83.2	100.0	237	27.7	6.6	12.6	53.0	100.0	282
	Women	2.9	13.0	2.4	81.8	100.0	591	0.5	37.1	4.7	57.7	100.0	487
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	*		*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	(9.4)	(6.2)	(2.7)	(81.8)	100.0	41	(21.8)	(3.5)	(24.4)	(50.3)	100.0	26
	Women	2.2	13.9	3.8	80.1	100.0	529	1.3	42.3	4.3	52.0	100.0	622
Decisionmaking on visits to the wife's family													
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	8.8	6.1	6.7	78.4	100.0	154	28.5	5.4	11.8	54.3	100.0	579
	Women	2.8	17.7	6.4	73.0	100.0	323	1.0	46.1	6.0	46.9	100.0	308
Husband and wife jointly decide/ should decide	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	11.6	3.8	5.4	79.3	100.0	308	26.3	7.8	13.3	52.6	100.0	265
	Women	2.0	12.6	3.6	81.8	100.0	854	0.5	37.9	4.0	57.6	100.0	522
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/ missing	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	9.8	2.1	4.9	83.2	100.0	72	28.4	6.3	17.1	48.2	100.0	150
	Women	3.6	16.3	2.6	77.5	100.0	248	1.3	45.7	4.3	48.7	100.0	474
Number of reasons wife beating is justified													
Does not agree with any reason	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	10.0	3.9	5.4	80.7	100.0	409	22.0	6.9	6.3	64.8	100.0	430
	Women	1.9	11.8	3.6	82.7	100.0	891	1.3	32.2	2.7	63.8	100.0	339
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	*	*	*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	13.9	4.9	4.9	76.3	100.0	86	30.2	6.7	19.7	43.3	100.0	295
	Women	3.0	21.3	5.0	70.7	100.0	287	1.3	42.1	5.0	51.6	100.0	406
Agrees with 3+ reasons	*		*					*	*	*	*		
	Men	(9.4)	(5.9)	(10.0)	(74.8)	100.0	39	34.7	4.3	16.3	44.7	100.0	269
	Women	3.8	15.8	4.7	75.8	100.0	247	0.4	49.5	5.4	44.7	100.0	558

Continued...

Table 3.2—Continued

		Ghana					Uganda						
		Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced	Total	Number	Has perpetrated, not experienced	Not perpetrated, has experienced	Perpetrated and experienced	Neither perpetrated nor experienced	Total	Number
Household characteristics													
Area of residence													
Urban	*	*	*				*	*	*				
	Men	10.6	5.0	5.9	78.6	100.0	233	27.2	4.1	9.0	59.7	100.0	138
	Women	2.9	15.7	4.2	77.2	100.0	593	0.3	27.5	2.1	70.0	100.0	170
Rural	*	*	*				*	*	*				
	Men	10.6	3.6	5.5	80.3	100.0	301	28.0	6.5	13.6	51.9	100.0	855
	Women	2.1	13.5	4.0	80.4	100.0	832	1.0	44.9	4.9	49.1	100.0	1,134
Wealth quintile													
Lowest	*	*					*	*	*				
	Men	11.2	4.0	2.0	82.9	100.0	94	26.2	8.4	20.7	44.7	100.0	169
	Women	1.3	13.2	5.6	80.0	100.0	287	0.7	51.6	6.0	41.8	100.0	253
Second	*	*					*	*	*				
	Men	11.4	3.2	8.3	77.0	100.0	105	31.1	7.1	15.6	46.2	100.0	226
	Women	1.7	13.6	3.0	81.6	100.0	282	0.6	48.8	8.3	42.4	100.0	264
Middle	*	*					*	*	*				
	Men	9.2	4.7	7.7	78.4	100.0	82	27.2	6.7	9.4	56.6	100.0	190
	Women	3.7	18.9	2.5	74.9	100.0	263	1.2	43.5	3.5	51.8	100.0	272
Fourth	*	*					*	*	*				
	Men	8.8	3.7	6.8	80.8	100.0	137	28.4	4.9	12.3	54.5	100.0	209
	Women	2.7	15.4	5.2	76.7	100.0	288	1.0	43.9	2.1	53.0	100.0	261
Highest	*	*					*	*	*				
	Men	12.3	5.6	3.5	78.6	100.0	116	25.9	4.0	7.7	62.4	100.0	199
	Women	3.0	11.4	3.9	81.7	100.0	305	1.2	25.4	3.0	70.4	100.0	254
Total	*	*	*				*	*	*				
	Men	10.6	4.2	5.7	79.6	100.0	534	27.9	6.2	13.0	53.0	100.0	993
	Women	2.5	14.4	4.1	79.1	100.0	1,425	0.9	42.7	4.6	51.8	100.0	1,304

Note: Persons with missing information on any variable, including 'don't know or missing' on the variables spousal age difference and father beat mother, are not shown. Numbers in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

² For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

Has perpetrated but not experienced: This category is dominated by men in both countries, and for almost every characteristic subgroup of women and men. In Ghana, the lowest proportions of men in this category are those who have no children (4 percent) and those who are cohabiting (5 percent). The highest proportions of men in this category are those whose fathers beat their mothers (20 percent), those whose spouse is sometimes drunk (15 percent), those who have no education (14 percent), and those who agree with 1 or 2 reasons for wife beating (14 percent). In Uganda, the proportions of men in this category range from 8 percent among those with no children and 19 percent among those who report that their father did not beat their mother, to 40 percent among those who were married before age 18 and 42 percent among those whose spouse is sometimes drunk. In contrast to men, the proportion of women who are in this category never exceeds 7 percent in Ghana or 2 percent in Uganda.

Has not perpetrated, but has experienced: Irrespective of the background characteristic examined, women are much more likely than men to be in this category—not having perpetrated but having experienced violence. In Ghana, the proportion of women in this category never falls below 10 percent, except for women who have no children (9 percent), and is highest, at 34 percent, among women whose husbands are sometimes drunk. By contrast, the proportion of men in this category never exceeds 7 percent among men age 25-34, and is 6 percent or less among men with any other characteristic examined. In Uganda, the contrast by gender is even sharper: the proportion of women in this category is lowest among women who have secondary education (23 percent), women who have no children (24 percent), and women in the highest household wealth quintile (25 percent), but exceeds 50 percent among women whose husbands

are sometimes drunk (60 percent), women who mainly decide about major household purchases (58 percent), and women in the lowest wealth quintile (52 percent). The proportion of men in this category is 10 percent or less, except for men with no education (18 percent).

Has perpetrated and has experienced: In Ghana, there are no significant gender differentials by background characteristics among men and women who have both perpetrated and experienced spousal violence. Although higher proportions of men than women are in this category in most subgroups, there are a few subgroups for which the reverse is true. The proportion of men in this category ranges from a high of 14 percent among men whose spouses are sometimes drunk, and 12 percent among men who have primary education, to a low of 1 percent of men who are working but not for cash. Among women the highest proportion in this category is also found in two of the same subgroups as for men: women whose spouses are sometimes drunk (15 percent) and women whose fathers beat their mothers (10 percent). With very few exceptions, however, no more than 4–6 percent of women in most subgroups are in this category. By contrast, in Uganda gender differentials are significant in many of the subgroups, and in no subgroup are women significantly more likely than men to be in this category. Further, whereas the proportion of Ugandan men in this category is as high as 28 percent (among men whose wives are sometimes drunk); the proportion of women never exceeds 10 percent (among women whose husbands are sometimes drunk). Overall, the proportion of women in the category of having both experienced and perpetrated spousal violence does not exceed 6 percent for most subgroups.

Has neither perpetrated nor experienced: In each of the two countries studied, there are few significant differences between the proportions of men and women who have neither perpetrated nor experienced spousal violence, when compared by subgroups of background characteristics. This finding implies that, irrespective of background characteristics, similar proportions of men and women are involved in some form of spousal violence, albeit as a victim and/or as a perpetrator. In Ghana, where 80 percent of men and 79 percent of women are in this category, there is no significant gender differential by any background characteristic. In Uganda, where 53 percent of men and 52 percent of women are in this category, significant gender differences are found only in two subgroups: those with secondary education and those who say ‘mainly respondent decides/should decide’ about major household purchases. Only in the group with secondary education are women significantly more likely than men to be in this category, implying that fewer women are either victims or perpetrators.

This comparison of gender differentials among those who belong to the different joint categories of violence according to background characteristics reveals some consistent patterns. For one, a comparison of the two joint categories of violence that involve perpetration—‘perpetrated and experienced’ and ‘perpetrated, but not experienced’—shows that, in all subgroups by background characteristics in Uganda and almost all in Ghana, women are much more likely to be in the category of those who have both perpetrated and experienced spousal violence than in the perpetrated-only category, and the reverse is consistently true for men. These findings clearly suggest that, irrespective of their characteristics, women who perpetrate spousal violence also are predominantly victims, but men who perpetrate spousal violence are not predominantly victims.

Further insight comes from the comparison across all background characteristics of persons in the two categories of spousal violence that involve ever experiencing violence, namely ‘perpetrated and experienced’ and ‘not perpetrated, but has experienced’. This comparison shows that in both Ghana and Uganda, for most of the characteristics, a higher proportion of men have experienced and perpetrated violence than have only experienced violence but not perpetrated it; by contrast, a much higher proportion of women have experienced violence but not perpetrated it—and this pattern is true for women across all characteristics. Also, with only one exception (women in Ghana with no children), for every subgroup of background characteristics the proportion of women in the category ‘experienced but not perpetrated’

spousal violence is greater than the sum of the proportions of women in the categories ‘perpetrated and experienced’ and ‘perpetrated but not experienced’.

Another theme that emerges is that the prevalence of spousal violence, both its experience and its perpetration, is consistently high when the spouse has a tendency to be drunk. Having a husband who drinks alcohol greatly increases women’s risk of experiencing spousal violence, but is also associated with a relatively high proportion of women in the mutual violence category. Further, while the relationship does not necessarily result in the highest prevalence of violence, the characteristic ‘having a father who beat their mother’ has a consistently strong association with having experienced violence for women, and with perpetration of violence for men. No other characteristics have such a consistent association with spousal violence for both genders and both countries, as coming from a family in which the father beat the mother and being the spouse of someone who abuses alcohol.

3.3 Characteristics of Those Who Experience and Those Who Perpetrate Spousal Physical Violence: Multivariate Analysis

Thus far the discussion has been limited to an examination of how experience of and perpetration of violence vary among men and women and by background characteristics. In this subsection, we examine which of these characteristics have a statistically significant association with men’s and women’s risks of experiencing and/or perpetrating violence, net of other relevant characteristics. Accordingly, logistic regressions were run separately for women and men with ‘ever experienced spousal violence’ and ‘ever perpetrated spousal violence’ as the dependent variables, and all of the individual, couple, women’s status and gender roles, and household characteristics discussed above as explanatory variables. Similar regressions were also run for ‘experience of spousal violence in the past 12 months’ and ‘perpetration of spousal violence in the past 12 months’ as the dependent variables. Tables with results from these regressions are provided in the appendix.

Experience of spousal physical violence

Table 3.3 provides the odds ratios for currently married men and currently married women having ever experienced spousal physical violence in their current marriage. In Ghana, the only variables that are significantly associated with men’s risk of experiencing spousal violence are age, education, working for cash, and spousal age difference. Specifically, the odds of experiencing spousal physical violence are higher for men who are age 25-34 (OR: 3.4 [CI:1.57-7.16]) than for older men; for men who have only primary education (OR=3.0 [CI: 1.12-7.92]) than for men with no education; for men who work for cash (OR: 4.1 [CI: 1.22-13.49]) than for men who are employed but do not earn cash; and for men whose wife is 10-14 years younger (OR: 3.1 [CI: 1.03-9.37]) than for men whose wife is 1-4 years younger. In Uganda, men’s risk of experiencing spousal violence is not significantly associated with age or any of the same background characteristics as in Ghana, except for education. However, the odds of Ugandan men ever experiencing spousal violence are significantly higher if they have any education, whether primary (OR: 2.4 [CI 1.14-5.04]) or secondary (OR: 2.4 [CI: 1.05-5.45]). Additionally, for Ugandan men the odds of experiencing violence are higher compared with the corresponding reference category, if they have 3-4 children (OR: 2.1 [CI: 1.18-3.72]); if their father beat their mother (OR: 2.2 [CI: 1.35-3.45]); if their spouse is often drunk (OR: 1.8 [CI: 1.07-2.97]); and if they agree with 1-2 reasons for wife beating (OR: 2.2 [CI: 1.41-3.26]). The odds of ever experiencing spousal violence are significantly lower if they have more than one wife (OR: 0.6 [CI: 0.39-0.89]) and if they are in the highest wealth quintile (OR: 0.4 [CI: 0.17-0.78]).

Table 3.3. Logistic regression results for ever-experience of spousal physical violence for currently married men and women age 15-49: Adjusted odds ratios, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]
Individual characteristics								
Current age (ref: 35-49)								
15-24	3.94	[0.62,24.81]	1.93*	[1.01,3.68]	0.74	[0.32,1.70]	0.71	[0.40,1.28]
25-34	3.36**	[1.57,7.16]	1.17	[0.77,1.77]	0.67	[0.44,1.00]	0.99	[0.68,1.44]
Type of union (ref: Married)								
Living together	1.58	[0.61,4.10]	1.07	[0.72,1.59]	0.81	[0.43,1.51]	0.97	[0.67,1.42]
Number of children ever born (ref: 1-2)								
0	0.33	[0.09,1.17]	0.72	[0.35,1.49]	0.22	[0.04,1.33]	0.41*	[0.18,0.95]
3-4	1.24	[0.59,2.64]	1.12	[0.74,1.68]	2.09*	[1.18,3.72]	1.25	[0.82,1.91]
5+	0.64	[0.21,1.97]	1.53	[0.90,2.60]	1.51	[0.84,2.71]	0.95	[0.58,1.58]
Education (ref: None)								
Primary	2.98*	[1.12,7.92]	1.27	[0.80,2.02]	2.40*	[1.14,5.04]	1.55*	[1.07,2.25]
Secondary+	1.49	[0.59,3.73]	0.95	[0.59,1.53]	2.39*	[1.05,5.45]	0.89	[0.51,1.54]
Employment for cash (ref: Working but not for cash/missing)								
Not working	(1)		1.13	[0.54,2.38]	(1)		0.81	[0.47,1.40]
Working for cash	4.05*	[1.22,13.49]	1.01	[0.59,1.75]	1.01	[0.63,1.62]	0.78	[0.57,1.06]
Father beat mother (ref: No)								
Yes	1.39	[0.69,2.82]	1.93**	[1.29,2.87]	2.16**	[1.35,3.45]	1.83***	[1.37,2.45]
Don't know	1.11	[0.30,4.14]	0.81	[0.36,1.80]	2.66**	[1.36,5.20]	1.55	[0.96,2.49]
Couple/spouse characteristics								
Spousal age difference¹ (ref: Wife is 1-4 years younger)								
Husband same age or younger	1.99	[0.55,7.20]	1.65	[0.92,2.97]	0.99	[0.46,2.13]	0.87	[0.50,1.49]
Wife is 5-9 years younger	2.00	[0.87,4.63]	0.92	[0.63,1.34]	1.11	[0.75,1.66]	0.90	[0.66,1.22]
Wife is 10-14 years younger	3.10*	[1.03,9.37]	0.54*	[0.32,0.90]	1.04	[0.60,1.80]	0.78	[0.51,1.20]
Wife is 15+ years younger	1.61	[0.26,9.80]	0.55*	[0.31,0.99]	0.51	[0.18,1.42]	0.85	[0.46,1.55]
Husband has other wives (ref: No)								
Yes	0.74	[0.19,2.88]	0.80	[0.53,1.21]	0.59*	[0.39,0.89]	0.93	[0.68,1.27]
Spouse's alcohol consumption (ref: Does not drink)								
Drinks but is never drunk	(2)		0.92	[0.40,2.10]	1.14	[0.66,1.97]	0.91	[0.49,1.68]
Sometimes drunk	1.95	[0.72,5.28]	7.02***	[4.27,11.56]	2.07	[0.77,5.57]	3.74***	[2.38,5.86]
Often drunk	(2)		2.50***	[1.74,3.58]	1.78*	[1.07,2.97]	2.04***	[1.48,2.82]
Indicators of gender attitudes and roles								
Age at marriage² (ref: 25+ years)								
<18 years	0.47	[0.09,2.51]	0.84	[0.48,1.48]	1.30	[0.62,2.73]	1.43	[0.68,2.99]
18-24 years	1.30	[0.62,2.70]	0.88	[0.52,1.50]	1.72	[0.99,2.99]	1.27	[0.62,2.58]
Decisionmaking on major household purchases (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	1.26	[0.63,2.53]	1.45	[0.91,2.29]	1.00	[0.65,1.54]	2.05**	[1.23,3.42]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/ missing	0.90	[0.25,3.27]	1.08	[0.71,1.64]	1.67	[0.65,4.33]	1.16	[0.84,1.59]
Decisionmaking on visits to the wife's family (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	1.38	[0.65,2.93]	1.37	[0.92,2.03]	0.68	[0.45,1.04]	1.09	[0.76,1.58]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/ missing	0.84	[0.30,2.34]	1.00	[0.65,1.55]	1.03	[0.58,1.85]	1.17	[0.83,1.66]

Continued...

Table 3.3—Continued

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]
Number of reasons wife beating is justified (ref: Agrees with 0 reasons)								
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	0.88	[0.36,2.15]	1.87**	[1.29,2.73]	2.15***	[1.41,3.26]	1.43*	[1.00,2.05]
Agrees with 3+ reasons	1.74	[0.47,6.40]	1.36	[0.90,2.05]	1.42	[0.88,2.28]	1.76**	[1.24,2.50]
Household characteristics								
Area of residence (ref: Rural)								
Urban	1.45	[0.64,3.29]	1.73*	[1.12,2.67]	1.06	[0.50,2.25]	0.84	[0.53,1.34]
Wealth quintile (ref: Lowest)								
Second	1.98	[0.49,7.96]	0.90	[0.52,1.56]	0.90	[0.56,1.46]	1.22	[0.82,1.80]
Middle	2.00	[0.49,8.19]	1.07	[0.60,1.90]	0.62	[0.34,1.13]	0.85	[0.53,1.36]
Fourth	1.26	[0.29,5.50]	1.30	[0.70,2.42]	0.60	[0.32,1.12]	0.92	[0.57,1.49]
Highest	1.07	[0.21,5.56]	0.86	[0.42,1.78]	0.36**	[0.17,0.78]	0.67	[0.36,1.24]
Number of respondents	532		1,408		993		1,300	

Note: The multivariate models exclude the following cases: 2 men in Ghana, 1 with missing information on spousal age difference and 1 with missing information on education; 17 women in Ghana, 1 each with missing information on age at marriage, education and spouse's alcohol consumption and 15 women with missing information on spousal age difference; 2 men in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 1 with missing information on spousal age difference; and 4 women in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 3 with missing information on spousal age difference.

(1) 5 non-working men in Ghana and 4 non-working men in Uganda have been coded as working but not for cash.

(2) 29 Ghanaian men who reported their wives drink but is never drunk and 1 who reported his wife is often drunk are recoded to "sometimes drunk".

¹ For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

² Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

In Ghana, for women as for men, age and spousal age difference are risk factors, but the direction of association is different than among men. Women who are age 15-24 (versus men who are age 25-34) have higher odds of experiencing violence (OR: 1.9 [CI: 1.01-3.68]) than those in the reference category (the oldest age group). This finding is in line with the fact that men are typically married to younger women, and a lot of the violence experienced by men occurs among those who have both experienced violence and perpetrated it. In contrast to the results for men, women who are at least 10 years younger than their husbands are less likely than women who are 1-4 years younger to experience spousal violence. In addition to these two characteristics, Ghanaian women's risk of violence is significantly associated with having a father who beat their mother (OR: 1.9 [CI: 1.29-2.87]); having a husband who is sometimes drunk (OR: 7.0 [CI: 4.27-11.56]), or often (OR: 2.5 [CI: 1.74-3.58]) drunk; agreeing with 1-2 reasons for wife beating (OR: 1.9 [CI: 1.29-2.73]); and being in an urban area (OR: 1.7 [CI: 1.12-2.67]).

In Uganda women's risk of experiencing violence is associated with several of the same factors that affect Ugandan men's risk, as well as factors that affect Ghanaian women's risk of spousal violence, as well as with some other factors. Whereas age is a significant factor in Ghana for women and men, in Uganda the number of children is a significant factor. For Ugandan women, in contrast to Ugandan men (whose odds are higher if they had 3-4 children), the odds of violence are lower (OR: 0.41 [CI: 0.18-0.95]) among women with no children compared to those with 1-2 children. Women with primary education, as is also the case for men in both Ghana and Uganda, have higher odds (OR: 1.6 [CI: 1.07-2.25]) than those with no education. The odds of experiencing spousal violence are much higher for Ugandan women, as they are for Ghanaian women, if their father beat their mother (OR: 1.8 [CI: 1.37-2.45]) and if their husbands are sometimes (OR: 3.7 [CI: 2.38-5.86]) or often (OR: 2.0 [CI: 1.48-2.82]) drunk. Further, attitudes toward wife beating are also associated with women's experience of violence in Uganda, as in Ghana; however, in Uganda odds of experiencing spousal violence are higher for both women who agree with 1-2 reasons (OR: 1.4 [CI: 1.00-2.05]), and who agree with 3+ reasons (OR: 1.8 [CI: 1.24-2.50]). In addition, Ugandan women who mainly make decisions by themselves about major household purchases also have

significantly higher odds of experiencing spousal violence than women who make these decisions jointly with their husbands (OR: 2.1 [CI: 1.23-3.42]).

This multivariate comparison of risk factors for experience of spousal violence reinforces the findings of the bivariate results. Few factors are associated across both countries with the risk of violence, for both women and men; whereas some risk factors (father beat mother, spouse's alcohol consumption, and attitudes condoning wife beating) are common to women's risk of experiencing spousal violence in both countries, there is no variable, except education, that is significantly associated with the experience of violence among men in both Ghana and Uganda.

Perpetration of spousal physical violence

Table 3.4. Logistic regression results for ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence for currently married men and women age 15-49: Adjusted odds ratios, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]
Individual characteristics								
Current age (ref: 35-49)								
15-24	1.34	[0.28,6.36]	1.46	[0.60,3.58]	0.51*	[0.26,1.00]	0.59	[0.21,1.69]
25-34	1.43	[0.78,2.62]	1.07	[0.60,1.91]	0.56**	[0.38,0.82]	0.87	[0.46,1.65]
Type of union (ref: Married)								
Living together	0.86	[0.39,1.89]	0.85	[0.43,1.65]	1.17	[0.71,1.93]	0.93	[0.47,1.86]
Number of children ever born (ref: 1-2)								
0	0.58	[0.21,1.63]	3.00*	[1.29,6.96]	0.20*	[0.06,0.70]	0.48	[0.12,1.99]
3-4	1.46	[0.80,2.66]	1.58	[0.82,3.04]	1.70*	[1.04,2.78]	0.94	[0.39,2.26]
5+	0.91	[0.39,2.14]	1.79	[0.79,4.05]	1.68*	[1.02,2.79]	0.77	[0.27,2.22]
Education (ref: None)								
Primary	0.90	[0.41,1.95]	2.52*	[1.07,5.91]	0.87	[0.48,1.57]	1.28	[0.64,2.54]
Secondary+	0.52	[0.25,1.06]	2.93**	[1.31,6.60]	1.11	[0.58,2.12]	1.38	[0.51,3.75]
Employment for cash (ref: Working but not for cash/missing)								
Not working	(1)		0.68	[0.23,2.06]	(1)		1.25	[0.43,3.64]
Working for cash	2.59*	[1.20,5.58]	0.97	[0.48,1.97]	1.96**	[1.30,2.96]	0.59	[0.33,1.06]
Father beat mother (ref: No)								
Yes	2.97***	[1.71,5.15]	2.26**	[1.33,3.82]	2.19***	[1.47,3.25]	2.74**	[1.51,4.97]
Don't know	0.80	[0.21,3.01]	3.66**	[1.66,8.10]	2.24**	[1.35,3.72]	3.79*	[1.33,10.85]
Couple/spouse characteristics								
Spousal age difference¹ (ref: Wife is 1-4 years younger)								
Husband same age or younger	1.30	[0.45,3.72]	1.76	[0.73,4.23]	0.70	[0.37,1.31]	0.72	[0.26,1.97]
Wife is 5-9 years younger	0.90	[0.49,1.63]	0.88	[0.48,1.59]	1.02	[0.69,1.50]	0.80	[0.42,1.52]
Wife is 10-14 years younger	1.35	[0.62,2.93]	0.41	[0.15,1.08]	0.68	[0.43,1.09]	0.94	[0.44,2.02]
Wife is 15+ years younger	0.88	[0.24,3.25]	0.74	[0.30,1.84]	0.62	[0.25,1.56]	0.86	[0.36,2.10]
Husband has other wives (ref: No)								
Yes	2.07	[0.64,6.70]	0.78	[0.43,1.42]	0.60**	[0.40,0.88]	1.26	[0.73,2.17]
Spouse's alcohol consumption (ref: Does not drink)								
Drinks but is never drunk			2.74	[0.94,8.00]	1.12	[0.69,1.83]	0.97	[0.26,3.59]
Sometimes drunk	1.95	[0.94,4.06]	5.64***	[2.75,11.57]	3.09**	[1.47,6.48]	3.79***	[1.86,7.72]
Often drunk	(2)		2.45**	[1.34,4.48]	1.54	[0.99,2.38]	2.34*	[1.13,4.84]

Continued...

Table 3.4—Continued

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]	aOR	[95% CI]
Indicators of gender attitudes and roles								
Age at marriage² (ref: 25+ years)								
<18 years	0.70	[0.22,2.24]	1.96	[0.70,5.49]	2.52**	[1.45,4.37]	1.69	[0.43,6.62]
18-24 years	1.35	[0.76,2.38]	1.54	[0.61,3.88]	1.63*	[1.04,2.57]	1.39	[0.35,5.48]
Decisionmaking on major household purchases (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	1.87*	[1.07,3.28]	1.48	[0.83,2.65]	0.98	[0.68,1.41]	0.85	[0.41,1.78]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	0.78	[0.22,2.81]	1.18	[0.64,2.19]	1.01	[0.40,2.53]	1.02	[0.51,2.03]
Decisionmaking on visits to the wife's family (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	0.78	[0.44,1.41]	1.36	[0.74,2.50]	1.00	[0.68,1.47]	1.55	[0.78,3.09]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	0.71	[0.34,1.51]	0.80	[0.41,1.57]	1.10	[0.68,1.78]	1.13	[0.56,2.29]
Number of reasons wife beating is justified (ref: Agrees with 0 reasons)								
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	1.06	[0.52,2.17]	1.37	[0.72,2.60]	2.77***	[1.92,4.00]	1.55	[0.79,3.04]
Agrees with 3+ reasons	1.10	[0.47,2.59]	1.72	[0.92,3.23]	2.76***	[1.85,4.12]	1.29	[0.63,2.64]
Household characteristics								
Area of residence (ref: Rural)								
Urban	1.17	[0.57,2.39]	1.21	[0.63,2.31]	1.33	[0.69,2.54]	0.43	[0.14,1.28]
Wealth quintile (ref: Lowest)								
Second	2.07	[0.88,4.83]	0.52	[0.22,1.21]	1.16	[0.72,1.88]	1.64	[0.83,3.24]
Middle	1.61	[0.64,4.09]	0.60	[0.23,1.55]	0.70	[0.42,1.17]	0.89	[0.40,1.98]
Fourth	1.64	[0.59,4.51]	0.88	[0.36,2.16]	0.72	[0.41,1.24]	0.69	[0.28,1.74]
Highest	1.68	[0.53,5.36]	0.67	[0.24,1.88]	0.50*	[0.27,0.94]	1.62	[0.65,4.05]
Number of respondents	531		1,408		993		1,300	

Note: The multivariate models exclude the following cases: 2 men in Ghana, 1 with missing information on spousal age difference and 1 with missing information on education; 17 women in Ghana, 1 each with missing information on age at marriage, education and spouse's alcohol consumption and 15 women with missing information on spousal age difference; 2 men in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 1 with missing information on spousal age difference; and 4 women in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 3 with missing information on spousal age difference.

(1) 5 non-working men in Ghana and 4 non-working men in Uganda have been coded as working but not for cash.

(2) 29 Ghanaian men who reported their wives drink but is never drunk and 1 who reported his wife is often drunk are recoded to "sometimes drunk".

¹ For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

² Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

Table 3.4 provides the adjusted odds ratios from the logistic regression run with 'ever perpetrated spousal physical violence' as the dependent variable and all the same explanatory variables discussed earlier. The table shows that very few characteristics are consistently associated with perpetration of violence by men and by women. The two variables that are most consistently and positively associated with men's and women's perpetration of violence are the same that were most consistently associated with their experience of violence, namely father beat mother and spouse's alcohol consumption. In both Ghana and Uganda, men and women whose fathers beat their mothers have odds of perpetrating violence that are 2-3 times higher than for those whose fathers did not beat their mothers. Additionally, in both Ghana and Uganda, women whose spouses are sometimes or often drunk, and in Uganda men whose spouses are sometimes drunk, have much higher odds of perpetrating violence (3-6 times higher) than those whose spouses do not drink.

The only other variable that is significantly associated with men's risk of perpetration of spousal violence in both countries is the employment variable. In both Ghana and Uganda, men who work for cash have odds of perpetrating violence that are 2-2.6 times higher than for men who work but not for cash. There are other variables associated with men's risk of violence, but not in both countries. In Ghana the only other variable significantly associated with this risk is men's attitudes about who in a couple should make decisions about major household purchases. Men who respond to this question by saying that the husband should make the decisions have higher odds of perpetrating spousal violence (OR: 1.9 [CI: 1.07-3.28]) than men who say that these decisions should be made jointly by husbands and wives. In Uganda by contrast, several characteristics are associated with men perpetrating violence. These include age, number of children ever born, having more than one wife, age at marriage, number of reasons wife beating is justified, and wealth. Specifically, younger men (age 15-24 and age 25-34) have much lower odds of perpetrating violence than men age 25-49. Further, compared with men with 1-2 children, men who have no children have much lower odds (OR: 0.2 [CI: 0.06-0.07]), and men who have 3-4 children (OR: 1.7 [CI: 1.04-2.78]) and who have 5 or more children (OR: 1.7 [CI: 1.02-2.79]) have much higher odds. Thus in Uganda, even controlling for age, education, and wealth, men who have three or more children are much more likely than men with fewer children to perpetrate spousal violence. The risk of perpetration is significantly lower among men who have more than one wife (OR: 0.6 [CI: 0.40-0.88]), and men in the wealthiest households (OR: 0.5 [CI: 0.27-0.94]). Additional characteristics that identify Ugandan men as having higher odds of perpetrating violence include marriage under age 25, and particularly before age 18 (OR: 2.5 [CI: 1.45-4.37]), and agreeing with one or more reasons that justify wife beating. The latter finding suggests that gender-role attitudes of Ugandan men—in this case, a husband's right to beat his wife—conform to their actual behavior.

Factors that are associated with women being at risk of perpetrating violence, other than having a father who beat their mother and their spouse's alcohol consumption, are very few in Ghana and none in Uganda. In Ghana, women who have primary education (OR: 2.5 [CI: 1.07-5.91]) and those who have secondary or higher education (OR: 2.9 [CI: 1.31-6.60]) have much higher odds of perpetrating violence than women with no education. Further, the likelihood of perpetrating violence is much greater among women with no children compared with women with 1-2 children.

Thus, as was the case with the experience of spousal violence, few factors consistently affect the likelihood that men and women are perpetrators of violence. While education is generally hypothesized to reduce the likelihood of violence, these data show that in some cases higher levels of education tend to be associated with a higher risk of experience of spousal violence (for men in Ghana and for men and women in Uganda), as well as of perpetration of violence (for women in Uganda). Wealth, however, is consistently associated with lower levels of experience and perpetration of violence, but only for men in Uganda. Further, urban living is associated with a higher prevalence of the experience of violence, but only for women in Ghana. Having a mother who was beaten by their father has a substantial net effect on both women and men, generally increasing their odds of both experiencing and perpetrating violence. Similarly, abuse of alcohol is positively associated with both forms of violence. The analysis also suggests that, if statistically significant, gender attitudes and roles that reflect the subordination of women are positively associated with a higher likelihood of experience and perpetration of violence. Contrary to expectations, however, having a large spousal age difference appears to be protective of women against experiencing violence, but not men.

Joint spousal physical violence variable

Examining the experience of violence and perpetration of violence separately does not account for the fact that some men and women are in more than one of these two categories. Thus to examine, by gender, the characteristics of individuals who are in the various joint categories of violence (has perpetrated, not experienced; has not perpetrated, but has experienced; both perpetrated and experienced; and neither perpetrated nor experienced) multinomial regressions were run, one each for men and women in the two countries. Table 3.5 provides the adjusted relative risk ratios (aRRR) from these regressions. The reference category for the dependent variable is individuals who have neither perpetrated spousal violence, nor experienced it.

Has perpetrated, but not experienced: For Ghanaian men, the relative risk of being in this category is higher only for those whose mothers were beaten by their fathers, and for those who say that husbands should decide about major household purchases; for Ugandan men, the likelihood of being in this violence category is significantly associated with many more characteristics. In Uganda, the relative risk of being in this category is higher for men with 3-4 children, men working for cash, men whose fathers beat their mothers, men who are sometimes drunk, men married before age 18, and men who agree with one or more reasons for wife beating. The risk is lower for men who are age 25-34, men with no children, and men whose wives are 10-14 years younger than them. In Ghana, the relative risk of being in this category is higher for women with no children, women whose husbands are sometimes or often drunk, women who were married before age 18, and women who agree with three or more reasons for wife beating. In Uganda, the risk is higher for women working for cash and women whose fathers beat their mothers. The only characteristic consistently associated with men being in this category is having a father who beat their mother; by contrast, there is no characteristic that is consistently related with women being in this category.

Experienced, not perpetrated: For Ghanaian men, the only characteristic significantly associated with their relative risk of experiencing but not perpetrating violence is age: Ghanaian men age 24-35 have a higher risk than older men of being in this category. For Ugandan men, the relative risk for being in this category is higher for men who have 3-4 children, men who have any education (primary or secondary or higher), and men whose fathers beat their mothers. The risk is lower for men age 25-34. In both Ghana and Uganda, the characteristics that are associated with a higher risk of being in this category for women are having a father who beat their mother (significant only at $p < 0.1$ in Ghana), having a husband who is sometimes or often drunk, and agreeing with 1-2 reasons for wife beating (in Ghana), or 3 or more reasons (in Uganda). In addition, in Ghana, women who live in urban areas have a higher relative risk of being in this category than women in rural areas; and women in Uganda have a lower relative risk of being in this category if they have no children and a higher relative risk if they have primary education.

Both perpetrated and experienced violence: Ghanaian and Ugandan men and women have a higher relative risk of being in this category if their father beat their mother and if their spouse is drunk sometimes or frequently. Further, the relative risk is higher for Ghanaian and Ugandan men if they work for cash. This is the only joint violence category with which wealth has an association, but only for men and not consistently. For Ghanaian men, the relative risk of being in this violence category is higher if they belong to the second wealth quintile, whereas for Ugandan men it is lower if they belong to the middle or the highest wealth quintile. For Ugandan men alone, the relative risk is also higher if they have 3-4 children and if they agree with one or more reasons for wife beating. The relative risk is lower for men who are 25-34 years of age, men who have other wives, and men who were married after age 24. Additionally, for Ghanaian women, being age 15-24, having five or more children, having primary or secondary education, and being the main decisionmaker about major household purchases are all associated with a higher relative risk of being in this category, while being 10-14 years younger than their

Table 3.5. Multinomial logistic regression results for the joint experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence variable for currently married men and women age 15-49, Ghana and Uganda:
Adjusted relative risk ratios (aRRR)

	Ghana						Uganda					
	Has perpetrated, not experienced		Not perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated and experienced		Has perpetrated, not experienced		Not perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated and experienced	
	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI
Individual characteristics												
Current age (ref: 35-49)												
15-24 years												
Men	0.94	[0.15,5.94]	5.23	[0.33,82.68]	4.08	[0.35,47.15]	0.53	[0.25,1.13]	0.84	[0.21,3.45]	0.40	[0.15,1.05]
Women	0.21	[0.04,1.11]	1.36	[0.69,2.69]	5.63**	[1.74,18.17]	0.46	[0.04,5.57]	0.71	[0.39,1.31]	0.53	[0.17,1.66]
25-34 years												
Men	1.12	[0.56,2.23]	4.41**	[1.43,13.59]	2.67	[0.94,7.57]	0.52**	[0.34,0.82]	0.50*	[0.27,0.94]	0.48**	[0.28,0.82]
Women	0.66	[0.32,1.37]	1.06	[0.67,1.68]	1.80	[0.88,3.67]	2.09	[0.47,9.20]	1.03	[0.70,1.51]	0.74	[0.36,1.53]
Type of union (ref: Married)												
Living together												
Men	0.52	[0.15,1.81]	1.84	[0.35,9.67]	1.39	[0.47,4.10]	1.13	[0.64,1.99]	0.53	[0.16,1.76]	1.07	[0.47,2.42]
Women	0.63	[0.25,1.60]	1.05	[0.69,1.61]	1.09	[0.47,2.52]	1.33	[0.31,5.72]	1.00	[0.68,1.47]	0.80	[0.35,1.84]
Number of children ever born (ref: 1-2)												
0												
Men	0.44	[0.10,1.87]	0.11	[0.01,1.74]	0.49	[0.11,2.16]	0.21*	[0.06,0.74]	0.24	[0.03,2.34]	0.10	[0.01,1.35]
Women	3.98*	[1.25,12.68]	0.51	[0.21,1.23]	2.00	[0.70,5.73]	nc		0.39*	[0.16,0.94]	0.45	[0.09,2.11]
3-4												
Men	1.33	[0.68,2.61]	1.24	[0.40,3.86]	1.47	[0.50,4.29]	1.84*	[1.07,3.17]	2.97*	[1.13,7.83]	2.36*	[1.15,4.84]
Women	1.05	[0.44,2.48]	0.97	[0.62,1.51]	2.03	[0.88,4.69]	0.22	[0.03,1.50]	1.19	[0.77,1.84]	1.55	[0.55,4.39]
5+												
Men	1.08	[0.43,2.72]	0.97	[0.15,6.20]	0.44	[0.06,3.00]	1.63	[0.95,2.80]	1.26	[0.49,3.22]	2.08	[0.97,4.46]
Women	0.54	[0.17,1.78]	1.18	[0.67,2.07]	3.97**	[1.43,11.04]	0.27	[0.04,1.91]	0.92	[0.54,1.55]	1.00	[0.29,3.50]
Education (ref: None)												
Primary												
Men	0.58	[0.22,1.55]	3.56	[0.63,20.22]	2.35	[0.67,8.18]	0.78	[0.41,1.49]	3.66*	[1.05,12.76]	1.82	[0.74,4.44]
Women	2.04	[0.42,9.86]	1.11	[0.67,1.84]	2.95*	[1.11,7.85]	0.84	[0.15,4.87]	1.53*	[1.05,2.23]	1.77	[0.80,3.90]
Secondary+												
Men	0.50	[0.22,1.14]	2.99	[0.74,12.09]	0.80	[0.26,2.49]	1.08	[0.54,2.18]	4.29*	[1.22,15.05]	2.03	[0.74,5.59]
Women	2.98	[0.61,14.69]	0.82	[0.49,1.39]	2.54*	[1.03,6.25]	0.77	[0.07,8.03]	0.86	[0.49,1.52]	1.28	[0.36,4.52]
Employment for cash (ref: Working but not for cash/missing)												
Not working												
Men	(3)		(3)		(3)		(3)		(3)		(3)	
Women	0.69	[0.21,2.24]	0.96	[0.51,1.79]	1.21	[0.48,3.03]	3.27	[0.88,12.09]	0.84	[0.61,1.16]	0.37**	[0.19,0.72]
Working for cash												
Men	1.86	[0.79,4.40]	2.56	[0.62,10.64]	7.76*	[1.15,52.35]	1.70*	[1.05,2.75]	0.58	[0.30,1.13]	2.05*	[1.14,3.67]
Women	0.93	[0.14,6.29]	1.24	[0.55,2.78]	0.68	[0.16,2.82]	8.34*	[1.18,59.05]	0.85	[0.48,1.52]	0.76	[0.19,3.10]
Father beat mother (ref: No)												
Yes												
Men	3.03**	[1.56,5.89]	0.66	[0.20,2.23]	3.05*	[1.16,8.02]	2.17***	[1.39,3.39]	2.53*	[1.24,5.14]	3.23***	[1.76,5.92]
Women	1.03	[0.31,3.48]	1.56	[0.99,2.45]	3.96***	[2.07,7.56]	6.59***	[2.19,19.86]	1.82***	[1.36,2.44]	3.38***	[1.68,6.82]
Don't know												
Men	0.41	[0.06,2.81]	0.51	[0.06,4.43]	1.51	[0.35,6.62]	2.34**	[1.35,4.07]	3.66**	[1.58,8.47]	3.54**	[1.44,8.71]
Women	5.04**	[1.57,16.19]	0.59	[0.23,1.53]	2.41	[0.77,7.57]	2.33	[0.22,24.86]	1.40	[0.83,2.35]	5.10**	[1.69,15.34]

Continued...

Table 3.5—Continued

	Ghana						Uganda						
	Has perpetrated, not experienced		Not perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated and experienced		Has perpetrated, not experienced		Not perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated and experienced		
	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	
Couple/spouse characteristics													
Spousal age difference (2) (ref: Wife is 1-4 years younger)													
Husband same age or younger	Men	0.80	[0.21,3.00]	0.45	[0.04,4.51]	3.34	[0.61,18.21]	0.64	[0.31,1.31]	0.93	[0.31,2.80]	0.80	[0.31,2.05]
	Women	3.20	[0.96,10.65]	1.82	[0.95,3.49]	1.60	[0.59,4.32]	0.83	[0.10,6.78]	0.88	[0.50,1.55]	0.65	[0.20,2.11]
Wife is 5-9 years younger	Men	0.62	[0.30,1.30]	1.84	[0.55,6.17]	1.92	[0.69,5.34]	1.01	[0.65,1.54]	1.11	[0.59,2.08]	1.11	[0.64,1.92]
	Women	1.13	[0.43,2.93]	0.98	[0.65,1.49]	0.81	[0.42,1.59]	0.82	[0.23,2.96]	0.91	[0.66,1.25]	0.75	[0.36,1.56]
Wife is 10-14 years younger	Men	1.12	[0.46,2.74]	3.82	[0.75,19.45]	2.63	[0.66,10.44]	0.55*	[0.32,0.94]	0.54	[0.21,1.37]	0.92	[0.47,1.79]
	Women	1.20	[0.32,4.51]	0.71	[0.42,1.20]	0.10**	[0.02,0.39]	1.07	[0.18,6.35]	0.79	[0.51,1.22]	0.77	[0.32,1.85]
Wife is 15+ years younger	Men	0.50	[0.10,2.48]	nc	[0.32,1.07]	3.32	[0.49,22.36]	0.58	[0.22,1.53]	0.29	[0.07,1.21]	0.46	[0.11,1.88]
	Women	1.06	[0.23,4.85]	0.58	[0.32,1.07]	0.54	[0.18,1.63]	0.69	[0.06,8.77]	0.85	[0.46,1.59]	0.76	[0.27,2.16]
Husband/Man has other wives (ref: No)													
Yes	Men	2.10	[0.54,8.19]	0.48	[0.10,2.27]	1.72	[0.27,11.04]	0.66	[0.41,1.04]	0.67	[0.32,1.40]	0.41***	[0.25,0.69]
	Women	1.36	[0.38,4.84]	0.89	[0.56,1.43]	0.60	[0.30,1.20]	1.39	[0.48,4.06]	0.91	[0.66,1.26]	1.22	[0.65,2.27]
Spouse's alcohol consumption (ref: Does not drink)													
Drinks but is never drunk	Men	(4)		(4)		(4)		1.13	[0.65,1.98]	1.25	[0.48,3.22]	1.21	[0.64,2.31]
	Women	3.70	[0.94,14.51]	0.90	[0.35,2.30]	1.37	[0.37,5.11]	0.93	[0.11,7.79]	0.90	[0.48,1.70]	1.04	[0.22,4.97]
Sometimes drunk	Men	1.19	[0.45,3.16]	0.52	[0.04,6.39]	4.01**	[1.41,11.40]	3.41**	[1.38,8.43]	3.05	[0.60,15.41]	4.88**	[1.53,15.59]
	Women	4.61*	[1.11,19.21]	6.50***	[3.69,11.43]	14.04***	[5.84,33.79]	1.68	[0.40,7.04]	3.45***	[2.18,5.44]	10.79***	[4.59,25.38]
Often drunk	Men	(4)		(4)		(4)		1.24	[0.76,2.03]	1.15	[0.42,3.15]	2.48**	[1.32,4.66]
	Women	3.22*	[1.30,7.94]	2.59***	[1.73,3.90]	2.76**	[1.36,5.61]	2.12	[0.58,7.82]	1.98***	[1.42,2.75]	4.10**	[1.74,9.69]
Indicators of gender attitudes and roles													
Age at marriage (1) (ref: 25+ years)													
<18	Men	0.56	[0.16,1.91]	0.31	[0.04,2.63]	0.41	[0.05,3.53]	1.76*	[1.06,2.92]	0.91	[0.38,2.14]	1.04	[0.52,2.07]
	Women	3.05*	[1.11,8.37]	1.08	[0.73,1.59]	0.72	[0.38,1.36]	1.19	[0.41,3.45]	1.12	[0.79,1.58]	1.36	[0.71,2.60]
18-25	Men	0.74	[0.36,1.53]	0.85	[0.26,2.73]	0.69	[0.28,1.67]	0.69	[0.44,1.08]	0.78	[0.38,1.60]	0.38*	[0.16,0.91]
	Women	1.03	[0.36,2.95]	1.30	[0.75,2.26]	0.54	[0.12,2.47]	nc		0.76	[0.35,1.63]	0.81	[0.19,3.42]
Decisionmaking on major household purchases (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/ should decide)													
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	Men	2.23*	[1.16,4.29]	1.53	[0.61,3.80]	1.43	[0.59,3.49]	0.94	[0.61,1.45]	0.88	[0.49,1.58]	1.02	[0.60,1.73]
	Women	0.53	[0.22,1.26]	1.24	[0.76,2.02]	2.44*	[1.09,5.46]	1.45	[0.24,8.80]	2.13**	[1.27,3.57]	1.41	[0.58,3.43]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	Men	1.14	[0.27,4.76]	1.73	[0.24,12.20]	0.33	[0.07,1.51]	0.67	[0.22,2.02]	0.68	[0.10,4.52]	1.78	[0.53,5.97]
	Women	0.72	[0.30,1.76]	0.98	[0.62,1.56]	1.56	[0.71,3.40]	2.67	[0.71,9.96]	1.20	[0.87,1.67]	0.93	[0.44,1.96]

Continued...

Table 3.5—Continued

	Ghana						Uganda					
	Has perpetrated, not experienced		Not perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated, not experienced		Not perpetrated, has experienced		Has perpetrated, has experienced	
	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI	aRRR	95% CI
Decisionmaking on visits to the wife's family (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)												
Men	0.67	[0.31,1.42]	1.44	[0.52,4.03]	1.27	[0.50,3.17]	1.01	[0.66,1.54]	0.60	[0.33,1.08]	0.74	[0.41,1.33]
Women	2.07	[0.79,5.45]	1.38	[0.91,2.09]	1.56	[0.74,3.29]	2.34	[0.65,8.40]	1.07	[0.72,1.58]	1.50	[0.70,3.24]
Men	0.64	[0.27,1.52]	0.66	[0.10,4.29]	0.84	[0.23,3.03]	1.02	[0.57,1.84]	0.87	[0.37,2.04]	1.14	[0.58,2.24]
Women	1.80	[0.67,4.83]	1.20	[0.75,1.90]	0.47	[0.20,1.11]	2.29	[0.66,7.89]	1.18	[0.83,1.68]	1.12	[0.49,2.54]
Number of reasons wife beating is justified (ref: Agrees with 0 reasons)												
Men	1.19	[0.55,2.57]	1.03	[0.27,3.91]	0.87	[0.26,2.96]	2.40***	[1.58,3.65]	1.48	[0.78,2.80]	4.93***	[2.93,8.30]
Women	2.03	[0.68,6.09]	2.05**	[1.34,3.13]	1.53	[0.79,2.96]	1.11	[0.41,3.01]	1.40	[0.96,2.04]	2.11	[0.92,4.84]
Men	0.79	[0.27,2.33]	2.09	[0.33,13.12]	1.68	[0.50,5.73]	2.46***	[1.57,3.85]	0.75	[0.34,1.67]	3.62***	[1.99,6.57]
Women	2.69*	[1.03,7.00]	1.42	[0.88,2.29]	1.42	[0.67,3.01]	0.36	[0.08,1.55]	1.68**	[1.18,2.40]	2.42*	[1.02,5.77]
Household characteristics												
Area of residence (ref: Rural)												
Men	1.13	[0.46,2.76]	2.01	[0.58,7.00]	1.28	[0.50,3.26]	1.32	[0.70,2.48]	1.05	[0.28,3.97]	1.30	[0.45,3.72]
Women	1.28	[0.52,3.16]	1.76*	[1.11,2.81]	1.60	[0.68,3.80]	0.07	[0.01,1.09]	0.83	[0.51,1.35]	0.60	[0.21,1.71]
Wealth quintile (ref: Lowest)												
Men	1.35	[0.52,3.50]	0.51	[0.06,4.62]	7.68*	[1.10,53.55]	1.35	[0.77,2.35]	1.21	[0.53,2.74]	1.00	[0.54,1.83]
Women	1.14	[0.26,4.97]	1.10	[0.61,1.98]	0.37	[0.13,1.07]	0.76	[0.15,3.88]	1.15	[0.78,1.70]	2.09	[0.93,4.70]
Men	1.12	[0.38,3.31]	0.70	[0.12,4.29]	6.06	[0.80,45.59]	0.85	[0.47,1.54]	0.96	[0.39,2.37]	0.43*	[0.21,0.90]
Women	2.21	[0.46,10.64]	1.44	[0.78,2.66]	0.32	[0.10,1.03]	1.35	[0.30,5.95]	0.87	[0.53,1.41]	0.71	[0.27,1.84]
Men	1.12	[0.33,3.82]	0.36	[0.05,2.74]	4.68	[0.63,34.60]	0.81	[0.44,1.50]	0.70	[0.28,1.76]	0.50	[0.22,1.11]
Women	1.62	[0.28,9.40]	1.47	[0.75,2.87]	0.76	[0.24,2.38]	1.03	[0.23,4.59]	0.95	[0.58,1.53]	0.58	[0.18,1.85]
Men	1.80	[0.45,7.26]	0.60	[0.06,6.15]	2.48	[0.30,20.77]	0.60	[0.30,1.22]	0.44	[0.12,1.58]	0.24**	[0.09,0.63]
Women	1.19	[0.20,7.06]	0.95	[0.43,2.07]	0.52	[0.15,1.82]	1.55	[0.32,7.59]	0.64	[0.34,1.19]	1.39	[0.46,4.25]

Note: The multivariate models exclude the following cases: 2 men in Ghana, 1 with missing information on spousal age difference and 1 with missing information on education; 17 women in Ghana, 1 each with missing information on age at marriage, education and spouse's alcohol consumption and 15 women with missing information on spousal age difference; 2 men in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 1 with missing information on spousal age difference; and 4 women in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 3 with missing information on spousal age difference.

- (1) Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.
- (2) For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.
- (3) 5 non-working men in Ghana and 4 non-working men in Uganda have been coded as working in agriculture or working but not for cash.
- (4) 29 Ghanaian men who reported their wives drink but are never drunk and 1 who reported his wife is often drunk are recoded to 'sometimes drunk'

nc: No case

husbands is associated with a lower relative risk. For women in Uganda, agreement with one or more reasons for wife beating is the only other variable associated with a higher risk of both perpetrating and experiencing violence.

This comparison reveals that, again, the only variables consistently associated with the risk of violence are spousal drunkenness and having a father who beat their mother.

Mapping results of the separate analyses of experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence onto the results for the joint spousal physical violence variable

An additional objective of the analysis of the joint spousal physical violence variable is to examine how the covariates found to be significant in each of the separate analyses of the experience and perpetration of spousal violence *map* onto the significant covariates in the joint spousal physical violence variable analysis. Such a mapping allows an assessment of whether a risk factor for, say, experiencing violence, is really one for being in the category of experiencing but not perpetrating, experiencing and perpetrating, or in both categories. However, a note of caution is necessary when drawing conclusions from this analysis. The few cases that are in several of the dependent variable categories—particularly for men in Ghana in the two joint violence categories that include experience of violence (with about 30 or fewer cases in each), and for women in both Ghana and Uganda in the ‘perpetrated, but not experienced’ category—make the results unstable. Further, even when the total number of persons in the dependent variable category is not very small, the number of cases in the subgroups for different characteristics can be very small. This is evident from the sometimes very large confidence intervals around estimates. Thus, the results below are only suggestive, and the discussion focuses more on the direction of the relationship found rather than on the value of the risk ratio.

Figure 3.1 shows how results from the separate regressions for experience of and perpetration of spousal violence map onto the results from the multinomial regression for the joint violence variable. The mapping is done only for characteristic subgroups that were found to be significant in the ever-experience of violence or ever-perpetration of violence binary logistic regressions. The reference groups for the covariates are the same as specified in the earlier tables.

Summarizing across men for the two countries, the figure shows that in total there are 21 subgroups of men (including four that are common to both countries) whose likelihood of ever perpetrating violence (nine subgroups), ever experiencing violence (six subgroups), or both experiencing and perpetrating it (six subgroups) are significantly higher than or lower than for the relevant reference subgroup.

Figure 3.1. Mappings of significant results (with their respective direction of association [+ or -]) from the separate regressions for experience (E) and perpetration (P) of spousal physical violence onto significant results from the multinomial regression for the four-category joint spousal physical violence variable (not perpetrated, not experienced (nPnE); perpetrated, not experienced (PnE); not perpetrated, has experienced (nPE); and has perpetrated and experienced (PE))

Ghana Men	Uganda Men
Age 25-34 +E → nPE	Age: 15-24 -P → none 25-34 -P → PnE and nPE and PE
Education: Primary +E → no mapping Working for cash +E, +P → PE Yes, father beat mother +P → PnE and PE	Education: Primary +E → nPE Secondary or higher +E → nPE Working for cash +P → PnE and PE Yes, father beat mother +E,+P → PnE and nPE and PE
Wife is 10-14 years younger than husband +E → no mapping Mainly husband should decide about major household purchases +P → PnE	Children ever born 0 children -P → PnE 3-4 children +E,+P → PnE and nPE and PE 5+ children +P → none Man has other wives -E, -P → PE Spouse's alcohol consumption: Spouse sometimes drunk +P → PnE and PE Spouse often drunk +E → PE Number of reasons wife beating is justified Agrees with 1-2 reasons +E,+P → PnE and PE Agrees with 3+ reasons +P → PnE and PE Highest wealth quintile -E, -P → PE
Ghana Women	Uganda Women
Has 0 children ever born +P → PnE	Has 0 children ever born -E → nPE
Education: Primary +P → PE Secondary or higher +P → PE Yes, father beat mother +E,+P → PE	Education: Primary +E → nPE
Spouse's alcohol consumption: Spouse sometimes drunk +E,+P → PnE and nPE and PE Spouse often drunk +E,+P → PnE and nPE and PE	Yes, father beat mother +E,+P → PnE and nPE and PE Spouse's alcohol consumption: Spouse sometimes drunk +E,+P → nPE and PE Spouse often drunk +E,+P → nPE and PE
Number of reasons wife beating is justified Agrees with 1-2 reasons +E → nPE	Number of reasons wife beating is justified Agrees with 1-2 reasons +E → none Agrees with 3+ reasons +E → nPE and PE
Age 15-24 +E → PE Urban residence +E → nPE	Respondent decides mainly alone about major household purchases +E → nPE
Spousal age difference: Wife is 10-14 years younger than husband -E → PE Wife is 15+ years younger than husband -E → none	

- Of the nine subgroups of men with a significant association in only the perpetration (+/-P) regression, four map onto the two joint violence categories involving perpetration (PnE and PE), two map on to the perpetration only category (PnE), one maps onto all three categories involving violence, and two do not have a mapping to any joint violence category at all.
- Of the six subgroups of men with a significant association in only the experience of violence (+/-E) regression, half map on to the subcategory of experience only (nPE), one maps on to the mutual violence subcategory (PE) and two do not have a mapping to any joint violence category at all.

- Finally, of the remaining six subgroups of men with a significant association in both the perpetration and experience (+/-P, +/-E) regressions, half map onto the mutual violence (PE) category only, another two map onto all three categories, and one maps onto both the PnE and the PE categories.

Thus, for men, characteristics that have significant associations in the regressions for perpetration only, or in both the perpetration and experience regressions, tend to map onto either the joint violence subgroup of ‘has perpetrated, not experienced’ (PnE) or ‘has perpetrated and experienced’ (PE) subgroup. In Ghana only men age 25-34 compared with older men, and in Uganda only men with any education compared with men with no education, are likely to be in the group of men who have a higher adjusted relative risk of only experiencing but not perpetrating violence. Additionally, three other subgroups map onto the ‘has experienced, not perpetrated’ category as well as the other joint violence categories. Finally, four subgroups do not have a mapping at all onto any joint violence category, suggesting that controlling for experience and perpetration simultaneously explains away the effect on either of the two when examined separately.

Among women in both countries, there are 19 subgroups of characteristics that have significant associations in the binary logistic regressions for either experience of violence or perpetration of violence, or both. Notably, four of these characteristics have the same association in the two countries in the binary models, but do not necessarily map to the same joint violence categories. Two subgroups do not have a mapping at all onto any joint violence category.

The most notable contrast between the mappings for women and men is that, for women, 11 subgroups map onto the joint violence category of ‘not perpetrated but has experienced’ (nPE). Of these, five mappings are to this subgroup alone, three are to this and the mutual violence subgroup (PE), and the remaining are to all three joint violence categories that involve perpetration and/or experience of violence.

- Mapping to the mutual violence category is also common: five characteristic subcategories map to this joint violence category only and another six map to this category along with one or more of the others (nPE and/or PnE).
- Only one subgroup maps solely to the ‘has perpetrated, never experienced’ (PnE) joint violence category: women in Ghana with no children.

This discussion again emphasizes that women are far more likely than men to be victims rather than perpetrators of spousal violence, while men are far more likely to perpetrate violence than experience it themselves. Women are more likely to be in the ‘has experienced only’ category, net of all relevant characteristics, whereas men are more likely to be in the ‘has perpetrated only’ category. The next most common group for both men and women is the ‘mutual violence group’.

3.4 Experience and Perpetration of Violence: Does Gender Have an Independent Net Effect?

Thus far, the analysis has examined the characteristics that affect the risk of experience and perpetration of violence for men and women separately. One of the findings is that several of the variables associated with the risk of experiencing and perpetrating violence are similar for men and women. Thus, a final question asked here is whether gender is a key variable associated with experience and perpetration of violence net of all other relevant variables. To determine the role of gender in each country, the male and female data for each country were combined into one data set with a variable for sex of respondent. Three separate regressions were run for each country: a binary logistic regression each for the two dependent variables ‘ever experienced spousal physical violence’ and ‘ever perpetrated spousal physical violence’, and one multinomial regression for the joint spousal physical violence variable with four categories: neither perpetrated nor experienced; perpetrated, but not experienced; not perpetrated, but experienced;

both perpetrated and experienced. The multinomial analysis has as its reference category respondents who have neither perpetrated nor experienced spousal violence.

Table 3.6 provides the results for the sex variable from the three regressions for each country. The adjusted odds ratios (aOR) for the two logistic regressions and the adjusted relative risk ratios (aRRR) for the multinomial regression are for ‘female’ with male as the reference category. All regressions control for age, type of union, number of children ever born, education, employment, father beat mother, spousal age difference, husband/man has other wives, spouse’s alcohol consumption, age at first marriage, the gender attitudes and roles variables, urban-rural residence, and household wealth.

Table 3.6. Regression results for ever-experience and ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence by gender among currently married men and women 15-49: Adjusted odds/relative risk ratios, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana		Uganda	
	Women (ref: Men)		Women (ref: Men)	
	aOR/aRRR	[95% CI]	aOR/aRRR	[95% CI]
Ever-experience of spousal physical violence (ref: Never)	1.61*	[1.05,2.47]	3.52***	[2.41,5.16]
Ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence (ref: Never)	0.27***	[0.18,0.41]	0.04***	[0.03,0.07]
Multinomial Regression:				
Joint experience and perpetration of violence variable (ref: Neither perpetrated, nor experienced)				
Has perpetrated, not experienced	0.18***	[0.11,0.32]	0.02***	[0.01,0.04]
Not perpetrated, has experienced	2.62**	[1.40,4.91]	6.08***	[3.78,9.77]
Perpetrated and experienced	0.51*	[0.28,0.93]	0.20***	[0.10,0.38]
Number of respondents	1,939		2,293	

Note: All six regression results are adjusted for age, marital status, polygyny status of husband/man, age at marriage, spousal age difference, children ever born, education level, employment status, decisionmaking on major household purchases, decisionmaking on visits to the wife’s family, number of reasons respondent agrees wife beating is justified, spouse’s alcohol consumption, area of residence, wealth quintile, and whether their father beat their mother.

The table clearly shows that the experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence varies significantly by sex of the respondent in both countries, even when controlling for other risk factors. Specifically, women not only have higher odds than men of experiencing spousal physical violence in both Ghana (OR: 1.6 [CI: 1.05-2.47]) and Uganda 3.5 [CI: 2.41-5.16]), but they also have significantly lower odds than men of perpetrating violence in both Ghana (OR: 0.3 [CI: 0.18-0.41]) and Uganda (OR: 0.04 [CI: 0.03-0.07]). Further, the multinomial regression results show that women are much more likely than men to be in the category of those who have experienced spousal violence but not perpetrated it compared with the omitted category of those who have neither perpetrated nor experienced violence; and women are much less likely to be in either category that involves perpetration of violence. A within-country comparison of the relative risk ratios shows that in both Ghana and Uganda the odds for women being in the category of those who have both experienced and perpetrated violence are higher than for those who have perpetrated spousal violence without having experienced it.

3.5 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has shown that many of the factors associated with the risk of experiencing spousal violence are similarly associated with the perpetration of violence for women and for men. Notably, the variables most consistently related to women’s experience of violence in the literature on violence against women—spousal alcohol consumption and father beat mother—are also associated in this study with a

higher likelihood of perpetration of violence by women. Equally importantly, these two variables are associated not only with men's perpetration of spousal violence but also their experience of violence. The effects for men appear to be more consistent in Uganda, and less so in Ghana where the sample size—particularly for men—is much smaller. Finally, in data for men and women together, being female emerges as a significant risk factor for experiencing spousal violence even when other key correlates of violence are controlled for; and being male emerges as a significant risk factor for perpetrating violence.

4 Gender Differences in Demographic and Health Outcomes and High-Risk Behaviors Associated with the Perpetration and Experience of Spousal Physical Violence

Public health research has shown decisively that violence against women is a serious health problem. Such research focuses attention not only on the costs and suffering caused by the immediate outcomes of the violence such as injuries, but also on the wide range of violence-associated longer-term adverse mental, reproductive and other health outcomes for women and their children, and ultimately for their families and communities. There is an extensive literature documenting that women who experience violence are at a significantly higher risk of adverse reproductive and maternal health outcomes, including unwanted fertility, pregnancy loss, higher infant mortality, high-risk choices regarding sexual and lifestyle behaviors, and sexually transmitted infections (STI) including HIV, among other outcomes (Campbell 2002; Kishor and Johnson 2006; United Nations 2006; Emenike, Lawoko, and Dalal 2008; Ellsberg et al. 2008; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2006; Hindin, Kishor and Ansara 2008; Maman et al. 2002). These findings give rise to the key question examined in this chapter: are there gender differences in the health and other consequences of violence experienced and/or perpetrated by men and by women?

To answer this question, this chapter examines whether the bivariate and multivariate associations of selected demographic and health outcomes and high-risk behaviors with experience and/or perpetration of spousal physical violence differ in terms of significance and direction for men and women. The outcomes that should ideally be compared for such an analysis should be ones that are similarly measured for both men and women. However, the DHS surveys are largely focused on collecting information on demographic and reproductive health outcomes for women, and on the health, survival and nutritional status of young children. Little maternal and child health related information is collected from men but is available from their wives if they are interviewed in the survey. If both husband and wife were interviewed, they are included in a ‘couples file,’ permitting analysis of outcomes for men from data that were collected from their wives. Health and behavior-related questions that are asked of both men and women include self-reported STIs, knowledge about HIV transmission and prevention, and high-risk behaviors. The specific outcomes and health-influencing behaviors that are examined for men are listed below according to the source of information:

1. Outcomes examined using data collected from currently married men and from currently married women:
 - a. Had a self-reported STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months
 - b. Used a condom at last sex with the most recent partner in the past 12 months
 - c. Had a non-marital, non-cohabiting sexual partner in the past 12 months
 - d. Lifetime number of sexual partners
 - e. Paid for sex in the past 12 months (men only)

2. Outcomes examined for men using data collected from their wives in the couples file and from currently married women:⁵
 - a. Number of children ever born⁶
 - b. Ever had a child die among those who have ever had a live birth
 - c. Ever had a non-live birth among women who have ever been pregnant
 - d. Having a child who is stunted among those with a child under age 5 years who was weighed and measured

Table 4.1. Comparison of currently married men age 15-49 and their wives in the couples file domestic violence subsample with the total domestic violence subsample, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana						Uganda					
	Currently married men age 15-49 who received the DV module			Currently married women age 15-49 who received the DV module and wives of men who received the DV module			Currently married men age 15-49 who received the DV module			Currently married women age 15-49 who received the DV module and wives of men who received the DV module		
	Couples file	*	All men	Wives of men in the couples file	*	All women	Couples file	*	All men	Wives of men in the couples file	*	All women
Age												
Mean age	36.4		35.9	30.7	*	32.6	33.7		33.9	28.6	*	30.7
Marital status												
% married (rather than cohabiting)	90.1		88.3	79.3		78.4	90.1		89.6	76.5		78.0
Number of living children												
Mean number	3.2		2.9	2.8		3.0	4.7		4.6	3.6	*	4.0
Education												
Mean number of years of education ¹	7.4		7.7	5.5		5.7	6.1		6.2	4.4		4.3
Wealth quintile												
Mean wealth quintile	3.1		3.1	3.1		3.0	3.0		3.0	3.0		3.0
Place of residence												
Percent urban	41.4		43.6	41.4		41.6	11.8		13.9	11.8		13.0
Number (weighted)	410		534	410		1,425	833		993	833		1,304

Note: Each man is included only once in analysis. In polygynous relationships, only the first wife listed in the household schedule is selected for analysis. Data on all women are weighted using the women's domestic violence weight. All other columns are weighted using the men's domestic violence weight.

¹ Excludes missing values

* Indicates a statistically significant difference between those included in the couples analysis the full DV sample

Since the men's data used in this chapter are based on all currently married men for some variables and on the wives of the subset of currently married men who are in the couples files, Table 4.1 shows how the sample of currently married men compares with the subsample of men in the couples file, and how the corresponding sample of wives of men in the couples file compares with the sample of currently married women. The table shows that the sample of currently married men does not differ significantly on any key background characteristic from the subsample of men in the couples file. For women, the only significant

⁵ Note that the survey sample design precludes the possibility that wives of the men who received the domestic violence module could have also themselves received the domestic violence module.

⁶ Men are also asked about their number of children ever born. However, since their report might include children from multiple wives and may not be accurate regarding children who have died, variables related to number of children and death of children are based on wives' reports.

difference in the data for both countries is that the sample of currently married women who received the domestic violence module is, on average, about 2 years older than the wives of men (in the couples file) who received the domestic violence module. Additionally, in Uganda but not in Ghana, wives of men in the couples file have somewhat fewer children on average than currently married women. Overall, however, the comparison in Table 4.1 shows that men in the couples file, using data collected from their wives, are representative of all currently married men in the sample.

A serious limitation of the analysis of most health outcomes examined in this chapter is the small sample sizes involved (see appendix Table A4 for relevant unweighted sample sizes by violence indicators). Not all men had a wife who was interviewed. Looking at the unweighted sample, in Ghana, the number of men in the domestic violence sample whose wife was interviewed is 471 (compared with the full sample of 594 men) and in Uganda it is 999 men (compared with the full sample of 1,148 men). Further, not only are the original sample sizes relatively small, particularly for specific categories of violence, but the analysis of some outcomes requires further reductions in sample size: for example, to examine stunting among children, data from only men (based on information from their wives) and women who had a child under age 5 years who was weighed and measured can be analyzed. For example, in Ghana, this restriction reduces the unweighted sample of currently married men to 293 and of currently married women to 871.

Another factor affecting analysis is that several of the outcomes of interest are relatively rare (e.g., self-reported STIs or ever had a non-live birth) and may have too few cases for meaningful analysis, particularly in specific categories of violence. Given the issues around sample sizes, analyses of many of the outcomes yield large sampling errors, even for the entire sample of women and/or men whose wives were interviewed. Further, estimates can be even more unstable when examined in relation to the experience of spousal violence by men and its perpetration by women. Thus, the analyses in this chapter need to be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive, with attention paid to the size of the confidence intervals.

The rest of the chapter provides a discussion of the bivariate and multivariate associations of men's and women's perpetration and/or experience of physical spousal violence with each of the health and behavioral outcomes listed above. There are two types of dependent variables discussed below: binary (two-category) dependent variables and continuous dependent variables. Both bivariate and multivariate results are presented for each outcome. For the two-category outcomes, the bivariate analyses compare percentages of men and women with the outcome by their experience and/or perpetration of violence and the multivariate analyses are done using logistic regression modeling. For outcome variables that are continuous, the bivariate analyses compare means and the multivariate analyses are done using ordinary least squares modeling.

For each health or behavioral outcome, results from three different multivariate models are presented from regressions run separately for men and women. The three models control for the same background variables as relevant for the dependent outcome, but vary in the specific spousal violence variable included. For all outcomes:

- Model 1 (M1) controls for ever-experience of spousal physical violence;
- Model 2 (M2) controls for ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence; and
- Model 3 (M3) has two variations depending on the number of cases. If there are enough cases to permit a meaningful evaluation of the model, this third model (M3a) controls for the four-category joint spousal physical violence variable (not perpetrated, not experienced; perpetrated, not experienced; has experienced, not perpetrated; and both perpetrated and experienced). For many outcomes, however, the joint variable has insufficient cases in one or more subcategories

and cannot be meaningfully included in the multivariate analysis. In such a case, the third model (M3b) simply includes both the variables ‘ever-experience of violence’ and ‘ever-perpetration of violence’, in order to see the effects of each while controlling for the other.

Models with an interaction term for the experience and perpetration of violence were also examined but did not provide added insights. All analyses take into account the surveys’ multistage cluster sample design using the Stata svy commands.

4.1 Spousal Physical Violence and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) and STI Symptoms

Research indicates much higher rates of STIs and HIV among women who have been abused compared with women who have not (Maman et al. 2002; Kishor *forthcoming*). While information is not available on HIV serostatus for Ghana and Uganda, the DHS asked men and women in both countries a series of three questions to determine whether they had an STI or STI symptom in the 12 months preceding the survey. First men and women were asked if during the past 12 months they had a ‘disease which you got through sexual contact.’ This question was followed by questions on whether they had experienced an abnormal (and also bad smelling in the case of women) genital discharge and whether they had a genital sore or ulcer in the past 12 months. In this analysis, men and women who answered yes to one or more of these questions are considered to have had an STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months. Thus the data on STIs analyzed here are based on self-reports which can be unreliable. Nonetheless, the objective here is not to estimate prevalence, but to see if self-reports of STIs are related in a systematic way to the experience and/or perpetration of violence for men and women.

Table 4.2. Percentage who had, and adjusted odds ratios of having had, a sexually transmitted infection (STI) or STI symptom in the 12 months preceding the survey among currently married men and currently married women age 15-49 by ever-experience and/or perpetration of spousal physical violence: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Had an STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months by:								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence								
No (%)	3.5		14.0		12.6		22.5	
Yes (%)	12.5		25.9		20.0		26.0	
M1. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	3.41*	CI:1.18-9.92	2.35***	CI:1.65-3.34	1.71*	CI:1.07-2.71	1.42*	CI:1.05-1.92
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence								
No (%)	3.9		16.0		12.3		23.4	
Yes (%)	7.0		19.0		16.4		36.6	
M2. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	1.65	CI:0.61-4.42	1.13	CI:0.64-2.00	1.41	CI:0.95-2.12	2.07**	CI:1.19-3.59
c) Joint spousal violence variable								
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	3.8		14.1		12.3		21.9	
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	1.6		(11.3)		13.1		S	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	s		26.5		12.7		25.3	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	(17.1)		23.7		23.4		32.4	
M3a. Adjusted odds ratios (aORs)¹								
(ref: Not perpetrated, not experienced)								
Has perpetrated, not experienced	0.43	CI:0.06-3.24	0.67	CI:0.19-2.43	1.14	CI:0.69-1.88)	5.06**	CI:1.88-13.59
Has experienced, not perpetrated	1.92	CI:0.21-17.37	2.47***	CI:1.66-3.66	1.09	CI:0.53-2.25)	1.42*	CI:1.03-1.95
Both experienced and perpetrated	3.97*	CI:1.19-13.25	1.88	CI:0.98-3.59	2.20**	CI:1.25-3.90)	2.09*	CI:1.10-3.97
Total (% and number)	4.4	534	16.2	1,425	14.0	993	24.1	1,304

Note: Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, number of living children, number of children who died, and having had more than one partner in the past year.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

For identifying the net association of experiencing and/or perpetrating spousal physical violence with having an STI or STI symptom, three multivariate logistic models were run with respondents who have had an STI or STI symptom coded as 1 and other respondents coded as 0. All models control for current age, education, urban-rural residence, wealth, number of living children, number of children who have died, and having had more than one sexual partner in the past 12 months.

In Ghana, 4 percent of men and 16 percent of women, and in Uganda, 14 percent of men and 24 percent of women, report having had an STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months. Table 4.2 shows that in both countries, a significantly higher proportion of men who have ever experienced spousal violence report having had an STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months compared with men who have not experienced violence (13 percent versus 4 percent in Ghana, and 20 percent versus 13 percent in Uganda), but the proportion of men reporting an STI or STI symptom does not vary significantly by ever-perpetration of violence. The variation in the proportion who report having an STI or STI symptom by the joint spousal violence variable, however, shows that for men in both Ghana and Uganda, it is mainly those who have both perpetrated and experienced violence who have significantly higher prevalence of having an STI or STI symptom (17 percent in Ghana and 23 percent in Uganda).

The bivariate findings for men are confirmed by the multivariate models. The odds of having an STI or STI symptom are significantly higher among men who have experienced spousal physical violence (M1), but not among men who have perpetrated it (M2), in both Ghana and Uganda. However, the third regression model (M3) shows that only men who have both experienced violence and also perpetrated it have significantly higher odds—in Ghana (OR: 4.0 [1.19- 13.25]) and in Uganda (OR: 2.2 [1.25-3.90])—of having an STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months compared with the reference category of men who have neither experienced spousal violence nor perpetrated it.

For women, the relationship between spousal violence and having an STI or STI symptom varies by country. In Ghana, both bivariate and multivariate results show that women who have ever experienced violence are much more likely to have had an STI or STI symptom in the past 12 months. In the third model (M3), the odds of having an STI or STI symptom are significantly higher only for women who have experienced spousal violence but not perpetrated it (OR: 2.5 [1.66-3.66]) compared with the reference category of women who have neither experienced nor perpetrated violence. In Uganda, by contrast, the bivariate and multivariate data suggest that women who have experienced violence and women who have perpetrated it are more likely to have an STI or STI symptom. Results from M3 show that the odds of having an STI or STI symptom are significantly higher for each category of women who have experienced and/or perpetrated violence compared with women who have done neither.

This discussion suggests that the risk of having a self-reported STI or STI symptom is higher for men who belong to the category of men who both experience spousal physical violence and perpetrate it. By contrast, for women in both countries, the risk of having an STI or STI symptom is consistently higher among women who only experience violence but have never perpetrated it. Additionally, in one of the two countries (Uganda) this risk is also higher among women who have perpetrated violence, whether or not they also have experienced it.

4.2 Spousal Physical Violence and HIV-Related High-Risk Behaviors

Intimate partner violence (IPV), of which spousal violence is a major component, is hypothesized to expose women and men who perpetrate it to a higher risk of HIV and other STIs through several interrelated and overlapping pathways (Abrahams et al. 2004; Campbell et al. 2008; Maman et al. 2010; Maman et al. 2000; Jewkes et al. 2010; Fonck et al. 2005). Women who have experienced IPV are more likely than those who have not experienced it to be disempowered through depression, suicidal ideation and related mental health issues, less likely to be able to negotiate safe sex with partners, and have a higher risk of making adverse lifestyle choices, including substance abuse and promiscuity, that put in

them in the path of infection (Fuentes, 2002; Williams et al 2010; Swan and O’Connell 2012; Campbell 2002; Garcia-Morena et al. 2006). Additionally, abused women are at a higher risk of infection because their partners who abuse them also tend to have other higher-risk sexual and lifestyle behaviors (Maman et al 2010; Campbell et al. 2008).

In line with the hypothesized pathways between IPV and HIV infection, the four outcomes related to sexual behavior—used a condom at last sex with the most recent partner in the past 12 months; had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months; lifetime number of sexual partners; and paid for sex in the past 12 months—are examined to identify their association with perpetration and/or experience of spousal physical violence. The data for the four sexual behavior variables come from survey questions that respondents are asked about their sexual partners. For each of the respondent’s sexual partners in the past 12 months (up to three partners), the survey obtains information on the relationship with the partner (i.e., whether a spouse, casual partner, prostitute, etc.) and on condom use the last time they had sex with that partner. Further, men who do not spontaneously report a prostitute as one of their three last partners are asked a separate question on whether they paid for sex in the past 12 months, and if yes, whether they used a condom the last time they paid for sex. Additionally, men and women are asked about their total number of sexual partners in their lifetime.

Use of a condom at last sexual intercourse with most recent partner in the past 12 months

For this analysis, men and women who had sex in the past 12 months and used a condom with their most recent partners were coded 1 and those who had sex in the past 12 months but did not use a condom with any partner were coded 0.⁷ Those who did not have sex in the past 12 months were excluded from the analysis. Table 4.3 presents the percentages of men and women who used a condom with their most recent partner by their ever-experience and/or perpetration of spousal physical violence. The odds ratios presented in the table are adjusted for age, education, wealth quintile, urban-rural residence, number of living children, number of children who have died, and having had a non-marital, non-spousal partner in the past 12 months. Note that the third regression model (M3) includes both experience and perpetration of spousal violence as two separate variables. The model with the joint violence variable could not be run because several of the categories did not have enough cases. It is expected that experience of violence will undermine the ability of an individual to negotiate safe sex, which includes negotiating the use of a condom.

Among currently married men who had sex in the past 12 months, 11 percent in Ghana and 8 percent in Uganda report condom use at last sex with the most recent partner in the past 12 months. Among currently married women who had sex in the past 12 months, even fewer—3 percent in Ghana and 4 percent in Uganda—used a condom at last sex with the most recent partner in the past 12 months. The bivariate analysis for men shows that condom use at last sex does not vary significantly by experience and perpetration of violence. In Ghana, however, men who have perpetrated spousal violence are significantly less likely to have used a condom at last sex (OR: 0.3 [0.06-0.96]) than men who have not perpetrated violence. This relationship is also seen in the third model (M3) that controls for experience of spousal violence and other relevant variables, but the relationship is no longer statistically significant.

⁷ For men who reported sex with a prostitute in the past 12 months, the prostitute is treated as the most recent partner in this analysis.

Table 4.3. Percentage who used a condom at last sexual intercourse with their most recent partner in the past 12 months and adjusted odds ratios of using a condom at last sexual intercourse with the most recent partner by ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence, among currently married men and currently married women age 15-49 who had sex in the past 12 months: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Used a condom at last sexual intercourse with most recent partner in the past 12 months								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence								
No (%)	11.0		3.1		6.8		4.8	
Yes (%)	13.1		2.6		11.1		2.2	
M1. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	0.86	CI:0.22-3.32	0.73	CI:0.31-1.75	1.76	CI:0.96-3.24	0.51	CI:0.22-1.19
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence								
No (%)	12.5		2.8		6.3		3.7	
Yes (%)	4.4		7.0		9.5		0.0	
M2. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	0.24*	CI:0.06-0.96	2.46	CI:0.73-8.35	1.33	CI:0.80-2.22	nc	nc
c) Joint spousal violence variable								
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	11.5		2.8		6.1		4.9	
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	6.8		(13.7)		8.2		s	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	s		2.7		8.5		2.4	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	(0.0)		2.4		12.4		0.0	
M3b. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes experienced (ref: No)	1.46	CI:0.31-6.87	0.56	CI:0.20-1.55	1.67	CI:0.90-3.13	nc	nc
Yes perpetrated (ref: No)	0.21	CI:0.04-1.19	3.07	CI:0.80-11.81	1.19	CI:0.70-2.01	nc	nc
Total (% and number)	11.2	504	3.0	1,263	7.6	980	3.5	1,256

Note: Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A percentage in parentheses indicates that it is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, number of living children, number of children who died, and having had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past year.

nc: no cases; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Among women in Ghana, none of the violence indicators are significantly associated with condom use in the multivariate models; and in Uganda some of the multivariate models could not be run because of insufficient cases. Nonetheless, the bivariate results in both countries suggest that women who have experienced spousal violence are less likely to have used a condom with their last sexual partner than women who have not experienced violence.

Had sex with a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months

Sex with a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner is sexual behavior that puts persons at a higher risk of HIV and STIs because non-marital, non-cohabiting partners include casual and shorter-term partners and prostitutes who may have other concurrent sexual partners. For this analysis, men and women who had at least one sexual partner in the past 12 months who was not their spouse or cohabiting partner are coded 1, and men and women who reported having partners who were either a spouse or a cohabiting partner are coded 0. Women and men who did not have sex in the past year are also coded 0, because they did not have sex with a non-spousal partner. Table 4.4 provides the percentages of men and women who had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months by ever-experience and/or perpetration of spousal violence and gives the odds ratios for each of the three regression models. All regression models control for age, education, wealth quintile, urban-rural residence, number of living children, and number of children who have died. Due to sample size constraints, multivariate models could be run only for men.

Table 4.4. Percentage of currently married men and currently married women age 15-49 who had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past year and adjusted odds ratios for having a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner by ever-experience and/or perpetration of spousal physical violence: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Had a non-marital/non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months by:								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence								
No (%)	16.3		0.9	*	17.9		1.0	
Yes (%)	27.2		2.6		25.3		1.2	
M1. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	1.70	CI:0.73-3.94	na		1.99**	CI:1.30-3.04	na	
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence								
No (%)	16.5		1.1		15.4		0.9	
Yes (%)	21.6		2.4		25.0		3.4	
M2. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	1.45	CI:0.76-2.77	na		2.39***	CI:1.66-3.43	na	
c) Joint spousal violence variable								
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	15.6		1.0		15.8		1.0	
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	21.0		0.0		21.9		nc	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	s		2.2		11.5		0.9	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	22.6		3.8		31.8		4.1	
M3a. Adjusted odds ratios (aOR)¹								
<i>(ref: Not perpetrated, not experienced)</i>								
Has perpetrated, not experienced	1.61	CI:0.73-3.55	na		1.87**	CI:1.24-2.83	na	
Has experienced, not perpetrated	2.35	CI:0.65-8.47	na		0.84	CI:0.38-1.88	na	
Both experienced and perpetrated	1.43	CI:0.51-3.95	na		3.93***	CI:2.31-6.68	na	
Total (% and number)	17.3	534	1.2	1,425	19.3	993	1.1	1,304

Note: Respondents who reported no sex in the past year are treated as not having had non-spousal sex. Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A percentage in parentheses indicates that it is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, number of living children, and number of children who have died.

na: not applicable; nc: no cases; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

In Ghana, 17 percent of men, and in Uganda 19 percent, report having had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months; by contrast, in both Ghana and Uganda, only 1 percent of women report having had such a partner. In both countries, the proportion of men and women who have had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner is higher if they have either experienced or perpetrated spousal violence. The differential is significant for women in Ghana who have ever experienced violence (3 percent) compared with those who have not experienced violence (1 percent), and significant for men in Uganda who have experienced violence and who have perpetrated violence (25 percent versus 18 percent and 25 percent versus 15 percent, respectively). In Uganda, 32 percent of men who have experienced and perpetrated violence, and 22 percent who have perpetrated but not experienced violence, report having had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner compared with 16 percent among those who have neither perpetrated nor experienced violence.

In Ghana men's likelihood of having a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months is not significantly associated with any of the spousal violence indicators. Among Ugandan men, however, the odds of having a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months are twice as high among men in M1 who have ever-experienced violence (OR: 2.0 [1.30-3.04]) as among men who have not; and more than twice as high (OR: 2.4 [1.66-3.43]) among men in M2 who have ever-perpetrated violence as among men who have not. The results for the third model (M3) show that men who have either only perpetrated violence, or who have both perpetrated and experienced it, have a significantly higher likelihood of having had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months.

Total lifetime number of sexual partners

One of the key variables associated with individual risk of contracting HIV is a person's total lifetime number of sexual partners. Research consistently finds that the higher the number of lifetime partners, the higher the risk of having HIV (Mishra et al. 2009; Townsend et al. 2011). Table 4.5 shows how mean number of lifetime partners varies by experience and perpetration of spousal violence. The table also shows coefficients for the three multivariate ordinary least squares regressions. All regression models control for age, education, wealth quintile, urban-rural residence, number of living children, and number of children who have died.

Table 4.5. Mean number of lifetime sexual partners by ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical and adjusted ordinary least squares regression coefficients derived by regressing ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence on number of lifetime sexual partners for currently married men and currently married women age 15-49: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Mean lifetime number of sexual partners								
by:								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence								
No	5.8		1.9		5.9		2.1	
Yes	7.7		2.1		7.8		2.1	
M1. Adjusted coefficient for ever-experience of violence regressed on total lifetime number of sexual partners:¹								
aβ (ref: No)	2.01	CI:-1.58-5.59	0.23**	CI:0.06-0.40	1.09	CI:-0.29-2.47	0.08	CI:-0.21-0.37
b) Ever perpetrated violence								
No	5.8		1.9		5.7		2.1	
Yes	7.3		2.4		7.3		2.3	
M2. Adjusted coefficient for ever-perpetration of spousal violence regressed on total lifetime number of sexual partners:¹								
aβ (ref: No)	1.54	CI:-0.61-3.68	0.45**	CI:0.12-0.77	1.91*	CI:0.17-3.65	0.33	CI:-0.51-1.16
c) Joint spousal violence variable								
Not perpetrated, not experienced	5.7		1.9		5.4		2.1	
Has perpetrated, not experienced	7.0		2.5		7.0		s	
Has experienced, not perpetrated	S		2.1		7.3		2.0	
Both experienced and perpetrated	(7.9)		2.4		8.0		2.4	
M3a. Adjusted coefficients for the joint spousal violence variable regressed on total lifetime number of sexual partners:¹								
<i>(ref: Not perpetrated, not experienced)</i>								
Has perpetrated, not experienced	1.09	CI:-1.23-3.42	0.38	CI:-0.01-0.77	2.19	CI:-0.08-4.46	-0.06	CI:-0.80-0.69
Has experienced, not perpetrated	1.52	CI:-2.73-5.77	0.16	CI:-0.02-0.34	1.85	CI:-0.05-3.74	0.04	CI:-0.24-0.33
Both experienced and perpetrated	2.58	CI:-1.99-7.14	0.53*	CI:0.11-0.96	1.97*	CI:0.31-3.63	0.43	CI:-0.58-1.45
Total (mean and number)	6.3	522	1.9	1,419	6.9	962	2.1	1,300

Note: Significant differences in the mean number of children born are determined based on *t*-statistic. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A figure in parentheses indicates that is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution. Table excludes the following unweighted numbers of respondents who did not know or did not answer the question about lifetime number of partners: 10 Ghanaian men, 10 Ghanaian women, 21 Ugandan men, and 5 Ugandan women.

¹ Adjusted coefficients (aβs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, number of living children and number of dead children.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Among currently married men age 15-49, the mean number of total lifetime sexual partners is 6 in Ghana and 7 in Uganda. Among currently married women age 15-49, the mean number of lifetime partners is 2 in both Ghana and Uganda. The mean number of lifetime sexual partners varies significantly in Ghana

only for women by both women's ever-experience and ever-perpetration of violence. In Uganda, it varies significantly only for men both if they experience violence and if they perpetrate it.

For women in Ghana, the regressions for the first two models show that net of other relevant variables, women who have ever experienced spousal violence have on average 0.23 (CI: 0.06-0.40) more lifetime partners than women who have not experienced spousal violence, and women who have ever-perpetrated spousal violence have about half a partner more (OR: 0.45 [CI: 0.12-0.77]) than women who have not perpetrated violence. The third regression model, however, shows that when experience and perpetration of violence are combined into one spousal violence variable, only women who have both experienced and perpetrated violence have 0.53 ([CI: 0.11-0.96]) of a partner more, on average, than women who have neither experienced nor perpetrated spousal violence. These results suggest an association of experience and perpetration of violence with one of the risk factors for HIV for women, but mainly for women whose relationships involve mutual violence. For men in Ghana, no relationship is found between spousal violence and lifetime number of partners.

In Uganda men who have perpetrated spousal violence have on average 1.9 (CI: 0.17-3.65) more partners than men who have not perpetrated violence. However, the regression for M3 suggests that, it is only men in mutually violent relationships who, net of other factors, appear to have a greater number of lifetime sexual partners than men who have neither perpetrated nor experienced any spousal violence. For women in Uganda, no significant relationship is found between spousal violence and lifetime number of partners.

Payment for sex

Of the many different types of non-marital, non-cohabiting partners that men can have, it is partners who provide sexual services in return for payment who are consistently most likely to present the greatest risk for HIV. This is both because such partners will have many other partners and because the incentives for condom use—an important means to control the spread of disease—during sexual intercourse for payment may be linked more with monetary benefit than with any perceived health risk. In this analysis, men who report that one or more of their sexual partners in the past 12 months was a prostitute, or who in response to the separate question on this topic say that they have paid for sex, are coded 1 and all other men are coded 0. Table 4.6 shows the percentage of men in Ghana and Uganda who have paid for sex in the past 12 months by their experience and/or perpetration of spousal violence. The odds ratios provided are adjusted for age, education, wealth quintile, urban-rural residence, number of living children, and number of children who have died.

Overall, 2 percent of men in Ghana and in Uganda report ever having paid for sex. In Ghana, the proportion of men who paid for sex does not vary significantly by experience and perpetration of violence. Further, multivariate analyses of the data for men in Ghana were not possible due to the small number of cases of men who have paid for sex. The Uganda data, although also limited by the small number of cases, do show that, compared with the reference category in each case, the proportion of men who paid for sex is higher among men who have experienced spousal violence and among men who have perpetrated it. Each of these associations is also significant net of other variables, as seen in the results for M1 and M2. Further, the results for M3 show that the men who have the highest odds of having paid for sex are those who have perpetrated spousal violence, regardless of whether they also have experienced it (OR: 8.6 [3.08-24.17]) or have not experienced it (OR: 4.4 [1.71-11.28]).

Table 4.6. Percentage of currently married men age 15-49 who reported having paid for sex in the past 12 months and adjusted odds ratios for having paid for sex in the past 12 months by ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana		Uganda	
	Men		Men	
<u>Paid for sex in the past 12 months by:</u>				
a) Ever experienced spousal violence				
No (%)	1.6		1.9	
Yes (%)	2.5		4.2	
M1. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹				
Yes (ref: No)	Na		2.72*	CI:1.09-6.80
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence				
No (%)	1.7		0.9	
Yes (%)	1.5		4.4	
M2. Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹				
Yes (ref: No)	Na		5.50***	CI:2.45-12.37
c) Joint spousal violence variable				
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	1.8		1.0	
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	0.0		3.7	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	0.0s		0.7	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	(4.4)		5.8	
M3a. Adjusted odds ratios (aOR)¹				
(ref: Not perpetrated, not experienced)				
Has perpetrated, not experienced	Na		4.39**	CI:1.71-11.28
Has experienced, not perpetrated	Na		0.95	CI:0.11-7.99
Both experienced and perpetrated	Na		8.63***	CI:3.08-24.17
Total (percent and number)	1.7	534	2.3	993

Note: Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. A s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A percentage in parentheses indicates that it is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, number of living children, and number of children who have died.

na: not available, since the number of cases is inadequate for analysis.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

4.3 Spousal Violence and Demographic and Child Health Outcomes

Research has found that women's experience of violence by their intimate partners influences many aspects of women's reproductive health and their children's health and survival (Hindin, Kishor, and Ansara 2008; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2006; Asling-Monemi et al. 2003; Koenig et al. 2010). This section examines the association of experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence with the number of children ever born, having had a child who died, having had a non-live birth or terminated pregnancy, and having a child under age 5 who is stunted. As mentioned above, the information for men is obtained from their wives. However, since not all the men who received the domestic violence survey questions had a wife who was eligible for a woman's interview or who was successfully interviewed, the sample for men from the couples file is somewhat smaller than for all currently married men who received the domestic violence module (see appendix Table A4).

Although information from wives is used primarily to compare outcomes for men and women, it can also be used to examine how the consequences of spousal violence directly or indirectly affect both members of the couple. For example, if a woman has a non-live birth, she suffers the reproductive health consequences herself, but there may also be emotional and family-building repercussions that can affect her husband. Additionally, the data obtained from interviews with wives allow a comparison of outcomes for women/children both when the experience and perpetration of violence are reported by men and when

they are reported by women. Presumably, the effects of the perpetration of violence as reported by men should resemble the effects of the experience of violence as reported by their wives, and vice versa.

Some limitations of the couples' data that affect an analysis of outcomes need to be noted. First, because information on the outcomes under study is collected from wives and not their husbands, some of the outcomes of interest may have occurred before the wife's relationship with her present husband began. For example, some of the children the woman has living or who have died may not be with this husband. Second, in the case of polygyny, when men surveyed in the DHS report perpetration or experience of spousal violence, they are not asked which of their wives was involved. Thus, for polygynous men, it is not possible to determine which wife was involved in the violence, whether as the perpetrator or the recipient. Further, as mentioned earlier, in this analysis a polygynous man in the couples file with more than one wife who was interviewed was paired only with his first wife as per his reported ordering of his wives. This implies that the wife with whom the man is paired may not be the wife who perpetrates violence or experiences the violence perpetrated by the man. Prevalence of polygyny, however, is relatively low in both Ghana (9 percent of currently married men and 10 percent among those in the couples file) and Uganda (16 percent of currently married men and 17 percent of men in the couples file).

Number of children ever born

Table 4.7 shows the mean number of children ever born by women's and men's ever-experience and/or perpetration of violence. Since violence disempowers women, the expectation is that women who have experienced violence would be less able to control their reproductive lives and thus are likely to have, on average, more children than women who have not experienced violence. The regression coefficients shown are adjusted for age, education, urban-rural residence, and wealth quintile.

Overall, in Ghana, the mean number of children ever born is similar for men in the couples file (3.1) and for currently married women (3.3); in Uganda, however, the mean number of children is 4.7 for currently married women, about half a child more than for men in the couples file (4.2). This is likely the result of the sample of currently married women being older, on average, than wives of men in the couples file (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.7 shows that for men and women in Ghana, the mean number of children ever born does not vary by experience or by perpetration of violence. Further, the relationship of number of children ever born with spousal violence, adjusted for other relevant variables, also does not vary with ever-experience of violence or ever-perpetration of violence in Ghana. However, the regression of the joint spousal violence variable on number of children ever born shows that currently married women who have both experienced and perpetrated violence have, on average, about 0.4 of a child more than women who have neither experienced nor perpetrated violence. This effect is not found for women who are the wives of the men who received the violence module.

Table 4.7. Mean number of children ever born by ever-experience and/or perpetration of spousal physical violence and adjusted ordinary least squares regression coefficients derived by regressing ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence on to the number of children ever born for currently married men age 15-49 as reported by their wives, and for currently married women age 15-49: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men (reported by wives)		Women		Men (reported by wives)		Women	
Mean number of children ever born by:								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence								
No	3.1		3.3		**		*	
Yes	(2.9)		3.5		4.0		4.5	
					4.9		5.0	
M1. Adjusted coefficient for ever-experience of violence regressed on number of children ever born:¹								
aβ (ref: No)	-0.04	CI:-0.55-0.48	0.19	CI:-0.06-0.43	0.30	CI:-0.10-0.71	0.26*	CI:0.02-0.51
b) Ever perpetrated violence								
No	3.1		3.3		***			
Yes	3.2		3.3		3.7		4.7	
					4.9		5.3	
M2. Adjusted coefficient for ever-perpetration of spousal violence regressed on number of children ever born:¹								
aβ (ref: No)	0.08	CI:-0.37-0.53	0.14	CI:-0.16-0.45	0.70***	CI:0.37-1.02	0.30	CI:-0.29-0.89
c) Joint spousal violence variable								
Not perpetrated, not experienced	3.1		3.3		***			
Has perpetrated, not experienced	(3.4)		(3.0)		3.7		4.5	
Has experienced, not perpetrated	s		3.5		4.7		s	
Both experienced and perpetrated	(2.8)		3.5		3.9		5.0	
					5.5		5.4	
M3a. Adjusted coefficient for the joint spousal violence variable regressed on number of children ever born:¹								
(ref: Not perpetrated, not experienced)								
Has perpetrated, not experienced	0.17	CI:-0.34-0.67	-0.22	CI:-0.70-0.26	0.60*	CI:0.24-0.97	0.40	CI:-1.11-1.91
Has experienced, not perpetrated	0.03	CI:-1.15-1.22	0.12	CI:-0.16-0.40	-0.16	CI:-0.73-0.42	0.25	CI:0.00-0.51
Both experienced and perpetrated	-0.05	CI:-0.73-0.62	0.39*	CI:0.04-0.75	0.86***	CI:0.37-1.35	0.43	CI:-0.20-1.05
Total (mean and number)	3.1	410	3.3	1,425	4.2	833	4.7	1,304

Note: Significant differences in the mean number of children born are determined based on *t*-statistic. An *s* indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. Parentheses around the value of the mean indicate that the mean is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted coefficients (aβs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, and wealth quintile.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

In Uganda, by contrast, the number of children ever born is significantly higher for both men and women who have experienced spousal violence, and also men who have perpetrated spousal violence. However, the adjusted regression coefficient is significant only for men who have perpetrated violence, as well as women who have experienced violence. According to the survey information collected from wives, men who have perpetrated violence have 0.7 children more than men who have not perpetrated violence, and women who have experienced violence have 0.3 more children than women who have not experienced violence. Further, results of M3 (that includes the joint violence variable), show that men who have perpetrated violence, both if they have experienced it and if they have not, have on average a higher number of children than men who have neither perpetrated nor experienced violence. The coefficient for currently married women who have experienced but not perpetrated violence is also positive, but only marginally significant (CI: 0.00-0.51).

Had a child who died

Research suggests that infant mortality is higher for women who have experienced violence than women who have not (Koenig et al. 2010; Asling et al. 2003). In the DHS, women are asked for their complete birth history with dates of births and deaths if children died. Table 4.8 shows the percentages of men

(based on their wife's birth history) and currently married women who have had at least one child die according to their experience of and perpetration of spousal physical violence. The analysis is restricted to those age 15-49 who have had at least one live birth. The odds ratios from the logistic regressions are adjusted for age, education, urban-rural residence, wealth quintile, and number of children ever born.

Table 4.8 shows that in Ghana, 27 percent of currently married men have had one or more children die as per their wives' birth histories, and a similar proportion of currently married women have had a child die (26 percent). In Uganda, although the proportions of men and women who have had a child die are much higher than in Ghana, the proportions are the same for men and women (both 46 percent).

Table 4.8. Percentage who have had a child who died and adjusted odds ratios of having had a child who died by ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence, among currently married men age 15-49 who have ever had a live birth (as reported by their wives) and currently married women age 15-49 who have ever had a live birth: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Have had at least one child that has died by:								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence				**				*
No (%)	27.2		24.6		43.1		43.0	
Yes (%)	(29.1)		34.2		55.3		49.9	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	1.52	CI:0.62-3.74	1.61*	CI:1.10-2.36	1.33	CI:0.90-1.97	1.11	CI:0.81-1.53
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence				*				***
No (%)	27.7		25.6		36.6		46.0	
Yes (%)	26.0		37.9		57.4		52.0	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	1.06	CI:0.50-2.23	1.86	CI:0.89-3.85	1.75**	CI:1.23-2.50	1.18	CI:0.68-2.03
c) Joint spousal violence variable				*				***
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	27.4		24.2		36.1		42.8	
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	(25.6)		38.8		55.4		s	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	s		33.4		40.8		49.7	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	(26.7)		37.4		61.9		51.9	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes experienced (ref: No)	1.60	CI:0.63-4.03	1.49	CI:0.97-2.26	1.13	CI:0.76-1.67	1.10	CI:0.80-1.53
Yes perpetrated (ref: No)	0.91	CI:0.43-1.92	1.55	CI:0.70-3.43	1.71**	CI:1.20-2.45	1.14	CI:0.65-1.99
Total (percent and number)	27.4	377	26.3	1,317	45.5	768	46.3	1,253

Note: Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A percentage in parentheses indicates that it is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for respondent's age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, and (wife's) total number of children ever born.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

In Ghana, the association between having a child who died and experience of violence and perpetration of violence is significant in the bivariate and multivariate analyses only for women: higher proportions of women who have experienced violence and women who have perpetrated violence have had a child die. However, once other relevant variables are included in the model, particularly number of children ever born, the OR is significant only in M1, the model that regresses women's experience of violence on having had a child who died. In this model, odds of having a child who died for women who have experienced violence are 61 percent (CI: 1.10-2.36) higher than for women who have not experienced violence. In M3, controlling for perpetration of violence, women's experience of violence has a similar net effect as in M1 on the likelihood of having a child who died, but the association is only marginally significant.

In Uganda, by contrast, the likelihood of having had a child die (as reported by the wife) is significantly associated with spousal violence only for men. Among women the proportion who have had a child die is

also higher for those who have experienced or perpetrated violence than for those who have not experienced or perpetrated it, respectively, but neither relationship is statistically significant. The multivariate regression results further show that men who have perpetrated violence have odds of having had a child who died that are almost twice as high as for men who have not perpetrated violence, even after controlling for ever-experience of violence.

These analyses show that women are more likely to have had a child die if they have experienced violence: In Ghana this finding derives from women's own reports of experience of spousal violence, while in Uganda they derive from husbands' reports of perpetrating spousal violence.

Had a non-live birth or terminated pregnancy

Studies have repeatedly shown that the risk of having a non-live birth or terminated pregnancy is significantly greater among women who have experienced IPV than women who have not experienced such violence (Kishor and Johnson 2006; Hindin, Kishor, and Ansara 2008). In the DHS, all women are asked if they have ever had a non-live birth, miscarriage, or terminated pregnancy. In this study, for wives of men in the couples file and currently married women who have ever been pregnant, Table 4.9 shows the percentage who have had a non-live birth by their experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence. In Ghana, among men whose wives have ever been pregnant, 27 percent have had one or more non-live births or terminated pregnancies compared with the 20 percent among currently married women who have ever been pregnant. In Uganda the corresponding proportions are 28 percent for both women who have ever been pregnant and men whose wives have ever been pregnant.

Table 4.9. Percentage who have had and adjusted odds ratios of having had a non-live birth or terminated pregnancy by ever-experience and perpetration of spousal physical violence, among currently married men age 15-49 as reported by their wives who have ever been pregnant and among currently married women age 15-49 who have ever been pregnant: Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Have had a non-live birth/terminated pregnancy by:								
a) Ever experienced spousal violence								
No (%)	28.4		18.4		27.6		25.2	
Yes (%)	(17.8)		28.6		28.3		30.9	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	0.61	CI:0.24-1.53	1.91***	CI:1.32-2.77	0.92	CI:0.58-1.46	1.35*	CI:1.01-1.82
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence								
No (%)	28.0		19.1		25.2		28.1	
Yes (%)	24.2		38.5		31.2		25.0	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes (ref: No)	0.81	CI:0.45-1.48	2.72***	CI:1.52-4.87	1.22	CI:0.87-1.71	0.84	CI:0.48-1.48
c) Joint spousal violence variable								
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	28.2		17.8		25.6		25.1	
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	30.6		(38.6)		31.2		30.9 _s	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	25.2 _s		25.9		21.7		31.7	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	13.8		38.4		31.2		23.8	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹								
Yes experienced (ref: No)	0.63	CI:0.23-1.76	1.64*	CI:1.11-2.43	0.85	CI:0.54-1.35	1.38*	CI:1.03-1.86
Yes perpetrated (ref: No)	0.93	CI:0.48-1.83	2.18*	CI:1.17-4.04	1.26	CI:0.90-1.76	0.75	CI:0.42-1.34
Total (% and number)	27.4	387	20.3	1,345	27.8	782	27.9	1,270

Note: Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A percentage in parentheses indicates that it is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for respondent's age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, and (wife's) total number of children ever born.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

The association between spousal violence and having a non-live birth or termination is significant only for currently married women in both Ghana and Uganda. No statistically significant relationship is found for wives of men in either country. Among women who have experienced spousal violence, the proportion who have had a non-live birth or terminated pregnancy is 29 percent in Ghana and 31 percent in Uganda; among women who have not experienced violence, the corresponding proportions are 18 percent in Ghana and 25 percent in Uganda. In Ghana, women who have perpetrated violence are also more likely to have had a non-live birth or terminated pregnancy than women who have never perpetrated violence. The multivariate analysis shows that in both Ghana and Uganda, controlling for ever-perpetration of spousal violence (M3), the odds of having a non-live birth or termination are significantly higher for women who have experienced spousal violence (OR in Ghana: 1.6 [1.11-2.43] and OR in Uganda: 1.4 [1.03-1.86]) compared with women in the corresponding reference category. Additionally, in Ghana alone, controlling for ever-experience of violence, the odds of having a non-live birth or termination (OR: 2.2 [CI: 1.17-4.04]) are substantially higher for currently married women who have ever perpetrated violence compared with those who have never perpetrated violence.

In sum, women's direct reports of having experienced spousal violence are significantly associated with heightened risk of having a non-live birth or termination, but men's reports of having perpetrated violence do not appear to be significantly associated with their wives having a non-live birth or termination.

Has a child under age 5 years who is stunted

In the DHS, typically all children in the household who are under age 5 years are weighed and measured in order to determine their nutritional status. Stunting (height-for-age), an indicator of cumulative malnutrition, is one of the three indicators used to measure malnutrition in children. The stunting measure used here is based on the WHO growth standards (World Health Organization 2006). Children are considered stunted if their height-for-age z-score is minus two standard deviations (-2SD) below the median of the WHO Child Growth Standards. While children were weighed and measured in both Ghana and Uganda, in Uganda, the anthropometry was not done in households where men were interviewed with the domestic violence module. Hence Table 4.10 includes data only for Ghana. The table shows that among men in the couples file who have a child under age 5 who was weighed and measured, 20 percent have a child who is stunted, and among currently married women who have a child under age 5, 22 percent have a child who is stunted. The multivariate analysis controls for respondents' age, education, urban-rural residence, number of children currently living, and number of children who have died.

The pathways that are likely to link mother's experience of spousal violence with the health of her children are many, including via a mother's own nutritional status, particularly at the time of childbirth, the care the mother received during pregnancy, the interval before the birth of the index child and time to the birth of the next child, etc. All these factors are likely to be affected by the mother's experience of violence. Additionally, abuse can hamper women's ability to provide appropriate feeding and care to children, particularly if it causes depression or other health problems.

Table 4.10 shows that in Ghana, 32 percent of women who have experienced spousal violence have a child who is stunted, significantly higher than the 20 percent among women who have not experienced violence. For women, having a child who is stunted does not vary by perpetration of violence. Notably, when women's perpetration of violence is controlled for, the odds of having a stunted child for women who have ever experienced violence are at 2.1 (1.26-3.49), significantly higher than for women who have not experienced violence. They are also somewhat higher than in M1 (OR=1.9 [CI: 1.18-3.05]), in which perpetration of violence is not controlled for.

Table 4.10. Percentage of currently married men age 15-49 (as reported by their wives) and currently married women age 15-49 whose youngest child age 0-4 is stunted, and the odds ratios for the youngest child age 0-4 being stunted, among those with a child age 0-4 who was measured, by ever-experience and/or ever-perpetration of spousal physical violence: Ghana

	Ghana			
	Men		Women	
Have a child age 0-4 who is stunted by:				
a) Ever experienced spousal violence				
No (%)	19.2		20.2	**
Yes (%)	(23.2)		32.2	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹				
Yes (ref: No)	1.21	CI:0.42-3.47	1.90**	CI:1.18-3.05
b) Ever perpetrated spousal violence				
No (%)	17.6		22.4	*
Yes (%)	30.1		22.4	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹				
Yes (ref: No)	1.96*	CI:1.00-3.84	0.87	CI:0.39-1.91
c) Joint spousal violence variable				
Not perpetrated, not experienced (%)	18.0		20.3	*
Has perpetrated, not experienced (%)	29.0		s	
Has experienced, not perpetrated (%)	s		34.2	
Has experienced and perpetrated (%)	s		(25.4)	
Adjusted odds ratio (aOR)¹				
Yes experienced (ref: No)	0.81	CI:0.28-2.34	2.10**	CI:1.26-3.49
Yes perpetrated (ref: No)	2.11*	CI:1.09-4.05	0.60	CI:0.25-1.41
Total (% and number)	19.6	252	22.4	764

Note: Children who are below -2 SD of World Health Organization (WHO) Child Growth Standard height-for-age reference median are considered stunted. Significant differences in percentages are determined based on Pearson's chi-squared test results. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed. A percentage in parentheses indicates that it is based on 25-49 unweighted cases and should be interpreted with caution.

¹ Adjusted odds ratios (aORs) are adjusted for age, education level, area of residence, wealth quintile, number of children living, and number of children who have died.

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

For men, the findings are similar, but for perpetration of violence instead of experience of violence. Among men who have ever perpetrated spousal violence, the proportion who have a child who is stunted, at 30 percent, is significantly higher than the 18 percent among men who have not ever perpetrated violence. Among men who have perpetrated violence, the odds of having a stunted child are 2.0 (1.00-3.84) when experience of violence is not adjusted for, and 2.1 (1.09-4.05), when it is adjusted for.

Thus the data for Ghana suggest that children are more likely to be stunted when their mothers have experienced spousal physical violence—whether the reporting is done by the father or the mother. The father's ever-experience of violence does not have a significant association with having a child who is stunted.

4.4 Conclusions

The analyses in this chapter provide a preponderance of evidence that spousal physical violence, whether experienced, perpetrated, or both, has negative health consequences for men, women, and children. Overall, of the four higher-risk sexual behavior outcomes considered for men, men who perpetrate violence are more likely than those who do not to manifest each of the higher-risk behaviors, in one or both of the two countries studied. Few women display most of these higher-risk behaviors, but it is notable that women who are in a mutually violent relationship tend to have more sexual partners.

Similarly, for most of the demographic and health outcomes considered, including the risk of having an STI or STI symptom, where there is a significant association with spousal violence, it is mainly for women who have experienced violence and for men who have perpetrated it. In the case of a few outcomes, women and/or men who are in a mutually violent relationship have the highest risk of adverse consequences. In contrast to the case for women, however, men's experience of spousal violence (among men who are not also perpetrators) is not significantly associated with any adverse outcome.

5 Conclusions

The key focus of this report was on comparing the extent, pattern, severity, context, risk factors, and consequences of IPV in the form of spousal violence experienced by currently married men with that experienced by currently married women. The objective of this comparison was to better understand whether there is any gender symmetry in the experience of IPV and in its perpetration, as suggested by some family violence scholars largely in the developed world, or whether, as widely accepted, observed, and acted upon in health and development circles, IPV is primarily gender-based, with men as the main perpetrators and women as the main victims. The latter explanation of IPV is more in line with the two main types of IPV discussed by Johnson and Ferraro (2000)—‘common couple violence’ or violence that is mutually inflicted and experienced, and ‘intimate terrorism’ or violence that is typically inflicted by one partner only. The gender-based explanation of IPV would imply that most IPV, if not all, qualifies as intimate terrorism perpetrated by men against women.

Accordingly, the report analyzed DHS data on spousal violence, the most common form of IPV, from Ghana and Uganda, where men and women were asked the same set of spousal violence questions. The strengths of these data include large sample sizes, standardized methodologies, ethical data collection, and the use of well-trained interviewers. The following are the main conclusions of the analysis based on the experiences of currently married men and currently married women:

- There is overwhelming evidence that in Ghana and Uganda, intimate terrorism is by far the most common form of spousal violence and that intimate terrorism is experienced predominantly by women. Specifically, women are two or more times as likely as men to have experienced any spousal physical violence; and men are two and a half times as likely as women in Ghana, and over seven times as likely in Uganda, to have perpetrated spousal physical violence. Perpetration of physical violence alone (without any experience of it) by men accounts for over half of any spousal physical violence that men report. In sharp contrast, among women, experience of spousal physical violence (without any perpetration of it) accounts for over two-thirds of all spousal physical violence reported by women in Ghana and about 90 percent by women in Uganda.
- Prevalence captures only one dimension of the gender differences in the experience of spousal violence. Other dimensions include the severity of the acts experienced, the number and frequency of violent acts, the number and nature of injuries experienced, and the experience of other types of marital control behaviors. The study finds that the violence experienced by women is generally more severe, more intense, and more often associated with injuries and with other spousal controlling behaviors than the violence experienced by men. Women are far more likely than men to experience multiple types of violent acts, including being kicked, dragged, or beaten. Women who have experienced violence are up to twice as likely as men who have experienced violence to report an injury resulting from the violence. Further, for most controlling behaviors, women who have experienced the behavior are significantly more likely than men to also have experienced spousal violence. The absolute gender differentials in experience of violence by controlling behavior are very large, ranging from 20 to 40 percentage points in Ghana and 9 to 25 percentage points in Uganda, depending on the specific behavior being considered. Taken together, the data show that the spousal violence experienced by women is much more likely to be of a syndromic nature than the violence experienced by men.
- Common couple violence or violence that is mutual, in which a respondent both experiences and perpetrates violence, is also reported by both men and women. Six percent of men in Ghana and 13 percent in Uganda fall in the common couple violence category compared with 5-6 percent of

women in both countries. Among men who have perpetrated violence (whether perpetrated and experienced, or perpetrated but not experienced), common couple violence accounts for about one-third of the violence that they perpetrate, in both countries. Among women who report perpetrating violence, however, common couple violence accounts for the vast majority of violence that they perpetrate. Only 3 percent of women in Ghana and 1 percent in Uganda have perpetrated violence but have not experienced it. Thus, while some women do perpetrate violence, the majority of this violence can be labeled as common couple violence. The proportion of women reporting common couple violence is a relatively small fraction compared with the proportion of women reporting intimate terrorism—that is, experiencing violence without also perpetrating it.

- Some men report experiencing spousal physical violence—10 percent of men in Ghana and 19 percent in Uganda. Among these, however, the majority have perpetrated violence as well as experienced it. Overall, only 4-6 percent of men potentially belong to the intimate terrorism category.
- Gender differentials in the experience of spousal emotional violence tend to be less than the gender differentials in the experience of spousal physical violence. Nonetheless, women in Ghana and Uganda are more likely than men to have experienced all three types of acts of emotional violence asked about in the DHS. Further, in both Ghana and Uganda, women also are more than twice as likely as men to have experienced both physical and emotional violence.
- The data for Uganda show large gender differentials in the experience of sexual violence, suggesting that gender differentials in sexual violence are likely even greater than gender differentials in physical violence. Overall, 30 percent of women report having ever experienced sexual violence by their spouses compared with 7 percent of men. Comparison is not possible in Ghana because the survey did not ask men about their experience of sexual violence.
- Among all of the individual, couple, spousal, or household characteristics that this study considered, only two are consistently associated with the risk of experiencing and/or perpetrating violence for both men and women and in both countries. These are: spousal alcohol consumption and having a father who beat their mother. These two characteristics are associated not only with a significantly higher likelihood of women experiencing violence, as the literature on violence against women suggests, but also with a higher likelihood of women perpetrating spousal violence. Equally important, these two variables are also similarly associated with men's perpetration of violence, as well as their experience of violence. The effects for men appear to be more consistent in Uganda and less so in Ghana where the sample size is much smaller. Overall, however, it is worth noting that children exposed to violence among their parents have a higher likelihood as adults of being abused in their own intimate relationships, whether they are male or female.
- The mapping analysis described in this report reinforces the conclusion that most women who perpetrate spousal violence, whatever their characteristics, tend to be in the common couple violence category. In contrast, most men who perpetrate violence, whatever their characteristics, tend to be in the 'perpetrated, but not experienced' category of violence.
- Being a woman is a significant risk factor for experiencing violence, and being a man is not. The reverse is true for the perpetration of violence. This conclusion is evident from the analysis of the pooled data sets for women and men by country. Even controlling for all relevant variables, including age, education, wealth, spouse's alcohol consumption, and childhood exposure to violence between parents, gender emerges as a significant risk factor for experiencing violence.

- There is already a preponderance of evidence that women’s experience of spousal violence has negative health consequences for women and their children. This report also clearly shows that, for each of the four reproductive health and child health outcomes considered, women’s self-reported experience of violence or men’s self-reported perpetration of violence is associated with adverse outcomes. Specifically in one or both countries:
 - Having a child who has died is more likely among women who report experience of violence than among women who do not and among men who report perpetration of violence than among men who do not.
 - Having a child under age 5 years who is stunted is more likely among women who report experiencing spousal violence and also among men who report perpetration of violence.
 - Men who report perpetration of violence (including those who also report experiencing it) have more children (based on their wives’ birth history) than those who do not report perpetration or experience of violence and women who report both perpetration and experience of violence have more children than women who do neither.
 - Having a non-live birth or pregnancy termination is more likely among women who report experience of spousal violence. However, men’s experience and/or perpetration of violence are not significantly associated with their wives’ having a non-live birth or pregnancy termination.
- The risk of having a self-reported STI or STI symptom is higher among women who report having experienced spousal violence, as earlier research has found. In addition, this report finds that women who perpetrate violence can also be at higher risk of STIs. Further, in both Ghana and Uganda the risk of having a self-reported STI or STI symptom is significantly higher among men who are in mutually violent relationships—that is, men who have both experienced and perpetrated spousal violence.
- Research on HIV and the pathways of infection has suggested that higher-risk sexual behaviors are more common among women who experience violence and among men who perpetrate it. In this study, few women reported such behaviors, making analysis difficult. For all four behaviors examined, men who perpetrate violence, whether or not they have experienced it, are more likely to report each of the higher-risk behaviors surveyed in one or both countries.
 - Men who perpetrate violence are less likely than other men to have used a condom with their last partner in the past 12 months, and are more likely to have had a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner in the past 12 months.
 - Men and women in mutually violent relationships have a significantly higher lifetime number of sexual partners than those who have neither perpetrated nor experienced spousal violence.
 - Paying for sex is more common among men who perpetrate spousal violence, whether or not they also experience it, than among men who have neither perpetrated nor experienced violence.

Although this report provides valuable insights for understanding the patterns of violence experienced by men and women, its limitations need to be acknowledged:

- Accurate and valid data on violence are notoriously difficult to collect. Despite the extensive efforts made by the organizations involved in collecting DHS data that included: providing high-

quality, gender-sensitive training of interviewers, editors, and supervisors; multi-layered and close monitoring and supervision of data collection; strict guidelines for ensuring the security of the respondent and the ethical collection of data; and the use of same sex interviewers, the possibility of underreporting of the experience of violence by both women and men, but particularly men, cannot be ruled out.

- The data on perpetration of violence are based on only one survey question, whereas, the data on experience of violence are derived from several questions that ask about separate acts of violence one by one and provide respondents with multiple opportunities for disclosure. This inherent imbalance in the design of the questions could have resulted in the perpetration of violence being underreported even more often than the experience of violence.
- The survey question on perpetration explicitly rules out reporting violence that is perpetrated in self-defense. This question design limited the combinations of experience and perpetration of spousal violence that could have been examined.
- Sexual violence is known to have a strong gender component. However, no data were collected on sexual violence from men in one of the two countries studied, and the questions on perpetration of violence refer directly only to physical violence in both countries for both women and men. These factors limited the analyses of correlates and outcomes in this report to only those for spousal physical violence.
- In the DHS, few health outcomes are measured for men. Self-reported STIs are among the few that are measured. Child health outcomes are also best studied through interviewing mothers. Hence, the analysis of health and behavioral outcomes was greatly limited in scope by the fact that few outcomes relate directly to men's own health.
- Due to relatively small sample sizes for men, particularly in Ghana, the power of several of the analyses is limited. Thus, the findings of this report need to be corroborated with larger sample sizes. Nonetheless, the consistency of the results across the two countries studied is suggestive of their validity.
- Finally, this report could benefit from qualitative data to explain some of the unexpected findings and what the experience and/or perpetration of violence means for men and women in their own words.

Despite limitations, the findings of this report are unambiguous and provide for some specific recommendations:

First, priority must be given to continued data collection on and monitoring of violence against women. This recommendation follows from the findings that the level, intensity, and severity of spousal violence against women is much greater than that against men; that women are much more likely to be victims and men aggressors, even after controlling for other relevant factors. When men do experience violence, it is much more likely to be in a mutually violent relationship, while women are much more likely to only experience violence but not perpetrate it. Also, women who experience spousal violence, as well as their children, are more likely to experience poor health outcomes than men or the children of men who experience violence.

Second, a more nuanced approach is needed when studying violence against women. Indicators of prevalence of violence against women may mask the component that shows mutuality in violence between spouses, with women not only experiencing violence but also perpetrating it. For some health

outcomes, it is spousal mutual violence, rather than violence in which women alone are victims that is associated with adverse outcomes.

Finally, some women are perpetrators rather than victims of spousal violence—however small this number is. When women are perpetrators, their male partners can suffer similar health consequences as those that women victims suffer. Overall, while violence against women should remain the highest priority, approaches to understanding and addressing spousal violence need to allow for the possibility of men as victims.

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Appendix Tables

Table A1. Percentage of currently married men and women age 15-49 who have experienced spousal physical violence in the past 12 months, according to background characteristics, Ghana and Uganda

Characteristic	Ghana						Uganda					
	Experienced spousal violence in the past 12 months			Perpetrated spousal violence in the past 12 months			Experienced spousal violence in the past 12 months			Perpetrated spousal violence in the past 12 months		
	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women
Individual characteristics												
Current age												
15-24	(10.1)		19.3	(6.0)		6.9	10.3	*	34.4	18.2	*	3.2
25-34	13.7		15.0	11.3	*	4.5	9.8	*	37.2	14.2	*	3.1
35-49	5.8	*	17.5	6.3		4.7	14.0	*	35.3	13.8	*	3.3
Type of union												
Married	8.3	*	15.7	8.4		4.6	12.4	*	35.1	14.2	*	3.4
Living together	14.6		20.7	6.9		6.7	6.6	*	38.3	17.7	*	2.4
Number of children ever born												
0	(4.4)		16.9	(6.6)		11.6	4.4		20.1	8.6		3.2
1-2	11.6		15.8	7.3		3.6	8.1	*	33.5	15.8	*	2.8
3-4	10.6		15.2	12.2		5.2	12.6	*	40.2	16.7	*	3.7
5+	4.9	*	20.2	4.9		4.8	13.7	*	36.1	13.9	*	3.1
Education												
None	6.9	*	16.6	11.2	*	3.1	8.2	*	37.4	13.3		3.9
Primary	13.6		21.3	10.8		6.5	13.1	*	38.9	15.1	*	3.3
Secondary+	8.9		14.8	6.9		5.5	9.6	*	19.1	13.6	*	1.5
Employment status in last 12 months												
Not working	s	*	19.1	s	*	4.7	s		25.4	s		1.6
Working for cash	9.9	*	16.4	8.5		4.9	11.0	*	31.7	15.6	*	1.8
Working but not for cash ¹	4.1	*	17.7	7.1		6.5	14.1	*	42.2	11.5		5.0
Father beat mother												
Yes	12.2	*	27.8	12.2		9.3	14.1	*	43.5	17.4	*	4.7
No	8.0	*	15.3	7.4		3.8	6.3	*	27.7	8.0	*	1.1
Don't know	(11.8)		14.5	(6.1)		12.4	12.4	*	33.3	14.5		5.5
Couple/spouse characteristics												
Spousal age difference²												
Husband same age or younger	(10.2)		25.2	(11.2)		8.7	9.3	*	36.3	15.6	*	1.6
Wife is 1-4 years younger	8.3	*	18.2	6.7		5.6	13.2	*	39.2	16.6	*	3.2
Wife is 5-9 years younger	9.2		17.5	8.5		5.4	12.1	*	33.3	11.4	*	3.2
Wife is 10-14 years younger	11.5		11.5	10.4		2.4	11.9	*	30.1	14.3	*	3.4
Wife is 15+ years younger	(4.6)		14.3	(6.2)		3.4	3.0	*	39.1	19.9		4.2
Don't know/missing	s		s	s		s	s		s	s		s
Husband has other wives												
Yes	6.5	*	21.3	4.4		5.0	19.2	*	37.1	17.3	*	3.0
No	9.3	*	15.7	8.6		5.1	10.5	*	35.2	14.0	*	3.3
Spouse's alcohol consumption												
Does not drink	8.2		11.1	7.6	*	2.4	9.1	*	26.2	12.6	*	1.5
Drinks but is never drunk	(14.5)		10.9	(5.1)		8.7	15.8		21.5	17.4	*	1.1
Sometimes drunk	(13.9)	*	47.0	(15.5)		14.9	18.9	*	56.5	15.6		8.5
Often drunk	s	*	23.0	s	*	7.9	20.3	*	40.6	22.6	*	2.9

Continued...

Table A1—Continued

Characteristic	Ghana						Uganda					
	Experienced spousal violence in the past 12 months			Perpetrated spousal violence in the past 12 months			Experienced spousal violence in the past 12 months			Perpetrated spousal violence in the past 12 months		
	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women	Men	*	Women
Indicators of gender attitudes and gender roles												
Age at marriage³												
<18	(4.6)	*	18.2	(7.8)		6.1	5.5	*	38.0	15.2	*	3.7
18-24	11.6		16.3	9.7		4.7	13.8	*	32.8	15.7	*	2.4
25+	7.0		14.0	6.8		3.0	8.0	*	(29.0)	9.6		(2.5)
Decisionmaking on major household purchases												
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	9.8	*	23.0	10.7		6.3	12.8	*	49.6	15.5	*	2.0
Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide	8.3		14.1	5.7		4.8	9.3	*	32.0	10.8	*	3.5
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	(8.9)		16.2	(7.8)		4.6	(14.4)	*	34.4	(30.5)	*	3.3
Decisionmaking on visits to the wife's family												
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	11.9		23.2	8.5		6.8	11.7	*	40.0	15.8	*	3.9
Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide	8.5	*	14.2	8.6		4.3	10.9	*	31.3	11.1	*	2.3
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	5.6	*	17.3	6.2		5.2	13.7	*	38.0	15.8	*	3.7
Number of reasons wife beating is justified												
Does not agree with any reason	8.3		13.8	7.7		4.3	8.5	*	28.3	8.6	*	1.8
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	9.8	*	24.1	9.2		6.7	15.7	*	37.5	18.4	*	3.4
Agrees with 3+ reasons	(15.9)		19.2	(12.5)		5.9	12.8	*	39.1	19.9	*	3.8
Household characteristics												
Area of residence												
Urban	9.0	*	18.1	8.0		5.5	8.1	*	23.7	12.4	*	0.9
Rural	9.1	*	15.9	8.4		4.7	12.4	*	37.6	14.9	*	3.5
Wealth quintile												
Lowest	5.9	*	17.5	6.3		5.1	18.3	*	47.9	18.8	*	4.1
Second	11.6		15.6	12.2	*	4.0	13.8	*	43.8	16.1	*	5.3
Middle	12.4		19.0	6.3		5.0	9.2	*	35.6	13.3	*	2.8
Fourth	8.0	*	19.1	7.1		6.0	10.5	*	29.6	13.8	*	1.9
Highest	8.3		13.3	9.0		5.1	7.9	*	22.1	11.2	*	1.8
Total	9.1	*	16.8	8.3		5.0	11.8	*	35.8	14.6	*	3.2

Note: Persons with missing information on any variable, including 'don't know or missing' on the variables spousal age difference and father beat mother are not shown. Numbers in parentheses are based on 25-49 unweighted cases. An s indicates that a figure is based on <25 unweighted cases and has been suppressed.

¹ Includes respondents with missing information on employment or earnings.

² For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

³ Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

Table A2. Logistic regression results for spousal physical violence experienced by currently married men and women age 15-49 in the past 12 months: Adjusted odds ratios, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)
Individual characteristics								
Current age (ref: 35-49)								
15-24	3.83	[0.56,26.17]	1.84	[0.94,3.60]	1.34	[0.49,3.69]	0.88	[0.48,1.61]
25-34	2.88**	[1.30,6.37]	1.08	[0.70,1.66]	0.68	[0.43,1.07]	0.99	[0.65,1.49]
Number of children ever born (ref: 1-2) Living together								
0	0.25	[0.06,1.07]	0.79	[0.38,1.67]	0.29	[0.05,1.86]	0.36*	[0.15,0.82]
3-4	1.07	[0.49,2.34]	0.96	[0.63,1.47]	2.02	[0.97,4.21]	1.11	[0.73,1.68]
5+	0.58	[0.18,1.82]	1.41	[0.80,2.48]	1.71	[0.83,3.54]	0.80	[0.49,1.31]
Type of union (ref: Married) Living together								
	1.60	[0.61,4.21]	1.10	[0.72,1.66]	0.71	[0.32,1.59]	1.27	[0.86,1.89]
Education (ref: None)								
Primary	2.45	[0.91,6.56]	1.25	[0.77,2.03]	1.86	[0.79,4.34]	1.29	[0.88,1.89]
Secondary+	1.40	[0.55,3.57]	0.86	[0.53,1.41]	2.09	[0.75,5.78]	0.79	[0.44,1.40]
Employment for cash (ref: Working but not for cash/missing)								
Not working	(1)		1.16	[0.53,2.54]	(1)		0.85	[0.47,1.54]
Working for cash	3.64*	[1.07,12.36]	1.02	[0.57,1.80]	1.04	[0.63,1.70]	0.73	[0.53,1.00]
Father beat mother (ref: No)								
Yes	1.42	[0.69,2.91]	1.94**	[1.29,2.92]	2.16**	[1.24,3.74]	1.74***	[1.27,2.37]
Don't know	1.38	[0.39,4.94]	0.93	[0.42,2.09]	2.00	[0.90,4.43]	1.36	[0.83,2.21]
Couple/spouse characteristics								
Spousal age difference¹ (ref: Wife is 1-4 years younger)								
Husband same age or younger	1.88	[0.50,7.13]	1.61	[0.88,2.94]	0.71	[0.31,1.63]	0.79	[0.45,1.40]
Wife is 5-9 years younger	1.67	[0.69,4.03]	0.88	[0.59,1.31]	0.83	[0.52,1.32]	0.83	[0.62,1.13]
Wife is 10-14 years younger	2.67	[0.83,8.58]	0.52*	[0.31,0.87]	0.77	[0.38,1.54]	0.65	[0.42,1.01]
Wife is 15+ years younger	1.49	[0.25,8.80]	0.59	[0.32,1.08]	0.14**	[0.04,0.53]	1.01	[0.55,1.86]
Husband has other wives (ref: No)								
Yes	0.70	[0.18,2.69]	0.75	[0.49,1.13]	0.57*	[0.34,0.94]	0.97	[0.71,1.33]
Spouse's alcohol consumption (ref: Does not drink)								
Drinks but is never drunk	(2)		0.75	[0.31,1.79]	1.78	[0.98,3.23]	0.83	[0.41,1.68]
Sometimes drunk	2.15	[0.80,5.81]	7.77***	[4.62,13.07]	1.88	[0.74,4.81]	3.26***	[2.13,5.00]
Often drunk	(2)	-	2.64***	[1.83,3.83]	2.41**	[1.40,4.15]	1.81**	[1.27,2.57]
Indicators of gender attitudes and roles								
Age at marriage² (ref: 25+ years)								
<18 years	0.54	[0.10,2.99]	0.77	[0.42,1.41]	0.43	[0.18,1.03]	1.21	[0.52,2.81]
18-24 years	1.46	[0.67,3.19]	0.81	[0.46,1.41]	1.25	[0.67,2.31]	1.11	[0.50,2.51]
Decisionmaking on major household purchases (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	1.12	[0.55,2.29]	1.27	[0.79,2.04]	1.40	[0.82,2.39]	1.81*	[1.08,3.02]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	0.91	[0.24,3.46]	1.03	[0.66,1.59]	1.34	[0.41,4.39]	1.02	[0.74,1.43]

Continued...

Table A2—Continued

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)
Decisionmaking on major household purchases (<i>ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide</i>)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	1.39	[0.64,3.04]	1.55*	[1.04,2.32]	0.94	[0.54,1.62]	1.10	[0.76,1.59]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/missing	0.71	[0.24,2.11]	1.06	[0.68,1.67]	1.21	[0.64,2.31]	1.18	[0.85,1.63]
Number of reasons wife beating is justified (<i>ref: Agrees with 0 reasons</i>)								
Does not agree with any reason (<i>ref</i>)								
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	0.97	[0.40,2.36]	1.89**	[1.29,2.79]	1.71*	[1.08,2.70]	1.38	[0.93,2.03]
Agrees with 3+ reasons	1.84	[0.48,7.04]	1.42	[0.91,2.21]	1.26	[0.70,2.26]	1.24	[0.86,1.80]
Household characteristics								
Area of residence (<i>ref: Rural</i>)								
Urban	1.22	[0.52,2.90]	1.92**	[1.21,3.06]	0.80	[0.39,1.63]	0.90	[0.54,1.51]
Wealth quintile (<i>ref: Lowest</i>)								
Second	2.05	[0.50,8.35]	0.92	[0.52,1.64]	0.88	[0.45,1.72]	1.01	[0.68,1.49]
Middle	2.20	[0.53,9.05]	1.00	[0.54,1.86]	0.63	[0.30,1.31]	0.80	[0.49,1.30]
Fourth	1.08	[0.23,5.08]	1.31	[0.67,2.53]	0.64	[0.30,1.38]	0.64	[0.41,1.01]
Highest	1.16	[0.21,6.26]	0.78	[0.36,1.70]	0.53	[0.23,1.22]	0.63	[0.33,1.19]
Number of respondents	531		1,408		993		1,300	

Note: The multivariate models exclude the following cases: 2 men in Ghana, 1 with missing information on spousal age difference and 1 with missing information on education; 17 women in Ghana, 1 each with missing information on age at marriage, education and spouse's alcohol consumption and 15 women with missing information on spousal age difference; 2 men in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 1 with missing information on spousal age difference; and 4 women in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 3 with missing information on spousal age difference.

(1) 5 non-working men in Ghana and 4 non-working men in Uganda have been coded as working but not for cash.

(2) 29 Ghanaian men who reported their wives drink but is never drunk and 1 who reported his wife is often drunk are recoded to "sometimes drunk".

¹ For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

² Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

Table A3. Logistic regression results for spousal physical violence perpetrated by currently married men and women age 15-49 in the past 12 months: Adjusted odds ratios, Ghana and Uganda

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)
Individual characteristics								
Current age (ref: 35-49)								
15-24	1.52	[0.20,11.52]	1.48	[0.52,4.19]	1.46	[0.66,3.19]	0.89	[0.25,3.13]
25-34	2.36*	[1.09,5.12]	1.02	[0.51,2.04]	1.05	[0.68,1.63]	0.88	[0.39,2.00]
Number of children ever born (ref: 1-2) Living together								
0	1.29	[0.37,4.47]	3.36**	[1.37,8.25]	0.34	[0.10,1.22]	0.74	[0.16,3.33]
3-4	2.28	[0.95,5.49]	1.46	[0.73,2.92]	1.26	[0.72,2.22]	1.05	[0.35,3.11]
5+	0.96	[0.29,3.21]	1.31	[0.50,3.43]	1.05	[0.59,1.86]	0.67	[0.16,2.74]
Type of union (ref: Married)								
Living together	0.58	[0.22,1.55]	0.86	[0.40,1.85]	1.65	[0.91,2.99]	0.94	[0.40,2.18]
Education (ref: None)								
Primary	0.60	[0.22,1.65]	2.24	[0.92,5.46]	1.18	[0.52,2.68]	0.92	[0.41,2.07]
Secondary+	0.41*	[0.17,0.99]	2.28	[0.93,5.57]	1.69	[0.71,3.99]	0.99	[0.29,3.47]
Employment for cash (ref: Working but not for cash/missing)								
Not working	(1)		0.50	[0.14,1.77]	(1)		0.58	[0.10,3.36]
Working for cash	1.33	[0.58,3.02]	0.66	[0.32,1.34]	2.02**	[1.20,3.40]	0.36**	[0.17,0.74]
Father beat mother (ref: No)								
Yes	1.68	[0.73,3.83]	2.11*	[1.14,3.91]	2.13**	[1.29,3.51]	4.13**	[1.58,10.79]
Don't know	0.59	[0.11,3.23]	4.05**	[1.62,10.10]	1.84	[0.95,3.56]	6.32**	[1.77,22.62]
Couple/spouse characteristics								
Spousal age difference ¹ (ref: Wife is 1-4 years younger)								
Husband same age or younger	2.47	[0.61,9.99]	1.85	[0.66,5.21]	0.77	[0.36,1.65]	0.42	[0.12,1.51]
Wife is 5-9 years younger	1.57	[0.68,3.61]	0.96	[0.50,1.87]	0.70	[0.46,1.06]	1.01	[0.48,2.13]
Wife is 10-14 years younger	2.22	[0.74,6.68]	0.38	[0.11,1.29]	0.97	[0.52,1.80]	1.12	[0.49,2.56]
Wife is 15+ years younger	2.09	[0.41,10.67]	0.65	[0.21,2.00]	1.76	[0.57,5.43]	1.12	[0.40,3.12]
Husband has other wives (ref: No)								
Yes	2.11	[0.49,9.06]	0.82	[0.39,1.73]	0.81	[0.51,1.31]	1.02	[0.51,2.03]
Spouse's alcohol consumption (ref: Does not drink)								
Drinks but is never drunk	(2)		3.76*	[1.10,12.88]	1.30	[0.74,2.29]	0.82	[0.09,7.09]
Sometimes drunk	2.11	[0.83,5.40]	7.63***	[3.45,16.85]	1.06	[0.47,2.38]	6.37***	[2.65,15.33]
Often drunk	(2)		3.70***	[1.85,7.42]	2.07*	[1.19,3.61]	1.96	[0.71,5.44]
Indicators of gender attitudes and roles								
Age at marriage ² (ref: 25+ years)								
<18 years	1.02	[0.22,4.74]	2.13	[0.60,7.60]	1.53	[0.67,3.51]	1.07	[0.20,5.86]
18-24 years	1.35	[0.69,2.62]	1.54	[0.51,4.70]	1.77	[0.94,3.33]	0.86	[0.16,4.70]
Decisionmaking on major household purchases (ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	2.38*	[1.13,4.99]	0.95	[0.52,1.76]	1.47	[0.93,2.34]	0.35*	[0.14,0.87]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/ missing	1.13	[0.19,6.57]	0.91	[0.45,1.85]	2.83*	[1.02,7.83]	0.66	[0.30,1.45]

Continued...

Table A3—Continued

	Ghana				Uganda			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)	aOR	(95%CI)
Decisionmaking on major household purchases								
<i>(ref: Husband and wife jointly decide/should decide)</i>								
Mainly respondent decides/should decide	0.71	[0.36,1.43]	1.35	[0.71,2.57]	1.42	[0.84,2.40]	1.98	[0.86,4.55]
Mainly spouse/other decides/should decide/ missing	0.59	[0.23,1.54]	0.90	[0.42,1.89]	1.34	[0.70,2.55]	1.65	[0.69,3.94]
Number of reasons wife beating is justified <i>(ref: Agrees with 0 reasons)</i>								
<i>(ref: Agrees with 0 reasons)</i>								
Does not agree with any reason (ref)								
Agrees with 1-2 reasons	0.93	[0.43,2.01]	1.50	[0.77,2.93]	2.16**	[1.36,3.44]	1.88	[0.74,4.80]
Agrees with 3+ reasons	1.57	[0.58,4.26]	1.51	[0.72,3.17]	2.30**	[1.32,4.01]	1.76	[0.68,4.57]
Household characteristics								
Area of residence <i>(ref: Rural)</i>								
Urban	0.89	[0.42,1.92]	1.34	[0.61,2.92]	1.09	[0.52,2.29]	0.49	[0.10,2.49]
Wealth quintile <i>(ref: Lowest)</i>								
Second	4.08*	[1.30,12.81]	0.66	[0.28,1.58]	0.77	[0.43,1.39]	1.96	[0.80,4.82]
Middle	1.81	[0.44,7.43]	0.71	[0.25,1.98]	0.59	[0.32,1.10]	1.29	[0.52,3.20]
Fourth	3.05	[0.87,10.76]	0.96	[0.36,2.56]	0.62	[0.32,1.21]	0.95	[0.31,2.98]
Highest	4.46*	[1.06,18.77]	0.69	[0.23,2.06]	0.43*	[0.21,0.88]	1.99	[0.55,7.17]
Number of respondents	531		1,408		993		1,300	

Note: The multivariate models exclude the following cases: 2 men in Ghana, 1 with missing information on spousal age difference and 1 with missing information on education; 17 women in Ghana, 1 each with missing information on age at marriage, education and spouse's alcohol consumption and 15 women with missing information on spousal age difference; 2 men in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 1 with missing information on spousal age difference; and 4 women in Uganda, 1 with missing information on spouse's alcohol consumption and 3 with missing information on spousal age difference.

(1) 5 non-working men in Ghana and 4 non-working men in Uganda have been coded as working but not for cash.

(2) 29 Ghanaian men who reported their wives drink but is never drunk and 1 who reported his wife is often drunk are recoded to "sometimes drunk".

¹ For men, the age of the first wife listed in the questionnaire is used to calculate spousal age difference.

² Not included in analysis if the recorded age at marriage was <9 years old.

Table A4. Unweighted sample sizes by experience and/or perpetration of violence of the subgroups of currently married women, currently men and men and their wives in the couples file age 15-49 for the analysis of the consequences of spousal violence, Ghana and Uganda

	Currently married men/women	Men in the couples file	Who ever had a live birth	Were ever pregnant	Who have a child <5 years old who was weighed and measured
Ghana men					
Ever experienced spousal violence	55	42	39	40	28
Ever perpetrated spousal violence	103	76	74	75	49
Never perpetrated, never experienced	469	380	349	358	233
Has perpetrated, never experienced	70	49	48	49	32
Has experienced, never perpetrated	22	15	13	14	11
Both experienced and perpetrated	33	27	26	26	17
Total	594	471	436	447	293
Ghana women					
Ever experienced spousal violence	308	na	287	299	168
Ever perpetrated spousal violence	101	na	87	94	60
Never perpetrated, never experienced	1,259	na	1,167	1,185	685
Has perpetrated, never experienced	33	na	27	29	18
Has experienced, never perpetrated	240	na	227	234	126
Both experienced and perpetrated	68	na	60	65	42
Total	1,600	na	1,481	1,513	871
Uganda men					
Ever experienced spousal violence	248	209	204	205	158
Ever perpetrated spousal violence	476	417	398	402	320
Never perpetrated, never experienced	586	511	463	473	370
Has perpetrated, never experienced	314	279	262	265	216
Has experienced, never perpetrated	86	71	68	68	54
Both experienced and perpetrated	162	138	136	137	104
Total	1,148	999	929	943	744
Uganda women					
Ever experienced spousal violence	692	na	676	680	na
Ever perpetrated spousal violence	89	na	86	86	na
Never perpetrated, never experienced	772	na	727	735	na
Has perpetrated, never experienced	18	na	18	18	na
Has experienced, never perpetrated	621	na	608	612	na
Both experienced and perpetrated	71	na	68	68	na
Total	1,482	na	1,421	1,433	na

Note: In Uganda, children were not weighed and measured in households that were selected to receive the women's domestic violence module.