

Vol. 179, No. 5 DOI: 10.1093/aje/kwt297 Advance Access publication: December 6, 2013

## **Response to Invited Commentary**

# Palermo et al. Respond to "Disclosure of Gender-Based Violence"

## Tia Palermo\*, Jennifer Bleck, and Amber Peterman

\* Correspondence to Dr. Tia Palermo, Program in Public Health/Department of Preventive Medicine, Stony Brook University, Health Sciences Center Level 3, Room 071, Stony Brook, NY 11794-8338 (e-mail: tia.palermo@stonybrook.edu).

Initially submitted October 29, 2013; accepted for publication November 7, 2013.

In their commentary (1) on our article (2) examining reporting among survivors of gender-based violence, Beydoun and Beydoun provide an excellent overview of the current state of research on prevalence, disclosure, and health consequences of gender-based violence. We enthusiastically join their call for primary and secondary prevention efforts aimed at ending gender-based violence. However, to avoid oversimplifying a complex problem, further discussion is warranted surrounding their conclusion that men and women tend to be equally aggressive in intimate relationships. Specifically, there is little research to support or refute gender symmetry of intimate partner violence (IPV) in developing countries, because most research comes from developed countries (3-12). In addition, we highlight their important caveat that evidence globally suggests that the severity and consequences of IPV are not gender symmetrical.

Despite the dual and complex nature of perpetration and victimization among intimate partners, the majority of largescale surveys, particularly from developing countries, collect victimization information from women only (13, 14), or more recently, perpetration information from men only (15, 16). In one of the few studies to examine gender symmetry of IPV in a resource-poor setting, Kishor and Bradley (17) used data from nationally representative Demographic and Health Surveys in Ghana and Uganda. Prevalence rates of lifetime physical IPV were higher among women than men (19% vs. 10% in Ghana and 47% vs. 19% in Uganda), whereas lifetime rates of perpetration were lower among women than men (7% vs. 16% in Ghana and 6% vs. 41% in Uganda). Furthermore, violence perpetrated by men was more common, more severe, and more likely to result in injury (17). However, in a longitudinal study from the Cebu province in the Philippines, findings indicated higher rates of female-perpetrated versus male-perpetrated physical violence in the past 12 months (56% vs. 25%), yet comparable rates of victimization (28% among women vs. 31% among men); thus, the authors hypothesized that self-defense may have played a role in perpetration asymmetries (18). Reporting bias may also play a role;

a meta-analysis indicated that individuals tend to report less perpetration than their partners would attribute to them, and this bias was larger for men (19). Lack of clear consensus on dynamics is also caused by data collection challenges; ethical standards recommend against conducting interviews with the man and woman in the same partnership to ensure the safety of the victim (20, 21). Therefore, we often lack generalizable evidence from both men and women experiencing the same dynamics and instead rely on separate samples drawn from the same population or triangulation through other data.

Given the lack of consensus regarding the magnitude of gender asymmetries in IPV perpetration, we would like to reiterate the point made by Beydoun and Beydoun (1) regarding the severity and consequences of IPV. Studies consistently show that women are more likely than men to experience IPV-related injury (3, 4, 6-8, 17). Particularly telling is the study by Stöckl et al. (22), which estimated that the global proportion of female homicides committed by an intimate partner is 6 times higher than that of male homicides. Moreover, women are more likely than men to experience sexual IPV (6, 8, 17), putting women at risk of adverse reproductive health outcomes, including gynecological symptoms, unwanted pregnancy, pregnancy loss, poor birth outcomes, and decreased access to prenatal care (23–29).

Taken together, the body of evidence described above and by Beydoun and Beydoun (1) illustrates the need for more investigation on whether the gender symmetry of IPV perpetration found in developed settings is in fact mirrored in resource-poor settings. More importantly, caution is needed when interpreting symmetry of IPV perpetration findings for programming and policy purposes, because the severity and consequences of IPV are clearly not gender symmetrical.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Author affiliations: Department of Preventive Medicine/ Program in Public Health, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, New York (Tia Palermo); Department of Community and Family Health, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida (Jennifer Bleck); and Department of Public Policy, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (Amber Peterman).

Research reported in this publication was supported by the *Eunice Kennedy Shriver* National Institute of Child Health and Human Development of the National Institutes of Health (award R03HD073461).

The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official views of the National Institutes of Health.

Conflict of interest: none declared.

#### REFERENCES

- 1. Beydoun HA, Beydoun MA. Invited commentary: disclosure of gender-based violence. *Am J Epidemiol*. 2014;179(5): 613–618.
- 2. Palermo T, Bleck J, Peterman A. Tip of the iceberg: reporting and gender-based violence in developing countries. *Am J Epidemiol.* 2014;179(5):602–612.
- Ansara DL, Hindin MJ. Exploring gender differences in the patterns of intimate partner violence in Canada: a latent class approach. *J Epidemiol Community Health*. 2010;64(10): 849–854.
- 4. Archer J. Sex differences in aggression between heterosexual partners: a meta-analytic review. *Psychol Bull.* 2000;126(5): 651–680.
- Black MC, Basile KC, Breiding MJ, et al. *National Intimate* Partner and Sexual Violence Survey. Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; 2011.
- Breiding MJ, Black MC, Ryan GW. Prevalence and risk factors of intimate partner violence in eighteen US states/territories, 2005. Am J Prev Med. 2008;34(2):112–118.
- 7. Coker AL, Davis KE, Arias I, et al. Physical and mental health effects of intimate partner violence for men and women. *Am J Prev Med.* 2002;23(4):260–268.
- Whitaker DJ, Haileyesus T, Swahn M, et al. Differences in frequency of violence and reported injury between relationships with reciprocal and nonreciprocal intimate partner violence. *Am J Public Health*. 2007;97(5):941–947.
- Foshee VA. Gender differences in adolescent dating abuse prevalence, types and injuries. *Health Educ Res.* 1996;11(3): 275–286.
- Magdol L, Moffitt TE, Caspi A, et al. Gender differences in partner violence in a birth cohort of 21-year-olds: bridging the gap between clinical and epidemiological approaches. *J Consult Clin Psychol.* 1997;65(1):68–78.
- Muñoz-Rivas MJ, Graña JL, O'Leary KD, et al. Aggression in adolescent dating relationships: prevalence, justification, and health consequences. J Adolesc Health. 2007;40(4):298–304.
- O'Leary KD, Smith Slep AM. A dyadic longitudinal model of adolescent dating aggression. J Clin Child Adolesc Psychol. 2003;32(3):314–327.

- Garcia-Moreno C, Heise L, Jansen HA, et al. Violence against women. *Science*. 2005;310(5752):1282–1283.
- Garcia-Moreno C, Jansen HAFM, Ellsberg M, et al. Prevalence of intimate partner violence: findings from the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence. *Lancet*. 2006;368(9543):1260–1269.
- 15. Fulu E, Jewkes R, Roselli T, et al. Prevalence of and factors associated with male perpetration of intimate partner violence: findings from the UN Multi-Country Cross-Sectional Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. *The Lancet Global Health.* 2013;1(4):e187–e207.
- 16. Jewkes R, Fulu E, Roselli T, et al. Prevalence of and factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration: findings from the UN Multi-Country Cross-Sectional Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. *The Lancet Global Health*. 2013;1(4):e208–e218.
- Kishor S, Bradley SEK. Women's and Men's Experience of Spousal Violence in Two African Countries: Does Gender Matter? Washington, DC: ICF International; 2012.
- Fehringer JA, Hindin MJ. Like parent, like child: intergenerational transmission of partner violence in Cebu, the Philippines. *J Adolesc Health*. 2009;44(4): 363–371.
- Archer J. Assessment of the reliability of the Conflict Tactics Scales: a meta-analytic review. *J Interpers Violence*. 1999; 14(12):1263–1289.
- Ellsberg M, Heise L. Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists. Washington, DC: World Health Organization; PATH; 2005.
- WHO. Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic Violence Against Women. Geneva, Switzerland: Department of Gender and Women's Health; 2001.
- Stöckl H, Devries K, Rotstein A, et al. The global prevalence of intimate partner homicide: a systematic review. *Lancet*. 2013; 382(9895):859–865.
- Aizer A. Poverty, violence, and health: the impact of domestic violence during pregnancy on newborn health. *J Hum Resour*. 2011;46(3):518–538.
- 24. Campbell JC. Health consequences of intimate partner violence. *Lancet*. 2002;359(9314):1331–1336.
- 25. Campbell JC, Lewandowski LA. Mental and physical health effects of intimate partner violence on women and children. *Psychiatr Clin North Am.* 1997;20(2):353–374.
- Campbell JC, Soeken KL. Forced sex and intimate partner violence: effects on women's risk and women's health. *Violence Against Women*. 1999;5(9):1017–1035.
- Hindin MJ, Kishor S, Ansara DL. Intimate Partner Violence Among Couples in 10 DHS Countries: Predictors and Health Outcomes. Calverton, MD: Macro International; 2008.
- Kishor S, Johnson K. Reproductive health and domestic violence: Are the poorest women uniquely disadvantaged? *Demography*. 2006;43(2):293–307.
- Silverman JG, Gupta J, Decker MR, et al. Intimate partner violence and unwanted pregnancy, miscarriage, induced abortion, and stillbirth among a national sample of Bangladeshi women. *BJOG*. 2007;114(10):1246–1252.