

## **Male perspectives on IPV and relative resources in the Philippines**

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### ***Introduction***

Many researchers have applied resource theory to explain female-reported intimate partner violence (IPV) by men against women in developed country settings (Atkinson et al., 2005; Cubbins & Vannoy, 2005; Hornung et al., 1981; Kaukinen, 2004). We know very little, however, about men's perspective on IPV, how resource theory applies to female perpetrated IPV, and how this association plays out in less developed country settings. Our study addresses this gap, using data from male respondents to examine the relation between the relative resources of husbands and wives and male and female IPV perpetration in the Philippines.

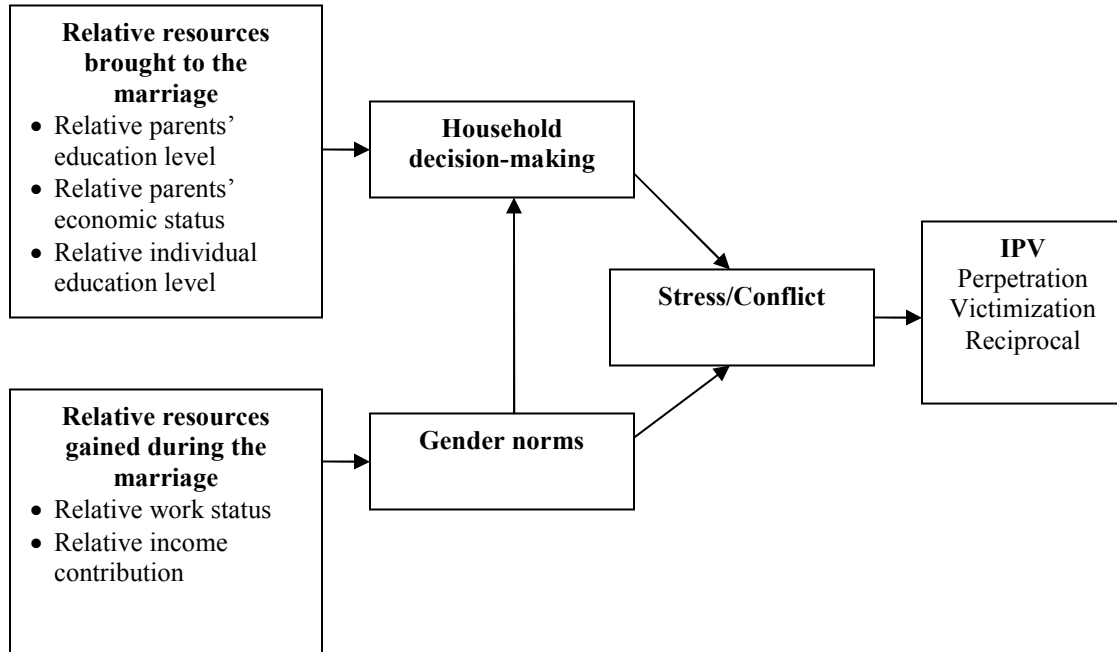
### ***Relative Resource Theory and IPV***

Resource theory views the balance of marital power as determined by resources either brought to the relationship or attained in the course of the relationship. According to this perspective, the balance of power is on the side of the spouse who provides the greater resources to the relationship (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Resources are anything one partner may provide to the other, and can include social resources, such as friends or contacts, economic resources, such as income or property, and personal resources, such as education or communication skills (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Goode, 1971). The more resources a spouse controls compared to his partner, the greater force he has in the relationship, but the less he will actually openly use power (violence); in contrast, the fewer resources a spouse has, the more he or she will use power (violence) openly to assert his or her position in the marriage (Goode, 1971).

The effects of relative resources on IPV may be due to social and psychological processes (Hornung et al., 1981). The conceptual framework below outlines the potential mechanisms

involved, as shown in Figure 1. For resources gained during marriage, societal social norms dictate what the roles of husbands versus wives should be, and transgressions of these proscribed norms may hamper psychological well-being and lead to relationship conflict and IPV (Anderson, 1997; Hornung et al., 1981). In terms of resources brought to the marriage, expectations that come with having a certain socio-economic background, compared to one's partner, interact with gender norms to influence psychological well-being, conflict and IPV through household decision-making. We offer two related hypotheses: First, when the husband has a higher background status than his wife, he has more control in decision-making, as expected by gender norms. Second, when the husband comes from a relatively lower status family background, this background conflicts with prevailing gender norms and an overcompensation process ensues, the wife concedes decision-making to her husband because of the sensitive nature of their relative status. The data from this study lend support to the hypothesized pathway as differences in relative mother's status (financial and educational) tend to be positively associated with self-only decision-making and negatively associated with partner-only decision-making (data not shown); furthermore, in recent focus group discussions in Cebu, men commonly reported that wives and/or in-laws "underestimate" husbands when they come from a lower socio-economic background than their wives, and this can lead to marital discord; no parallel was mentioned for women with relatively lower socio-economic backgrounds than their husbands (Fehringer & Hindin, 2009b).

**Figure 1. Conceptual Framework for Pathway Between Spousal Relative Resources and Intimate Partner Violence**



*IPV Research Employing Relative Resource Theory*

The resources perspective on IPV has predominantly focused on male IPV perpetration. Consequently, there is a lack of research on relative resource theory as it applies to female perpetration. Only two studies addressing this topic were located and both were conducted in the U.S. Anderson used male and female report of victimization and found that when women earned relatively more than their partners, the odds of female IPV perpetration were increased (Anderson, 1997). Hornung et al. looked at violence within a couple (i.e. - either male or female perpetration), per women's report, and showed that IPV increased when the woman's job was either higher or lower status, compared to the man's (Hornung et al., 1981).

While there are comparatively more studies looking at relative resources and male IPV perpetration in middle and lower income countries, most offer mixed results and rely on female report of IPV. The one study among male respondents found that relative occupational level was not significantly associated with male IPV perpetration in Thailand (Hoffman et al., 1994).

Another study in Vietnam found that neither occupational status difference nor relative household income contribution was significantly related to women's report of husbands' IPV perpetration (Luke et al., 2007). In contrast, research in South Africa found that women with a lower level job than their husbands experienced more frequent physical beatings by their husbands, compared to women with the same occupational attainment as their husbands (Choi & Ting, 2008). This study also found that the frequency of physical male perpetration increased when both spouses were not working but decreased when only the wife worked (Choi & Ting, 2008). Lastly, a study in Kenya showed that women at a similar or lower occupational level than their husbands were less likely to report male sexual IPV perpetration than women who had higher level occupations than their husbands (Lawoko et al., 2007).

Research on relative education in developing country contexts has relied only on female IPV report; the relation between relative education and IPV is not clear in these studies. Studies in Kenya, Peru, and Cambodia found that women with higher education than their husbands were more likely to report physical IPV by their husbands (Flake, 2005; Lawoko et al., 2007; Yount & Carrera, 2006). In Cambodia and Egypt, women with lower education than their husbands were also more likely to report that their husbands perpetrated IPV against them (Yount, 2005). While these studies suggest that either women's higher or lower relative education puts them at higher risk of IPV victimization, three additional studies complicate the picture. Choi and Ting in South Africa found that the odds of male perpetration decreased when the wife had lesser education than her husband (Choi & Ting, 2008). Researchers in Vietnam found that men at either the same or higher educational level than their wives were more likely to perpetrate IPV, based on the wives' report (Luke et al., 2007). Relative education was not significantly associated with male IPV perpetration in Thailand in the single relative resources study in a developing country setting to use male reports (Hoffman et al., 1994).

While part of the relative resources are those brought to marriage, only one study looking at such factors in developing country contexts was located. Research in Egypt found no

significant relation between women having paid some or more wedding expenses than husbands and the odds of the woman reporting being beaten by her husband (Yount, 2005).

It is possible that these inconsistent results on the effect of couples' relative resources on IPV are related to individual differences in gender ideology, even within the same social norm context. For example, when a husband has more traditional gender beliefs and his resources relative to those of his wife do not mesh with his beliefs on his higher status within the marriage, he may act out through violence to attempt to reaffirm his superior position and masculinity (Anderson, 1997; Atkinson et al., 2005; Cubbins & Vannoy, 2005). In contrast, a husband with less traditional beliefs, whose gender ideology is less linked to being an economic provider, may not be affected by his wife's relative status (Atkinson et al., 2005).

Gender theory has not addressed female IPV perpetration, except in the case of self-defense. In this case, it has been suggested that women with lower relative resources may be more likely to perpetrate IPV in self-defense because they, compared to women with more resources, are less able to leave the violent relationship (Anderson, 1997). It is possible, however, that gender ideology could also apply to female perpetration that is not in self-defense: when a woman has more traditional beliefs that she should not be the breadwinner and yet finds herself in this position, she may act out violently against her partner out of frustration with her role; in comparison, a woman with less traditional beliefs may not be affected.

#### *IPV and Relative Resources in Marriages in the Philippines*

Estimates of male IPV perpetration in the Philippines range from 6 to 26 percent (Cabaraban & Morales, 1998; David et al., 1998; Hassan et al., 2004; Hindin & Adair, 2002). The one study of adult female IPV perpetration in this setting showed 13 percent of women reporting female-only perpetration and 42 percent reporting bi-directional perpetration in the past year (Ansara & Hindin, 2009). Research exploring the dynamics of partner violence in the Philippines suggests that joint household decision-making, joint parental household decision-

making, frequent church attendance of respondent and of respondent's mother, and longer duration of marriage were associated with decreased risk of violence; in contrast, alcohol use, household purchase of alcohol during childhood, and family history of partner violence are associated with an increased risk (Ansara & Hindin, 2009; Fehringer & Hindin, 2009a, Hindin & Adair, 2002). There is also some evidence of gender interactions for several factors related to IPV perpetration: Fehringer and Hindin (2009a) found that Filipino male young adults had a lower risk of reporting reciprocal violent acts if their mothers attended church more often and a higher risk if their mothers reported household purchase of any alcohol when they were age 11, compared to females.

Marital dynamics in the Philippines typically involve greater female power than in other parts of Asia and in other areas of the developing world (Mason, 1997). While the husband is the official household head, the wife holds a fairly high status in the family. Most household decisions are made jointly between husband and wife (David, 1994; Hindin & Adair, 2002; Medina, 2001). According to traditional gender norms in the Philippines, the wife should be the household manager and raise the children, while the husband should be the breadwinner and protect his wife and children (Alcantara, 1994). The reality of Filipino marriage, however, has shifted in the recent past, with women moving into paid activities to financially help their families (Alcantara, 1994). Furthermore, recent focus group discussions suggest that modern Filipino gender norms may have changed to incorporate this new female work reality: both male and female participants noted that women's income was important as a supplement to the main income of the husband (Fehringer & Hindin, 2009b).

As women expand their roles outside the home and as Filipino society clears old legal hurdles for greater female power in marriage, the power structure in Filipino marriage is changing. While in the past, only men were allowed to seek higher education, women's educational attainment now parallels that of men (Medina, 2001). Women are now entering into jobs and activities that once were reserved for men. Furthermore, societal norms have gradually

shifted more towards gender equality and most laws that once forced the wife to be subordinate to the husband have been corrected (Medina, 2001). As some research suggests, however, this shift in gender norms may have an influence on intimate partner violence (Koenig et al., 2003).

## ***Methods***

### *Study setting*

This study focuses on Cebu, an island and province in the Central Visayas in the center of the Philippines archipelago. As the home to over two million people, Metro Cebu is the second largest city in the Philippines. It is a highly urbanized center as well as a major port city. It also has the fastest growing economy in the region and holds a strong attraction for migrants from the rural areas of Cebu Province and other areas of the Visayas and Mindanao. According to the National Statistics Office, Cebu Province has an annual average family income of 110,367 Philippine pesos, a total fertility rate of 2.92, and a 91.5 percent literacy rate (National Statistics Office (NSO) [Philippines], 2008).

### *Data Collection*

The data reported here are part of the Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey (CLHNS). The CLHNS began following all pregnant women, in their sixth to seventh month of pregnancy in Cebu in 1983-84. Follow-up has continued for these women in 1991, 1994, 1998–2000, 2002, and 2005. In 2005, interviews were also conducted with husbands of the mothers. 1,580 of the 1,705 husbands were interviewed. Most of these interviews were completed in one session lasting about from one to 1.5 hours. 125 husbands were not interviewed: 36 refused, 23 had out migrated from the survey area, seven were deceased, seven were seriously ill and the remaining 52 could not be located or were unavailable for interview. The husband's survey included components on employment, sexual behavior, household decision-making, intimate partner violence, morbidity, and parent-child relations. We focus on intimate partner violence

data from these interviews with the husbands. 1,571 husbands answered the IPV components of the survey and none were excluded from the current sample. 1,433 respondents were legally married, and 138 were cohabitating. Married and cohabitating respondents were combined in the analyses. We also use data from the 2005 women's interviews to look at predictors of partner violence.

The University of North Carolina School of Public Health institutional review and the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health Committee on Human Research approved the 2005 men's survey. For the survey round, the risks and benefits were explained to participants and written informed consent was obtained. Participants were assured that responses would be kept confidential. All names were stripped from the data, and only assigned identification numbers remained.

### *Measures*

#### Dependent variables

The 2005 CLHNS contained a series of questions concerning physical violence perpetrated by or against the respondent based on questions from the Conflict-Tactics Scale. The violent actions included the following action types towards someone else in the context of a fight or dispute: (1) Threw something; (2) Pushed, grabbed, or shoved, (3) Hit (not with anything); (4) Hit with something hard, and; (5) Harmed enough to need medical attention. In addition, both perpetration and victimization as well as frequency was asked for each type of violence. We explored each type of violence as an outcome, but found no significant differences based on type of violence. We focus on physical violence in the last 12 months with three dichotomous measures: 1) Violence perpetration – male respondent violent against female partner; 2) Violence victimization – female partner violent against male respondent, and; 3) Reciprocal violence –male respondent reports that both male and female partner committed one or more violent acts against the other. Each participant was categorized into one of these three mutually exclusive categories.



### Independent variables

*Couple Characteristics.* Marital power variables were grouped into three categories: Household decision-making power, economic power, and relative status. While the initial intent was to create a scale or scales for each set of variables, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) showed that scales were only valid for the economic power variables.

Four items related to relative status were included. The original questions and final variable forms for this study are listed below in Table 1. The work status disparity variable was created from both the men's and the women's 2005 survey data; wife's relative contribution to household income was created from data from the 2005 women's survey, and; relative mother's education and relative mother's economic status was created predominantly with data from the 2005 men's survey. The 123 data points missing relative education and the 18 missing relative economic status were filled with data from the women's 2005 survey. After completing missing data with that from the women's survey, there were still 103 respondents missing mothers' relative education and 45 missing mothers' relative economic status. Missingness was related to the IPV outcome. Nearest neighbor Hotdeck imputation (Ford, 1983) sorting by respondent's barangay, age, education, and assets was then used to replace the missing data.

**Table 1. Items Measuring Relative Status**

| <b>Item</b>  | <b>Final Variable Form</b>  |
|--|---|
| Referring back to your current or most recent relationship, at the time that you were married or entered into your last cohabiting relationship was your mother's educational level: | 0 Lower than your wife's mother's educational level<br>1 Higher than your wife's mother's educational level<br>2 The same as your wife's mother's educational level |
| Referring back to your current or most recent relationship, at the time that you were married or entered into your last cohabiting relationship was your mother's economic status:   | 0 Lower than your wife's mother's economic status<br>1 Higher than your wife's mother's economic status<br>2 The same as your wife's mother's economic status       |
| Work status disparity  | 0 Both partners do not work<br>1 Wife works but respondent does not<br>2 Respondent works but wife does not<br>3 Both partners work                                 |
| Wife's relative contribution to household income   | Proportion of the household's personal income contributed by the wife's employment.   |

Four questions on family decision-making power from the 2005 husband's survey were used in this study. Men were asked "Whose decision prevails/prevailed on this decision?" for the following decisions: (1) Where to send your children for schooling; (2) Bringing your child to the doctor; (3) Buying clothes for your children, and; (4) If you were to visit your parents, relatives, friends outside Cebu. Categorical variables were created from these questions. These were coded as: 0 Partner decides, 1 Man himself decides, 2 Decision made jointly.

Five questions on economic power from the 2005 husband's survey were also used. The items and final variable forms are listed in Table 2. Amos software was used to create a scale from these variables using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA); polychoric correlations served as the input into AMOS. Goodness of fit statistics showed that the resulting economic power model fit well (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = 0.03; root mean residual (RMR) = 0.004; adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI) = 1.0).

**Table 2. Items Measuring Economic Power**

| <b>Item</b>   | <b>Final Variable Form</b>                 |
|---|--|
| <i>Whose decision prevails/prevailed on this decision?</i>  |  |
| If you earn money, how to spend the money you earn?   | 0 Woman<br>1 Man                           |
| If your spouse earns money, how to spend the money she earns?   | 2 Joint                                    |
| How do you feel about your income; is it yours alone or do you regard it as your spouse's as well?    | 0 Unpaid or not working<br>1 Own<br>2 Both |
| Who in your household keeps track of your and your spouse's (the couple's) money and how it is spent? | 0 Woman or no one<br>1 Man<br>2 Both       |
| Who would you say really controls the money that you as a couple have?                                | 0 Woman or no one<br>1 Man<br>2 Both       |

We also included the man's 2005 report of whether or not he and his partner were legally married. In the Philippines, it is common to say you are "married" when you are not legally married; in such cases, the couple typically is cohabitating. The duration of the current marriage or cohabitation as of 2005 was also used in this study; we created a variable in years based on the woman's report of duration in months,.

*Household Characteristics.* We included the man's 2005 report of urban or rural residence, and the woman's 2005 report of total household income and household wealth based on asset ownership of TV, VCR, iron, refrigerator, electric fan, bicycle, living room set, air conditioner, bed, or bed with mattress.

*Intergenerational Violence.* The man's report of witnessing inter-parental violence, based on the 2005 CLHNS, was measured from responses to the question, "Do you remember if either of your parents/caretakers ever hit, slapped, kicked, or used other means like pushing or shoving to try to hurt the other physically when you were growing up?" The man's report of the severity of the inter-parental violence witnessed was measured based on response to the question: "Do you

ever recall one of your parents/caretakers needing medical attention as a result of being physically hurt by the other parent/caretaker?”

*Individual Characteristics.* Based on the man’s 2005 report, we included church going frequency (once a week or more versus less), age, and number of years of school completed. His alcohol consumption was measured using 2005 data through two questions: 1) “Do you drink?” (Yes/no), and if yes, 2) “How Often?” (Only occasionally, every week, every day). We created a three-level variable as follows: (1) Does not drink alcohol; (2) Drinks alcohol only occasionally; and (3) Drinks alcohol once a week or more.

### *Analytic Strategy*

The analysis was conducted in three phases. First, the sample characteristics and violent act reports were explored and described. Next, bivariate analyses using multinomial logistic regression were carried out to examine unadjusted associations between the couple, household, and intergenerational and individual characteristics and the violence outcomes. Finally, multivariate multinomial logistic regression was used to examine the risk factors for report of 2005 violence. Predictors were entered in blocks in the following order: Couple characteristics, household characteristics, and intergenerational and individual and characteristics.

Collinearity of the independent variables was evaluated using the variation inflation factor (VIF). A VIF value over 10 indicates collinearity. None of the VIF values for the independent variables were over 10.

## **5.1 Results**

### *Respondent characteristics*

Table 3 shows the 2005 couple, household, intergenerational and individual characteristics of the respondents.

**Table 3 - Characteristics of the men: Cebu, 2005 (n=1571)**

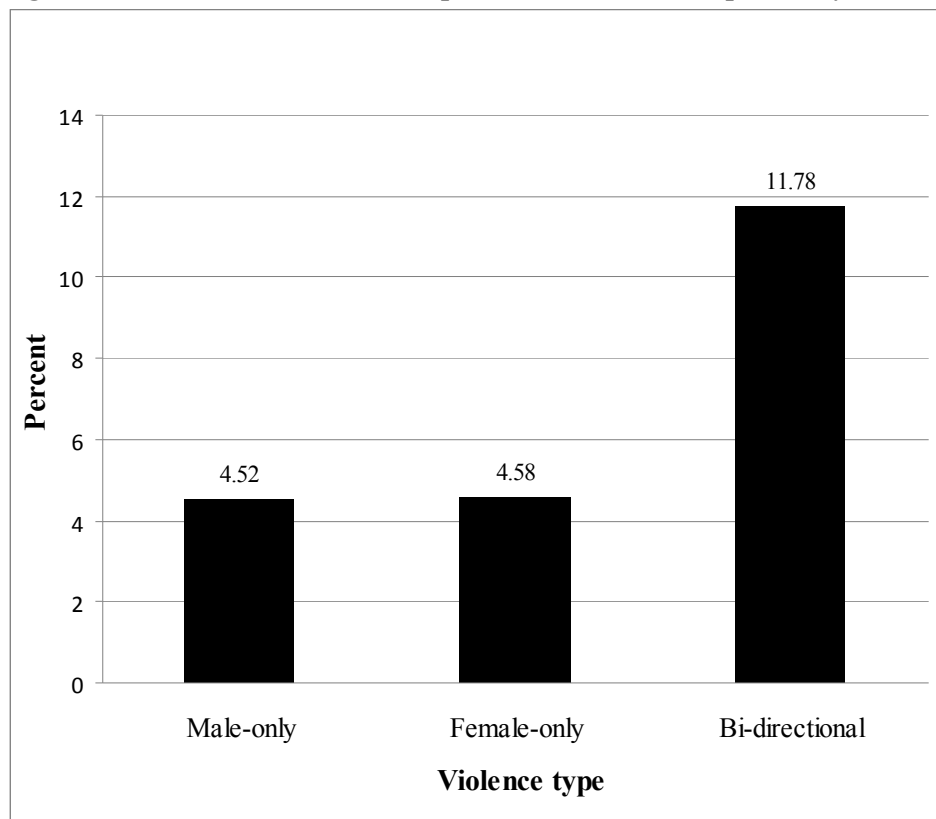
|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <i>Relative status characteristics</i>                             |            |
| Relative work status of man and partner, %                         |            |
| Neither working  | 4.6        |
| Wife working, husband not  | 11.2       |
| Husband working, wife not  | 22.7       |
| Both working   | 61.5       |
| Relative mother's economic status, %                               |            |
| Husband's mother lower   | 21.3       |
| Husband's mother higher  | 24.4       |
| Same   | 54.3       |
| Relative mother's education, %                                     |            |
| Husband's mother lower   | 27.8       |
| Husband's mother higher  | 31.7       |
| Same   | 40.5       |
| Wife's relative contribution to household income, %                |            |
| 0  | 27.4       |
| 1-33   | 43.9       |
| 34-66  | 19.4       |
| >66  | 9.3        |
| <i>Couple characteristics</i>                                      |            |
| Legally married, %   | 91.2       |
| Duration of marriage (range 0.25-49), years, mean (SD)             | 26.4 (6.9) |
| Economic power scale (range -0.01 - 1.8), mean(SD)                 | 0.8        |
| Whose decision prevails on this decision (%):                      |            |
| Where to send your children for schooling                          |            |
| Husband only   | 10.4       |
| Wife only  | 25.9       |
| Joint  | 63.7       |
| Bringing your child to the doctor                                  |            |
| Husband only   | 15.7       |
| Wife only  | 25.9       |
| Joint  | 58.4       |
| Buying clothes for your children                                   |            |
| Husband only   | 6.1        |
| Wife only  | 56.1       |
| Joint  | 37.8       |
| If you were to visit your parents, relatives, friends outside Cebu |            |
| Husband only   | 29.9       |
| Wife only  | 15.7       |
| Joint  | 54.5       |
| <i>Household characteristics</i>                                   |            |
| Household asset index (range 0-2.7) , mean (SD)                    | 0.6 (0.4)  |
| Husband currently working, %                                       | 84.2       |
| Urban residence, %   | 68.0       |
| <i>Intergenerational violence and individual characteristics</i>   |            |
| Recall of parental domestic violence, %                            |            |
| Either parent hurt the other                                       | 32.5       |
| Either parent/caretaker hurt enough to need medical attention      | 4.0        |
| Age (range 19-76), y, mean (SD)                                    | 50.0 (6.7) |
| Years of school completed (range 0-20), mean (SD)                  | 7.4 (4.1)  |
| Church attendance once a week or more, %                           | 37.2       |

|                        |  |      |
|------------------------|--|------|
| Alcohol consumption, % |  |      |
| Does not drink         |  | 19.0 |
| Occasionally           |  | 44.4 |
| Once a week            |  | 30.0 |
| Everyday               |  | 6.6  |

*Violence prevalence and characteristics*

Figure 2 displays the prevalence of female and male perpetrated violence in the study period. Reciprocal violence was the most common form of IPV, followed by female-only and male-only at roughly similar levels.

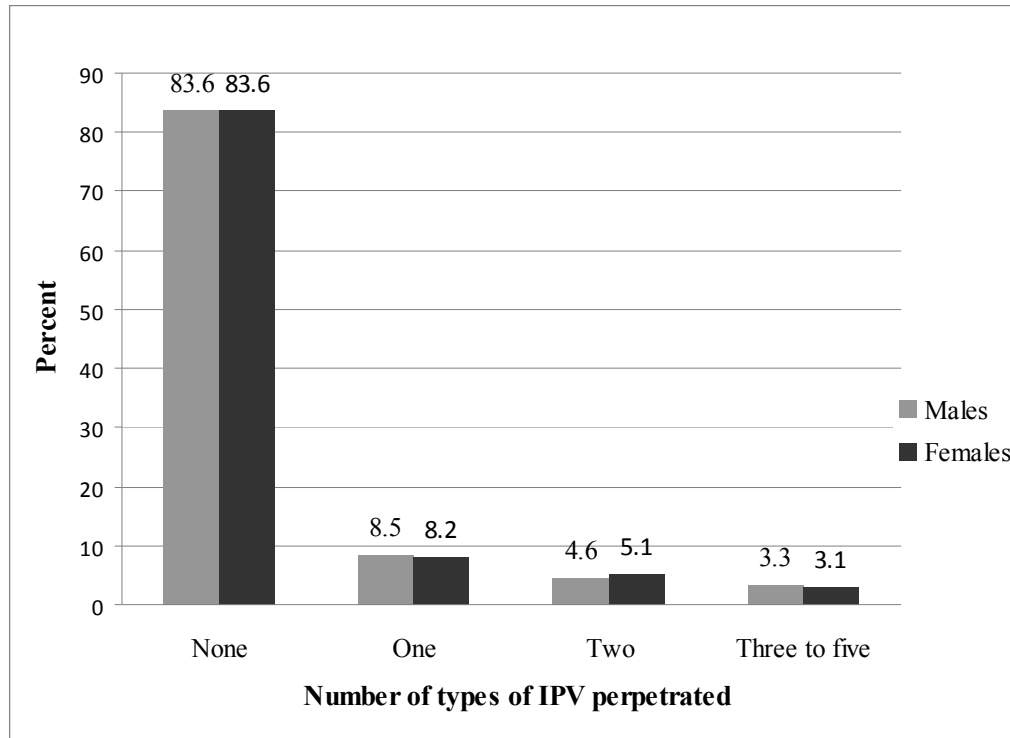
**Figure 2. Prevalence of IPV in the previous 12 months, reported by 1571 men, Cebu, 2005**



Men reported fairly similar levels of violence by number of types (i.e., hit; pushed, grabbed or shoved) for both themselves and their female partners, as shown in Figure 3. They also reported marginally higher prevalence of using one type or three to five types of violence,

and marginally lower prevalence of using two types of violence, compared to reports of their female partners' use of violence. Additionally, among those reporting violence, using only one type of violence was most common for both men and women, followed by two types and three to five types of violence.

**Figure 3. Prevalence of IPV in the previous 12 months, by number of IPV types, reported by 1571 men, Cebu 2005**



Men's reports of specific conflict tactics by or against themselves in the previous 12 months are described in Table 4 below. Men commonly reported that they and their female partners had employed the positive conflict negotiation tactic, "Discussed the issue calmly," with each other (78.6 percent); there were statistically significant differences between husband only and wife only use of this tactic, with husbands reporting that they used the tactic more frequently. Levels of verbal violence were also rather high. For swearing and nagging, husbands reported that their wives more often used these tactics; for example, 49.5 percent of husbands reported that both they and their wives had "excessively nagged" each other, 14 percent reported that their wives only used this tactic and 4 percent reported that they alone excessively nagged. Acts of

physical violence were less prevalent than those of verbal violence or of negotiation; “threw something at” was the most common bi-directional physically violent act; hitting was the most common female-only and the most common male-only physically violent act. None of the physically violent actions showed statistically significant differences by gender.

**Table 4 – Male reports of conflict tactics in the previous 12 months: Cebu, 2005<sup>a</sup> (n=1571 men)**

|  | Male only | Female partner only | Bi-directional |
|--|-----------|---------------------|----------------|
| Discussed the issue calmly   | 4.5       | 2.0***              | 78.6           |
| Got information to back up their side of argument                  | 3.0       | 1.7*                | 51.2           |
| Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things      | 1.8       | 1.3                 | 0.6            |
| Excessively nagged   | 4.0       | 14.0***             | 49.5           |
| Yelled or insulted one   | 6.1       | 6.6                 | 47.0           |
| Swore at the other one   | 4.8       | 8.3***              | 33.6           |
| Sulked or refused to talk about argument                           | 5.9       | 4.8                 | 37.8           |
| Stomped out of the room  | 8.2       | 4.8***              | 81.2           |
| Threw or smashed at something (but not at anyone)                  | 4.1       | 2.9+                | 7.1            |
| Had something in your hand to throw at anyone, but didn't throw it | 4.1       | 2.6*                | 7.3            |
| Threw something at   | 2.6       | 3.2                 | 7.3            |
| Pushed, grabbed or shoved  | 2.4       | 2.4                 | 6.4            |
| Hit  | 3.8       | 3.3                 | 6.5            |
| Hit with something hard  | 0.8       | 1.0                 | 1.0            |
| Harmed enough to need medical attention                            | 0.3       | 0.1                 | 0.1            |

+p≤0.10, \*p≤0.05, \*\*p≤0.01, \*\*\*p≤0.001

<sup>a</sup> Using paired t-test between male only and female partner only reports

### *Bivariate analysis*

Bivariate analyses using multinomial logistic regression were carried out to examine unadjusted associations between the couple, household, and intergenerational and individual characteristics and the violence outcomes of male perpetration, male victimization, and reciprocal perpetration (See Table 5).



**Table 5. Bivariate multinomial logistic regression analysis results: IPV within the last 12 months, by type of IPV, reported by 1571 men, Cebu, 2005**

|   | Perpetration<br>(n=71) |            | Victimization<br>(n=72) |            | Reciprocal<br>(n=185) |            |
|---|------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
|   | RRR‡                   | 95% CI     | RRR                     | 95% CI     | RRR                   | 95% CI     |
| <u>Relative status characteristics</u>  |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Relative work status of man and partner (reference is both working)             |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Neither working   | 0.92                   | 0.28, 2.04 | 0.35                    | 0.05, 2.63 | 1.05                  | 0.51, 2.18 |
| Wife working, husband not   | 0.92                   | 0.41, 2.09 | 1.99*                   | 1.03, 3.83 | 0.96                  | 0.57, 1.61 |
| Husband working, wife not   | 1.19                   | 0.67, 2.09 | 1.61+                   | 0.93, 2.80 | 1.14                  | 0.78, 1.65 |
| Relative mother's economic status   |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Husband's mother lower  | 0.89                   | 0.47, 1.71 | 1.80*                   | 1.03, 3.16 | 1.03                  | 0.69, 1.52 |
| Husband's mother higher   | 1.19                   | 0.68, 2.07 | 1.27                    | 0.70, 2.30 | 0.95                  | 0.65, 1.39 |
| Relative mother's education (reference is same)                                 |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Husband's mother lower  | 1.95*                  | 1.09, 3.48 | 0.97                    | 0.53, 1.79 | 0.74                  | 0.49, 1.11 |
| Husband's mother higher   | 1.43                   | 0.77, 2.64 | 1.36                    | 0.79, 2.36 | 1.14                  | 0.80, 1.62 |
| Wife's relative contribution to household income (reference is 0%) <sup>1</sup> |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| 1-33%   | 1.13                   | 0.62, 2.05 | 1.15                    | 0.65, 2.06 | 1.22                  | 0.82, 1.81 |
| 34-66%  | 0.99                   | 0.47, 2.10 | 1.28                    | 0.64, 2.56 | 1.61*                 | 1.02, 2.52 |
| >66%  | 1.48                   | 0.65, 3.38 | 0.48                    | 0.14, 1.65 | 1.08                  | 0.59, 1.99 |
| <u>Other couple characteristics</u>   |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Legally married   | 1.59                   | 0.74, 3.42 | 2.26*                   | 1.15, 4.44 | 2.14***               | 1.35, 3.39 |
| Duration of marriage, years   | 0.99                   | 0.95, 1.02 | 0.93***                 | 0.91, 0.96 | 0.97**                | 0.94, 0.99 |
| Whose decision prevails on the decision (joint is reference):                   |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Bringing your child to the doctor   |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Wife only   | 0.98                   | 0.56, 1.71 | 1.30                    | 0.77, 2.18 | 0.96                  | 0.67, 1.37 |
| Husband only  | 0.62                   | 0.29, 1.35 | 0.49                    | 0.21, 1.17 | 0.69                  | 0.43, 1.11 |
| Buying clothes for your children  |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Wife only   | 1.07                   | 0.64, 1.76 | 1.09                    | 0.66, 1.80 | 0.78                  | 0.57, 1.08 |
| Husband only  | 0.68                   | 0.20, 2.32 | 0.68                    | 0.20, 2.32 | 0.90                  | 0.47, 1.73 |
| Where to send your children for Schooling                                       |                        |            |                         |            |                       |            |
| Wife only   | 0.86                   | 0.48, 1.55 | 0.74                    | 0.41, 1.34 | 1.04                  | 0.73, 1.49 |
| Husband only  | 1.41                   | 0.70, 2.89 | 1.04                    | 0.48, 2.25 | 1.23                  | 0.75, 2.02 |

|  |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
|--|--------|------------|---------|------------|---------|------------|--|
| If you were to visit your parents, relatives, friends outside Cebu |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
| Wife only  | 0.42   | 0.15, 1.20 | 1.09    | 0.55, 2.19 | 1.46+   | 0.96, 2.23 |  |
| Husband only   | 1.94** | 1.18, 3.18 | 1.38    | 0.82, 2.34 | 1.38+   | 0.97, 1.96 |  |
| Economic power scale   | 0.88   | 0.60, 1.28 | 0.78    | 0.53, 1.14 | 0.81+   | 0.63, 1.03 |  |
| <u>Household Characteristics</u>                                   |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
| Household asset index  | 0.98   | 0.56, 1.74 | 0.99    | 0.56, 1.75 | 0.61*   | 0.41, 0.91 |  |
| Number of persons in household (reference is 0-5)                  |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
| 6-10   | 0.81   | 0.48, 1.35 | 1.66+   | 0.95, 2.91 | 0.80    | 0.57, 1.12 |  |
| >10  | 0.95   | 0.41, 2.24 | 0.83    | 0.27, 2.51 | 1.11    | 0.65, 1.88 |  |
| Rural residence  | 0.57*  | 0.32, 1.01 | 0.66    | 0.38, 1.13 | 0.73+   | 0.52, 1.03 |  |
| <u>Intergenerational violence and individual characteristics</u>   |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
| Recall of parental domestic violence                               | 1.73*  | 1.06, 2.81 | 1.59+   | 0.98, 2.59 | 1.84*** | 1.34, 2.52 |  |
| Either parent hurt the other enough                                | 2.06   | 0.81, 5.21 | 0.89    | 0.76, 1.04 | 1.90*   | 1.03, 3.51 |  |
| To warrant medical attention                                       |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
| Age  | 0.98   | 0.94, 1.01 | 0.93*** | 0.89, 0.96 | 0.95*** | 0.93, 0.98 |  |
| Years of school completed  | 1.06*  | 1.00, 1.12 | 1.04    | 0.98, 1.10 | 1.00    | 0.96, 1.04 |  |
| Church attendance once a week or more                              | 1.07   | 0.65, 1.74 | 1.17    | 0.72, 1.90 | 0.69*   | 0.50, 0.97 |  |
| Alcohol consumption (reference is does not drink alcohol)          |        |            |         |            |         |            |  |
| Occasionally   | 0.94   | 0.49, 1.81 | 2.07+   | 0.90, 4.76 | 1.59+   | 0.97, 2.61 |  |
| Once a week or more  | 1.18   | 0.61, 2.29 | 2.79*   | 1.22, 6.40 | 2.31*** | 1.41, 3.79 |  |

+p≤0.10, \*p≤0.05, \*\*p≤0.01, \*\*\*p≤0.001

‡Unadjusted odds ratio (OR)

† Adjusted for household income

### *Relative status factors associated with IPV*

Respondents who reported violence perpetration in 2005 had a higher risk of reporting that their mother's education level was lower than that of their wives' mothers' education level.

Men reporting violence victimization had a higher risk of reporting that their wife was working and they were not, that they themselves were working and their wives were not, and that their mothers' economic status was lower than that of their wives' mothers' economic status.

Reciprocal violence was positively associated with women's relative income contribution of 34-66 percent.

### *Other factors associated with IPV*

Men reporting IPV perpetration had a higher risk of reporting that they alone decide whether or not to visit friends and family outside of Cebu, to have completed more years of school and to recall parental domestic violence; they were less likely to live in a rural area. Those reporting IPV victimization were younger, in shorter duration marriages and less likely to be legally married; they were also more likely to have 6-10 persons in the household, to recall parental domestic violence, and to drink alcohol. Men in reciprocally violent marriages had a decreased risk of reporting more joint economic power, being legally married, attending church frequently, living in a rural area, being older and being in longer duration marriages; they also had a higher risk of reporting that their wives only or they themselves alone made the decision on visiting friends or family outside of Cebu, that they witnessed parental domestic violence, that either parent hurt the other enough to need medical attention, and that they consumed alcohol.

### *Multivariate analysis*

Multivariate analyses using multinomial logistic regression were carried out to examine associations between the couple, household, and intergenerational and individual characteristics and the violence outcomes of male perpetration, male victimization, and reciprocal IPV. Block modeling was used and the blocks entered into the model in the following order: 1) relative status characteristics; 2) relative status and other couple characteristics; 3) relative status, other couple and household characteristics, and; 4) relative status, other couple, household and individual and intergenerational characteristics. There was not much change observed in the block modeling and so only the final models are shown in Table 6. Some of the observed effects in Table 5 were attenuated and several factors, such as church attendance and economic power, were no longer statistically significant.

**Table 6. Multivariate multinomial logistic regression analysis results: IPV in the previous 12 months, by type of IPV, reported by 1571 men, Cebu, 2005<sup>1</sup>**

|  | Perpetration<br>(n=71) |           | Victimization<br>(n=72) |           | Reciprocal<br>(n=185) |           |
|--|------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
|  | RRR <sup>‡</sup>       | 95% CI    | RRR                     | 95% CI    | RRR                   | 95% CI    |
| <i>Relative status characteristics</i>   |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Relative work status of man and partner (reference is both working)            |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Neither working  | 1.30                   | 0.33,5.08 | 0.67                    | 0.06,7.73 | 1.95                  | 0.83,4.55 |
| Wife working, husband not  | 0.74                   | 0.38,1.47 | 2.57*                   | 1.11,5.96 | 1.00                  | 0.54,1.84 |
| Husband working, wife not  | 1.45                   | 0.69,3.08 | 2.53*                   | 1.13,5.67 | 1.81+                 | 0.91,3.59 |
| Relative mother's economic status (reference is same)                          |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Husband's mother lower   | 0.72                   | 0.40,1.29 | 1.62*                   | 1.07,2.46 | 1.11                  | 0.68,1.82 |
| Husband's mother higher  | 0.94                   | 0.45,1.93 | 1.10                    | 0.67,1.79 | 0.85                  | 0.52,1.40 |
| Relative mother's education (reference is same)                                |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Husband's mother lower   | 1.79+                  | 1.00,3.20 | 0.76                    | 0.42,1.39 | 0.66+                 | 0.41,1.07 |
| Husband's mother higher  | 1.14                   | 0.56,2.33 | 1.10                    | 0.57,2.11 | 1.08                  | 0.71,1.65 |
| Wife's relative contribution to household income (reference is 0) <sup>1</sup> |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| 1-33%  | 1.47                   | 0.65,3.32 | 1.69                    | 0.69,4.10 | 1.77+                 | 0.90,3.49 |
| 34-66%   | 1.27                   | 0.59,2.73 | 1.86                    | 0.60,5.74 | 2.54*                 | 1.31,4.94 |
| >66%   | 2.14                   | 0.85,5.38 | 0.60                    | 0.15,2.37 | 1.63                  | 0.73,3.68 |
| <i>Couple characteristics</i>  |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Legally married  | 1.53                   | 0.55,4.27 | 1.33                    | 0.70,2.50 | 1.47                  | 0.82,2.62 |
| Duration of marriage, years  | 1.03                   | 0.98,1.08 | 0.95*                   | 0.91,1.00 | 1.00                  | 0.96,1.04 |
| Whose decision prevails on the decision (joint is reference):                  |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Bringing your child to the doctor  |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Wife only  | 1.01                   | 0.47,2.16 | 1.42                    | 0.57,3.54 | 0.71                  | 0.43,1.18 |
| Husband only   | 0.36*                  | 0.15,0.88 | 0.35                    | 0.10,1.30 | 0.45*                 | 0.29,0.69 |
| Buying clothes for your children   |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Wife only  | 0.96                   | 0.61,1.50 | 0.93                    | 0.57,1.53 | 0.60*                 | 0.40,0.90 |
| Husband only   | 0.58                   | 0.14,2.40 | 0.77                    | 0.25,2.38 | 0.71                  | 0.38,1.32 |
| Where to send your children for Schooling                                      |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Wife only  | 0.80                   | 0.35,1.82 | 0.42*                   | 0.22,0.82 | 0.94                  | 0.55,1.60 |
| Husband only   | 1.43                   | 0.58,3.52 | 0.96                    | 0.35,2.64 | 1.62                  | 0.90,2.91 |
| If you were to visit your parents, relatives, friends outside Cebu             |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Wife only  | 0.43+                  | 0.17,1.11 | 1.40                    | 0.60,3.27 | 1.85*                 | 1.13,3.03 |
| Husband only   | 2.10*                  | 1.22,3.60 | 1.36                    | 0.76,2.42 | 1.49*                 | 1.05,2.11 |
| Economic power scale   | 0.90                   | 0.55,1.48 | 0.75                    | 0.50,1.15 | 0.74                  | 0.46,1.17 |
| <i>Household Characteristics</i>   |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| Household asset index  | 0.71                   | 0.35,1.44 | 1.08                    | 0.38,3.03 | 0.68                  | 0.40,1.16 |
| Number of persons in household (reference is 0-5)                              |                        |           |                         |           |                       |           |
| 6-10   | 0.92                   | 0.54,1.57 | 1.95*                   | 1.11,3.45 | 0.88                  | 0.55,1.43 |
| >10  | 0.99                   | 0.36,2.67 | 1.09                    | 0.46,2.61 | 1.28                  | 0.73,2.22 |

|  |       |           |       |           |       |           |
|--|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Rural residence  | 0.58+ | 0.33,1.01 | 0.78  | 0.40,1.54 | 0.69  | 0.38,1.26 |
| <i>Intergenerational violence and individual characteristics</i> |       |           |       |           |       |           |
| Recall of parental domestic violence                             | 1.32  | 0.76,2.30 | 1.30  | 0.79,2.16 | 1.47+ | 0.98,2.21 |
| Either parent hurt the other enough                              |       |           |       |           |       |           |
| To warrant medical attention                                     | 1.80  | 0.79,4.10 | 0.90  | 0.74,1.10 | 1.43* | 1.07,1.92 |
| Age  | 0.98  | 0.93,1.03 | 0.96  | 0.91,1.01 | 0.97  | 0.94,1.01 |
| Years of school completed  | 1.08+ | 1.00,1.18 | 1.02  | 0.96,1.08 | 1.01  | 0.96,1.06 |
| Church attendance once a week or more                            | 0.95  | 0.66,1.37 | 1.27  | 0.75,2.17 | 0.73  | 0.47,1.15 |
| Alcohol consumption (reference is does not drink alcohol)        |       |           |       |           |       |           |
| Occasionally   | 0.87  | 0.54,1.39 | 1.86+ | 0.89,3.87 | 1.41  | 0.82,2.43 |
| Once a week or more  | 1.05  | 0.60,1.86 | 2.78* | 1.28,6.06 | 1.91* | 1.11,3.30 |

+p<0.10, \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001

‡Adjusted relative risk ratio(RRR) – adjusted for all other variables in table as well as for household income

<sup>1</sup> Data clustered by Barangay (neighborhood)

### *Relative status factors associated with IPV*

Men who perpetrated IPV had a higher risk of reporting that their mothers' education level was lower than that of their wives' mothers' (RRR=1.79, 95% CI 1.00 3.20), although the statistical significance of this association attenuated after the couple level block was added to the model. Also, men reporting that their wives earned more than 66 percent of the household income had a higher risk of reporting their own perpetration in models one through three; in the final model this association was no longer statistically significant. Conversely, men who were victims of IPV more commonly reported that their mother's economic status was lower than their wives' mothers' economic status (RRR=1.62, 95% CI 1.07, 2.46) and that they were working but the wife was not (RRR=2.53, 95% CI 1.13, 5.67). The wife working while the husband was not working was also positively associated with men reporting their wives' IPV perpetration (RRR=2.57, 95% CI 1.11, 5.96) but only after the couple block was added. Respondents in reciprocally violent marriages had a lower risk of reporting that their mothers' education level was lower than that of their wives' mothers' (RRR=0.66, 95% CI 0.41, 1.07), but this association did not become statistically significant until the final block model. Men reporting reciprocal

violence had a higher risk of reporting that their wives' relative contribution to the household income was 1-33 percent (RRR=1.77, 95% CI 0.90, 3.49) and that their wives' relative contribution to the household income was 34-66 percent (RRR=2.54, 95% CI 1.31, 4.94). Men in reciprocally violent marriages were also more likely to report that they were working but that their wives were not (RRR=1.81, 95% CI 0.91, 3.59), although the statistical significance of this association attenuated across block models.

#### *Other factors associated with IPV*

Perpetration of IPV was positively associated with men's report that they alone make the decision to visit people outside of Cebu (RRR=2.10, 95% CI 1.22, 3.60) and a greater level of education (RRR=1.08, 95% CI 1.00, 1.18); perpetration was negatively associated with men's report that they alone make the decision to bring their child to the doctor (RRR=0.36, 95% CI 0.15, 0.88), that their wives alone make the decisions for them to visit people outside of Cebu (RRR=0.43, 95% CI 0.17, 1.11) and with rural residence (RRR=0.58, 95% CI=0.33, 1.01). Men's IPV victimization was positively associated with having six to 10 household members, versus zero to five (RRR=1.95, 95% CI 1.11, 3.45), and with drinking alcohol occasionally (RRR=1.86, 95% CI 0.89, 3.87) or once a week or more often (RRR=2.78, 95% CI 1.28, 6.06); victimization was negatively associated with duration of marriage (RRR=0.95, 95% CI 0.91, 1.00) and the wife deciding alone on where to send children for school (RRR=0.42, 95% CI 0.22, 0.82). Finally, men in reciprocally violent marriages had a higher risk of reporting that their wives alone (RRR=1.85, 95% CI 1.13, 3.03) or they themselves alone (RRR=1.49, 95% CI 1.05, 2.11) made the decision to visit family or friends outside of Cebu, that they recalled parental domestic violence (RRR=1.47, 95% CI 0.98, 2.21), that either parent hurt the other enough to require medical attention (RRR=1.43, 95% CI 1.07, 1.92) and that they consumed alcohol once a week or more frequently (RRR=1.91, 95% CI 1.11, 3.30); these men had a decreased risk of deciding alone to bring the couple's child to the doctor (RRR=0.45, 95% CI 0.29, 0.69), and of

having wives who decided alone on buying clothes for the children (RRR=0.60, 95% CI 0.40, 0.90).

### ***Discussion***

This study advances our understanding of the relation between relative resources in marriage and intimate partner violence in the Philippines. It is among the first studies worldwide, and the first specifically using CLHNS data to look at this issue from a male perspective.

Considering that the vast majority of previous research on relative resources and IPV has focused on male perpetration only, our research also sheds light on differences in the relation between relative resources and male perpetration, male victimization and reciprocal perpetration.

Interestingly, our findings on levels of male perpetration versus male victimization are inconsistent with the few other developing country studies to investigate both adult male perpetration and victimization (Ansara & Hindin, 2009; Reichenheim et al., 2006); these studies found higher male victimization than perpetration, but used female report of IPV. Several U.S.-based couple studies have documented gender differences in IPV reporting, with women tending to report more violence than men (Schafer et al., 2002; Szinovacz & Egley, 1995). It may be, then, that the discrepancy between this study's IPV prevalence and that found by other studies is due to male respondents in this study under-reporting IPV, compared to the female respondents over-reporting in other studies.

### ***Relative Resources***

This study's findings were not entirely consistent with relative resource theory. First, we expected to find that males with lower relative resources would have a higher risk of perpetrating violence. Our findings were only statistically significant for mother's relative education, but this finding was, indeed, in support of resource theory—men who reported that their mothers'

education was lower than that of their wives' mothers had greater risk of reporting their own IPV perpetration. No other research has evaluated the effects of relative education of the couple's parents on IPV. The findings do suggest, however, that resources brought to marriage may be important to consider when operating from a relative resource theory perspective on IPV. Moreover, the statistical significance of this relation between mother's relative education and IPV attenuated when the decision-making variables were added to the model, lending support to the hypothesis that expectations that come with having a certain socio-economic background, compared to your partner, may interact with gender norms through household decision-making to influence conflict and IPV.

For male victimization, relative resource theory is supported by the finding that the husband working while the wife was not working was positively associated with victimization. This finding also supports the hypothesis that a relative resource status that transgresses gender norms may lead to conflict and IPV, as the norm in this setting is for women to supplement the husband's income. Relative resource theory was not supported by the findings that men who reported that their wives worked while they did not or that their mothers' economic status was lower than that of their wives' had a greater risk of reporting victimization. According to relative resource theory, one would expect that men with lower levels of resources would have a higher risk of perpetration. These findings do, however, support our assertion that a situation of relative resources that does not adhere to gender norms may lead to conflict and violence; as previously mentioned, the gender norm in the Philippines is that men work more than women and it is possible that women who are more traditionally oriented are violent against unemployed husbands out of their frustration with their situation. These findings are consistent with Anderson's U.S.-based study which found that women with higher relative income status were more likely to perpetrate IPV against their partners (Anderson, 1997) and suggest that the relation between IPV and relative resources is different for men and women.



Our analysis shows that when women earn anywhere from one to 66 percent of the household income and when the husband works but the wife does not, men tend to report reciprocal IPV. Men had a lower risk of reporting reciprocal IPV when their mothers' education was lower than that of their wives' mothers. Not knowing who was being aggressive versus defensive in the cases of reciprocal violence hinders interpretation of these findings. Other research on relative status and reciprocal IPV was not located.

*Other key couple, household, intergenerational, and individual characteristics*

The current study's results suggest an influence of gender norms on the relation between certain decisions and IPV. For two decisions that are typically made jointly or by women alone in the Philippines (Alcantara, 1994; David, 1994), buying clothes for the children and where to send children for schooling, men who reported that the wife-only made these decisions were less likely to report reciprocal violence and victimization, respectively. It may be that maintaining the norm of women making these decisions is less likely to lead to conflict in the marriage. The finding that the husband alone deciding on bringing the child to the doctor was protective of perpetration and reciprocal violence, however, does not fit within the Filipino norms, which tend to have this decision made jointly or by the wife.

The decision on whether to visit persons outside of Cebu was typically made jointly in our sample. The husband deciding alone on this was positively associated with perpetration and reciprocal violence, suggesting that men who are making this decision alone may have a more dominating role in the relationship, using violence to assert this dominance. On the other hand, the wife only making the decision of whether the husband visits parents or others outside of Cebu was negatively associated with perpetration and positively associated with reciprocal violence. This finding similarly suggests that such wives are more dominant in the relationship, with men being less likely to perpetrate but perhaps women themselves perpetrating with men responding;

the caveat being that we cannot know for sure who is initiating the violence under the reciprocal violence category.

The study findings on decision-making power are only partially consistent with previous studies. Studies have typically found that joint decision-making power is protective of IPV (Hindin & Adair, 2002; Kocacik et al., 2007), whereas the current study shows decisions in which one partner makes the decision alone, versus jointly, are negatively associated with IPV. These differences may be due to the inclusion of males rather than females in the sample, as in other studies. Alternatively, they may be due to the fact that our study looked at reciprocal violence, whereas these others did not. The difference between Hindin's findings in the same sample and these results could also be due to the outcome used in that study – violence was measured as “ever violent,” (Hindin & Adair, 2002) whereas the current study looked at violence occurring in the last 12 months.

Recall of parental domestic violence and either parent hurting the other enough to warrant medical attention were both independently and positively associated with reciprocal IPV, suggesting the importance of parental modeling. This finding is consistent with research on the intergenerational transmission of IPV (Ehrensaft et al., 2003; Kwong et al., 2003).

Interestingly, alcohol consumption was positively associated with victimization and reciprocal violence, but not with perpetration. Recent focus group and in-depth interview data in Cebu elucidate this finding: participants commonly noted that wives become angry with drunken husbands because of the financial implications of their alcohol consumption and either initiate violent acts against them; or verbally harass husbands, which may lead to physical violence by one or the both partners (Fehringer & Hindin, 2009b). Moreover, our findings are consistent with a recent meta-analysis of developed country studies, which found small to moderate effect sizes for the association between alcohol use and male or female perpetrated IPV (Foran & O'Leary, 2008).

### *Limitations*

The current study has potential limitations. First, the data are cross-sectional, limiting the ability to draw conclusions about causation. Second, the context of the reciprocal violence is unknown; female partners could be initiating the violence with male response in self-defense, or vice-versa. Third, the data is only from the husband's perception. Fourth, it does not address the potential difference between frequency of perpetration versus victimization in the reciprocal violence category nor does it look at who initiated reciprocal violence; this limits our ability to interpret the findings on reciprocal violence. Finally, accurate reporting of violence is commonly a problem in violence research and it is possible that the respondents are under-reporting IPV levels.

### *Conclusions*

This research makes several important and novel contributions to research on IPV. This is one of the first studies to investigate the relation between relative resources and IPV from the husband's perspective. This study underscores the need to include the husband's perspective in IPV research and programming, as several of our findings contradict those found using samples of wives. Using the perspective of only one partner is not an acceptable proxy for the couple's experience of IPV.

We are the first to look at differences in the relation between relative resources and male versus female perpetration in a developing country context. Our findings show that relative resource theory is not similarly applicable to husband and wife perpetration and that a relative resource status that transgresses gender norms may lead to IPV. Further investigation into the differences between these types of perpetration in developing country settings is warranted, as there is a clear need to consider gender-specific approaches to prevention and treatment of IPV.

Finally, this study is also the first to look at the categories of husband perpetration, victimization, and reciprocal IPV in relation to the relative resources of husbands and wives. The

different relations between the IPV categories and relative resources potentially indicate a need to address IPV based on who is perpetrating. Future research should seek to contextualize and further identify determinants of these categories to assist IPV prevention and treatment program planning.

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