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Men's and Women's Views on Acceptability of Husband-to-Wife Violence and Use of Corporal Punishment with Children in 21 Low- and Middle-Income Countries

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Abstract

Background: Monitoring violence against women and children, and understanding risk factors and consequences of such violence, are key parts of the action plan for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015.

Objective: We examined how men's and women's views about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence are related within households and how views about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence are related to beliefs in the necessity of using corporal punishment to rear children and to reported use of corporal punishment with children.

Participants and Setting: We used nationally representative samples of men and women in 37,641 households in 21 low- and middle-income countries that participated in UNICEF's Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey.

Methods: We conducted a series of logistic regression models, controlling for clustering within country, with outcomes of whether participants believe corporal punishment is necessary in

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childrearing, and whether a child in their household experienced corporal punishment in the last month.

Results: In 46% of households, men, women, or both men and women believed husbands are justified in hitting their wives. Children in households in which both men and women believe husbands are justified in hitting their wives had 1.83 times the odds of experiencing corporal punishment as children in households in which neither men nor women believe husbands are justified in hitting their wives (95% CI: 1.12, 2.97).

Conclusions: Working toward the realization of SDG 5 and SDG 16 involving prevention of violence against women and children, respectively, should be complementary undertakings.

Keywords

attitudes; child abuse; corporal punishment; international; intimate partner violence

Violence against women and children is a public health problem with long-term negative outcomes for the victims themselves, risks of cycles of intergenerational violence, and high economic and social costs to countries (World Bank, 2019). Worldwide prevalence rates of household violence are high, with 20% of women and girls between the ages of 15 and 49 reporting experiencing physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner in the last year (United Nations, 2019), and approximately 1 billion children between the ages of 2 and 17 experiencing physical, sexual, or emotional abuse in the last year (World Health Organization, 2018).

The United Nations (1979) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the United Nations (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child identified violence toward women and children, respectively, as problems to be eliminated at a national level. The World Health Organization (WHO) noted that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), set by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 to reach by 2030, represent the first time that prevention of violence against women and children has reached the international development agenda (García-Moreno & Amin, 2016). SDG Target 5.2 is to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, and Target 16.2 is to end abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and all forms of violence against and torture of children. Indicators of whether countries have achieved these targets include the proportion of ever-partnered women and girls aged 15 years and older subjected to physical, sexual, or psychological violence by a current or former intimate partner in the previous 12 months (Indicator 5.2.1) and the proportion of children aged 1–17 years who experienced any physical punishment and/or psychological aggression by caregivers in the past month (Indicator 16.2.1).

Children develop attitudes about the acceptability of violence in part from the ways in which they are treated by parents, peers, and others and from observing societal norms about violence. For example, children who have been spanked are more likely to report believing that spanking is an appropriate form of discipline than are children who have not been spanked (Deater-Deckard, Lansford, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 2003). Likewise, children who witness violence between their parents are themselves more likely to abuse an intimate

partner in adulthood (Smith, Ireland, Park, Elwyn, & Thornberry, 2011). The cultural spillover theory of violence holds that violence in one domain tends to generalize (spill over) into other domains (Baron & Straus, 1989; Baron, Straus, & Jaffee, 1988). Empirical support for spillover theory has been found in anthropologic studies demonstrating that corporal punishment of children is more frequent in societies that also have more other forms of interpersonal violence (Lansford & Dodge, 2008).

Data from 25 low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) demonstrated that women who believed that husbands were justified in hitting their wives were more likely to believe that it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear children and were more likely to report that children in their household had experienced corporal punishment and psychological aggression (Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Bornstein, Putnick, & Bradley, 2014). Societal norms about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence and corporal punishment also moderated the link between caregivers' individual attitudes about the necessity of using corporal punishment and children's experience of corporal punishment, suggesting that, in countries in which violence is more accepted, corporal punishment may be caregivers' default response, regardless of whether they personally believe it is necessary for childrearing. By contrast, in countries in which violence is less accepted, caregivers' personal attitudes may be more predictive of their use of corporal punishment in childrearing.

What is conspicuously missing from such investigations are data on men's views of the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence; such data are crucial to understanding both intimate partner violence and ways in which parents' attitudes about the acceptability of violence are related to corporal punishment of children. "Dyadic concordance types" have been described in relation to whether just the mother, just the father, both parents, or neither parent uses corporal punishment, with more antisocial behavior reported by young adults who were corporally punished by both parents (Rebblon & Straus, 2017). What is unknown is whether concordance between the views of men and women within a particular family in relation to perceptions of the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence and beliefs about the necessity of using corporal punishment to rear a child properly are related to whether anyone in the household uses corporal punishment with the child. It is possible that endorsement of husband-to-wife or parent-to-child violence by either the mother or father is sufficient to increase the likelihood of corporal punishment. It is also possible that concordance (or discordance) between men's and women's endorsement of violence, as well as whether it is men or women who endorse violence, is important to understanding violence within the family. Because power imbalances between men and women in many countries contribute to violence against women (Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2015), a key objective of the present study is to understand both men's and women's views regarding husband-to-wife and parent-to-child violence.

The present study therefore addresses two questions. First, how are men's views about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence related to the attitudes of women in their household about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence? We hypothesized significant concordance between the views of men and women in the same household regarding the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence because both men's and women's views regarding the acceptability of violence are related to norms of their culture. Second, how are men's

and women's views about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence related to beliefs in the necessity of using corporal punishment to rear children and to the reported use of corporal punishment with children. Grounded in the cultural spillover theory of violence and prior research suggesting links between different forms of family violence, we hypothesized that in households in which men and women believed husbands were justified in hitting their wives, caregivers would be more likely to believe that corporal punishment is necessary to rear children and to use corporal punishment.

Method

Data

UNICEF-supported Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) are nationally representative household surveys implemented mostly in LMIC to generate internationally comparable data on key indicators of well-being (UNICEF, 2006). Since the inception of the MICS in 1995, surveys have been conducted in more than 100 countries, through 6 rounds of data collection conducted at regular intervals (MICS1 to MICS6). The MICS is implemented using geographic stratification together with systematic probability proportionate to size (pps) sampling, which distributes the sample into each of a nation's administrative subdivisions as well as its urban and rural sectors. The first-stage, or primary sampling units, is defined, if possible, as census enumeration areas, and they are selected with pps; the second stage is the selection of segments; and the third stage is the selection of the particular households within each segment that are to be interviewed in the survey (Bornstein, Putnick, Lansford, Deater-Deckard, & Bradley, 2016; UNICEF, 2006). Ethics approvals are provided by Institutional Review Boards (IRB) or suitable alternatives in each country, with oversight and technical assistance provided by UNICEF. We also received approval from the IRB at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, to analyze the data jointly across countries. Data for the present study were from the 21 LMIC (see Table 1) that administered the child discipline, women's questionnaire, and men's questionnaire modules in either MICS4 or MICS5 in 2010–2015.

Participants

Altogether 37,641 households provided data on the modules used in the present analyses. The households included target children between the ages of 2 and 14 years ($M = 6.38$, $SD = 4.00$) and provided data during face-to-face interviews. Interviewers were trained to interview the respondent alone so that responses would not be influenced by the presence of other household members. Sample sizes, the education level of the head of the household, and descriptive statistics on the study variables are provided in Table 1, separately for each country. If there was more than one eligible child between the ages of 2 and 14 years in the household, the interviewer used a standardized protocol to select randomly one target child from the household roster.

Measures

Respondents were told, "Sometimes a husband is annoyed or angered by things that his wife does. In your opinion, is a husband justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following situations: 1. if she goes out without telling him, 2. if she neglects the children, 3. if she

argues with him, 4. if she refuses sex with him, 5. if she burns the food.” Respondents indicated *no* (coded 0) or *yes* (coded 1) for each of the five situations. The items have demonstrated good psychometric properties in a variety of demographic and health surveys and in the MICS (Yount et al., 2014). The variables included in the analyses reflected whether any men in the household who responded to the MICS reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife and whether any women in the household who responded to the MICS reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife in any of the five presented situations (α s = .84 for men and .82 for women). The number of women in the household who responded to the MICS questions ranged from 1 to 13 (M = 1.35, SD = .72), and the number of men in the household who responded to the MICS questions ranged from 1 to 10 (M = 1.31, SD = .69). We constructed a composite variable reflecting the beliefs of men and women in the same household, coded 0 = neither men nor women justify men’s hitting or beating, 1 = men but not women justify men’s hitting or beating, 2 = women but not men justify men’s hitting or beating, 3 = both men and women justify men’s hitting or beating.

The items in the Child Discipline module were adapted from the Parent-Child Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, Hamby, Finkelhor, Moore, & Runyan, 1998) and the World-SAFE survey questionnaire (Sadowski, Hunter, Bangdiwala, & Munoz, 2004). The items were developed using an approach that included convening an international panel of 25 experts to identify candidate items from existing validated measures of caregiving; field testing candidate items via cognitive interviews and quantitative surveys in the Americas, South Asia, and Africa; and convening a second international panel of 27 experts to evaluate items’ performance within and across diverse cultures and settings (Kariger et al., 2012).

Respondents were told, “All adults use certain methods to teach children the right behavior or address a behavior problem. I will read various methods that are used, and I want you to tell me whether you or anyone else in your household has used each method with (child’s name) in the last month.” The respondents then answered *No* (0) or *Yes* (1) to whether they or any other adults in their household had used each of six forms of corporal punishment (i.e., spanked, hit, or slapped on the bottom with a bare hand; hit or slapped the child on the hand, arm, or leg; shook the child; hit the child on the bottom or elsewhere on the body with something like a belt, hairbrush, stick, or other hard object; hit or slapped the child on the face, head, or ears; beat the child with an implement). An additional item asked whether the respondents believed that to bring up/raise/educate the target child properly it is necessary to punish him or her physically. Variables included in the analyses reflected whether caregivers reported that their child had experienced any form of corporal punishment in the last month and whether caregivers reported believing it was necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly.

Mean wealth index score and education of household head (44.72% primary or less) were included as covariates in analyses. The standardized wealth scores are based on a principal components analysis of household assets such as possession of a bicycle, radio, television, refrigerator, and other household goods, as well as the construction of the dwelling and access to amenities within the home (e.g., dirt, concrete, tile flooring; defecation in a field, pit latrine, flush toilet; electricity) (see Rutstein & Johnson, 2004, for a detailed description of the construction of the wealth index). Items were weighted to correspond with their

loadings in the principal components analysis, and standardized items were summed to create the wealth index, which was itself standardized to have a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1, with higher numbers indicating greater household wealth. The age of the target child in the household was not included because it was only collected in half of the study countries. Missing data across variables was less than 2%. Complete case analysis was used.

Analysis Plan

Quantitative analyses were carried out using Stata version 15 (StataCorp, 2017). In addition to descriptive statistics, we conducted a series of logistic regression models, controlling for effects due to clustering within country using bootstrapped robust standard errors with 500 replications. Post-hoc Wald tests with Bonferroni corrections for multiple comparisons were conducted to understand if categories of acceptance of husband-to-wife violence differentially predicted the outcomes of beliefs on violence against children and use of corporal punishment of children in the household.

Results

Across all 21 countries, 29% of men and 39% of women reported believing that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife in at least one of the five presented scenarios, 27% of respondents reported believing that it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly, and 55% of respondents reported that their child had experienced corporal punishment in the last month. However, as shown in Table 1, the variations across countries were large. The percentages of women who reported believing that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife ranged from a low of 4% in Montenegro, Serbia, and Ukraine to a high of 82% in Central African Republic. The percentages of men who reported believing that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife ranged from a low of 5% in Belarus to a high of 78% in Central African Republic. The percentages of caregivers who reported believing that using corporal punishment is necessary to rear a child properly ranged from a low of 6% in Kazakhstan and São Tomé and Príncipe to a high of 75% in Swaziland. The percentages of caregivers who reported that their child had experienced corporal punishment in the last month ranged from a low of 23% in Kosovo to a high of 80% in Central African Republic.

In households where at least one man believes a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 36% of the households had no women who believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife (with the remaining 64% including women who believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife). In households where none of the men reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 24% of the households included women who believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife (with the remaining 76% not including women who believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife). Overall, in 54% of the households no men or women reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, in 10% of households men but not women reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, in 17% of households women but not men reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife,

and in 19% of the households men and women both reported believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife. Thus, in 73% of households, men's and women's beliefs were concordant, leaving 27% of households in which men and women held different beliefs about whether husbands are ever justified in hitting or beating their wives. In the multivariate analysis (Table 2), adjusting for education and wealth, having at least one man in the household who believes men are justified in hitting or beating their wives was significantly related to having at least one woman in the household who believes that men are justified in hitting or beating their wives (AOR 4.17; 95% CI: 2.57, 6.75).

We next examined whether men's and women's beliefs about whether men were justified in hitting or beating their wives were related to beliefs about whether it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly. In households in which both men and women reported a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 41% of respondents reported believing it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly, in contrast to only 18% of respondents in households in which neither men nor women reported a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife. In households in which men but not women reported a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 33% of respondents reported believing it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly. In households in which women but not men reported a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 34% of respondents reported believing it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly. In the multivariate analysis, adjusting for education and wealth, having at least one man in the household who believed men are justified in hitting or beating their wives (AOR 1.89, 95% CI: 1.41, 2.51), having at least one woman in the household who believed men are justified in hitting or beating their wives (AOR 1.97, 95% CI: 1.49, 2.62), and having both at least one man and at least one woman in the household believe men are justified in hitting or beating their wives (2.44, 95% CI: 1.53, 2.89) is significantly related to whether the participant believes it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear the target child properly. However, the three categories of justification of husband-to-wife violence were not significantly different from each other ($p > 0.5$).

We then examined men's and women's beliefs about whether men are justified in hitting or beating their wives in relation to whether a target child in the household experienced corporal punishment in the last month. In households in which both men and women believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 63% of children had experienced corporal punishment in the last month, in contrast to 41% of children in households in which neither men nor women believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife. In households in which men but not women believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 54% of children had experienced corporal punishment. In households in which women but not men believed a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife, 50% of children had experienced corporal punishment. In households in which the respondent reported believing it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly, 76% reported that their child had experienced corporal punishment in the last month. In contrast, in households in which the respondent did not believe it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly, 47% reported that their child had experienced corporal punishment in the last month. In the multivariate analysis, adjusting for education, wealth, and attitudes towards corporal punishment of children, having at least one

man in the household who believed men are justified in hitting or beating their wives has 1.38 times the odds (95% CI: 1.18, 1.62), and having both at least one man and at least one woman who believed that men are justified in hitting or beating their wives has 1.83 times the odds (95% CI: 1.12, 2.97) of the target child in the household experiencing corporal punishment in the last month. However, the effect of only having women in the house believe that husbands are justified in hitting or beating their wives is not significantly related to the odds of a child in the household experiencing corporal punishment (AOR 1.16, 95% CI: 0.91, 1.48). There is no significant difference in the odds of a child in the household experiencing corporal punishment if men only or both men and women in the household believe that husbands are justified in hitting or beating their wives ($p = 0.14$).

Discussion

Despite the inclusion of goals to prevent violence against women and children and specific indicators of countries' progress in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, 49 countries do not yet have laws protecting women from intimate partner violence (United Nations, 2019), and 139 countries do not yet have laws protecting children from corporal punishment in the home (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2020). In 2016, a World Health Assembly resolution endorsed a WHO (2018, p. 3) global plan of action on "strengthening the role of the health system within a national multisectoral response to address interpersonal violence, in particular against women and girls, and against children." Monitoring violence against women and children and understanding risk factors and consequences of such violence are key parts of the action plan. The present study documents variation across countries but also widespread prevalence of beliefs held by both men and women that husband-to-wife violence is justified and that corporal punishment of children is necessary and widely used, suggesting that laws, policy changes, and the development of child protection strategies are needed in countries currently without these protections.

Findings of the present study are consistent with the cultural spillover theory of violence (Baron & Straus, 1989) and anthropologic studies demonstrating that corporal punishment of children is more accepted and frequent in societies that also endorse other forms of interpersonal violence (Lansford & Dodge, 2008). Our findings suggest that working toward the realization of targets of SDG 5 and SDG 16 involving prevention of violence against women and children, respectively, should be complementary undertakings. Preventing violence against both women and children involves addressing cultural norms about the acceptability of husband-to-wife violence and the acceptability (or even necessity) of using corporal punishment to rear children. Notably, women were more likely than men to believe that husbands are justified in hitting or beating their wives, highlighting the need to change men's as well as women's beliefs. Because corporal punishment of children is more likely in households in which men or both men and women believe that husbands are justified in hitting or beating their wives, family violence should be tackled as a package that involves violence between adults and from adults to children within the household.

Several interventions have been developed with goals of reducing men's violence against both intimate partners and children (for a review, see Labarre, Bourassa, Holden, Turcotte, &

Letourneau, 2015). However, these interventions have rarely been rigorously evaluated for effectiveness and have been implemented primarily in high-income countries. Important questions remain both in terms of how effective these interventions are, particularly if men's participation is court mandated rather than voluntary, and how such interventions can be adapted to make them culturally relevant and socially appropriate across a range of diverse contexts (Rothman, Butchart, & Cerdá, 2003). For example, health workers or others implementing these interventions would benefit from training that addresses ways to challenge patriarchal social norms that increase perceptions that men's violence is acceptable (Ozaki & Otis, 2016). In addition, interventionists need training in how to change men's behaviors in ways that reduce violence toward women and children rather than making men aware of the social unacceptability of violence yet increasing the likelihood that men will continue to behave violently but in ways that are more shielded from public view (Rothman et al., 2003).

It is notable that a larger proportion of women than men reported believing that husbands are sometimes justified in hitting or beating their wives. These findings are consistent with previous research that has tried to understand why this gender difference might exist (e.g., Yount et al., 2014). One possibility is that men, as the potential aggressors in the husband-to-wife violence scenarios presented to respondents, might be more influenced by social desirability biases than women in claiming they would not be justified in hitting or beating their wives. Another possibility is that women might respond to questions in light of what they perceive as being social norms or inevitabilities, regardless of their personal beliefs about whether husband-to-wife violence is acceptable (Yount et al., 2014). Both men's and women's views are likely influenced by power differentials related to gender at a societal level as well as socialization regarding gendered dynamics of couples' relationships (Jewkes et al., 2015). These gender differences also are situated in broader cultural contexts that differ in a variety of ways with respect to women's position in the social structure, access to education, likelihood of paid employment, representation within governments, and other factors (Human Development Report, 2019). These factors related to women's empowerment likely contribute to the wide variation across countries in the percentages of men and women who report believing that husbands are sometimes justified in hitting or beating their wives.

In 19 of the 21 countries, the percentage of children who experienced corporal punishment in the last month far exceeded the percentage of their caregivers who believed it was necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly (the exceptions were in Swaziland and Lao PDR, two of the three countries with the highest endorsement of beliefs in the necessity of using corporal punishment). Parents underreport violence against children out of shame and fears of stigma or unwanted involvement of authorities (Peterman et al., 2020), so the percentage of children who experienced corporal punishment in the last month is likely even higher than reported. Interventions with behavior change goals often begin by trying to induce attitude changes, but previous research reveals mixed results regarding the strength of associations between attitudes and behaviors (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). Our findings suggest that caregivers' attitudes about husband-to-wife violence and corporal punishment are indeed related to whether children experience corporal punishment, but because far more children experience corporal punishment than

have caregivers who believe using corporal punishment is necessary, interventions that bypass attitudes and attempt to change behaviors directly may be advisable. For example, parents may be using corporal punishment out of anger in the heat of the moment rather than as part of a planned discipline strategy, suggesting that interventions to train parents to stop, control their emotions, and use alternate non-violent discipline approaches could be effective.

In tackling the joint problems of husband-to-wife and parent-to-child violence, countries can also consider implementing laws and policies that decrease violence indirectly. For example, alcohol abuse is a risk factor for many forms of violence. Household survey data that take advantage of variation in timing and location of alcohol control policies in India demonstrate that alcohol prohibition policies reduced men's drinking and domestic violence (Luca, Owens, & Sharma, 2015). Furthermore, officially reported crime data in India also demonstrate that alcohol prohibition decreases violence against women (Luca et al., 2015). Similar findings have been reported in other countries (e.g., Biderman, Mello, & Schneider, 2010; Duailibi et al., 2007), suggesting that policies that reduce risk factors for violence hold promise in decreasing both husband-to-wife violence and corporal punishment of children.

The strengths of the study include using reports from men and women in nationally representative samples in 21 LMIC that have been under-represented in the study of intimate partner violence and child corporal punishment, addressing diversity in terms of geography, culture, and gender, yet a number of limitations should be acknowledged. First, men and women were asked only about their attitudes regarding whether husbands are justified in hitting or beating their wives in a limited number of situations, not whether they actually hit or were hit. Second, intimate partner violence includes not only physical violence but also emotional, psychological, and sexual abuse, which remain important topics for future investigations. Third, although women also perpetrate intimate partner violence (Williams, Ghandour, & Kub, 2008), the MICS did not include questions about whether women were justified in hitting or beating their husbands to be able to evaluate reciprocity in attitudes. Fourth, although the pooled models controlled for country-level effects, we did not model country-level effects on the parameter estimates because simulations have shown biased estimates when conducting multilevel models using logistic regression with fewer than 30 groups (Bryan & Jenkins, 2016).

Despite these limitations, the findings advance understanding of ways in which attitudes about violence within households are congruent both between men and women and with respect to husband-to-wife violence and caregiver-to-child violence. Health care workers, including pediatricians, nurses, and others who provide primary care, often are consulted about how to manage children's behavior problems and are regarded as trusted sources of information about discipline (Taylor, Moeller, Hamvas, & Rice, 2013). In this position of trust, health care workers can stress that corporal punishment is not needed and is detrimental to children's social, emotional, and cognitive development (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). A number of national parenting programs also specifically aim to help parents reduce their use of corporal punishment and increase their use of alternate forms of discipline (UNICEF, 2014). For example, an evidence-based package called INSPIRE was developed and endorsed by 10 international agencies under the leadership of the WHO to

help communities achieve SDG Target 16.2 to end violence against children (World Health Organization, 2018). Health care workers also are often in a position to identify instances of intimate partner violence and can intervene to help women who are experiencing abuse (McKibbin & Gill-Hopple, 2018). Thus, health care workers should act as agents of change in efforts to prevent violence against women and children. In the context of previous epidemiologic evidence regarding prevalence of violence against women and children as well as the international development agenda outlined in the Sustainable Development Goals, our findings suggest that working toward the realization of targets of SDG 5 and SDG 16 involving prevention of violence against women and children, respectively, should be complementary undertakings.

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Table 1.

Descriptive Statistics for Each Country

Country	Number of Households	Wealth Score Mean (SD)	% of Household Heads with Primary School Education or Less	% of Women Believe Husband is Justified in Hitting or Beating Wife	% of Men Believe Husband is Justified in Hitting or Beating Wife	% Believe Corporal Punishment is Necessary to Rear Child	% Children Experienced Corporal Punishment in Last Month
Belarus	1,096	0.26 (0.82)	3	5	5	10	39
Bosnia & Herzegovina	2,198	0.28 (0.85)	29	6	7	14	42
Cameroon	1,868	-0.05 (1.03)	54	43	42	43	68
Central African Republic	2,635	0.09 (1.02)	68	82	78	33	80
Ghana	1,565	-0.19 (0.97)	58	60	39	50	73
Guinea Bissau	1,742	0.02 (0.98)	78	54	44	26	68
Guyana	822	0.01 (1.01)	31	15	14	20	52
Kazakhstan	1,814	-0.10 (1.01)	2	15	14	6	27
Kosovo	780	-0.08 (1.00)	16	42	18	10	23
Lao People's Democratic Republic	5,496	-0.08 (0.96)	67	66	54	44	42
Malawi	3,660	0.05 (0.98)	71	15	10	7	46
Mali	822	-0.09 (0.86)	88	74	58	33	54
Moldova	488	0.24 (0.97)	2	12	14	16	48
Mongolia	1,909	-0.04 (0.99)	15	14	13	17	27
Montenegro	716	0.17 (0.78)	15	4	6	7	32
São Tomé and Príncipe	1,019	0.11 (0.95)	60	25	18	6	70
Serbia	521	-0.78 (1.06)	34	4	6	9	34
Swaziland	1,923	-0.09 (0.99)	52	28	26	75	66
Togo	928	-0.09 (0.93)	67	51	38	35	76
Ukraine	1,650	0.18 (0.93)	2	4	10	10	33
Zimbabwe	3,989	-0.61 (0.96)	38	42	27	36	38

Note. Numbers reflect the percentage of women and men in each household who report believing a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife in at least one of five presented situations, the percentage of respondents who report believing that it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly, and the percentage of respondents who report that their child experienced corporal punishment in the last month.

Table 2.
Logistic Regressions Predicting Attitudes toward and Behaviors of IPV and Corporal Punishment of Children

Variables	Woman Believes Husband is Justified in Hitting or Beating Wife	Acceptance of Corporal Punishment as Necessary to Rear Child	Adjusted Odds Ratios (95% CI)	Child Experience of Corporal Punishment in Past Month
Education of Household Head (ref: none)				
Primary	0.60 (0.43, 0.85) **	0.81 (0.60, 1.11)		0.91 (0.65, 1.27)
Secondary	0.37 (0.23, 0.59) ***	0.66 (0.47, 0.91) *		0.72 (0.51, 0.99) *
Higher	0.22 (0.11, 0.44) ***	0.64 (0.41, 1.01)		0.53 (0.37, 0.75) **
Mean Wealth Score	0.94 (0.82, 1.08)	0.91 (0.82, 1.01)		1.14 (1.04, 1.25) **
Believe Husband is Justified in Hitting or Beating Wife				
Man	4.17 (2.57, 6.75) ***	1.89 (1.41, 2.51) ***		1.38 (1.18, 1.62) ***
Woman	NA	1.97 (1.49, 2.62) ***		1.16 (0.91, 1.48)
Both	NA	2.44 (1.53, 2.89) ***		1.83 (1.12, 2.97) *
Acceptance of Corporal Punishment as Necessary to Rear Child	NA	NA		2.60 (1.70, 3.99) ***

* $p < .05$;

** $p < .01$;

*** $p < .001$