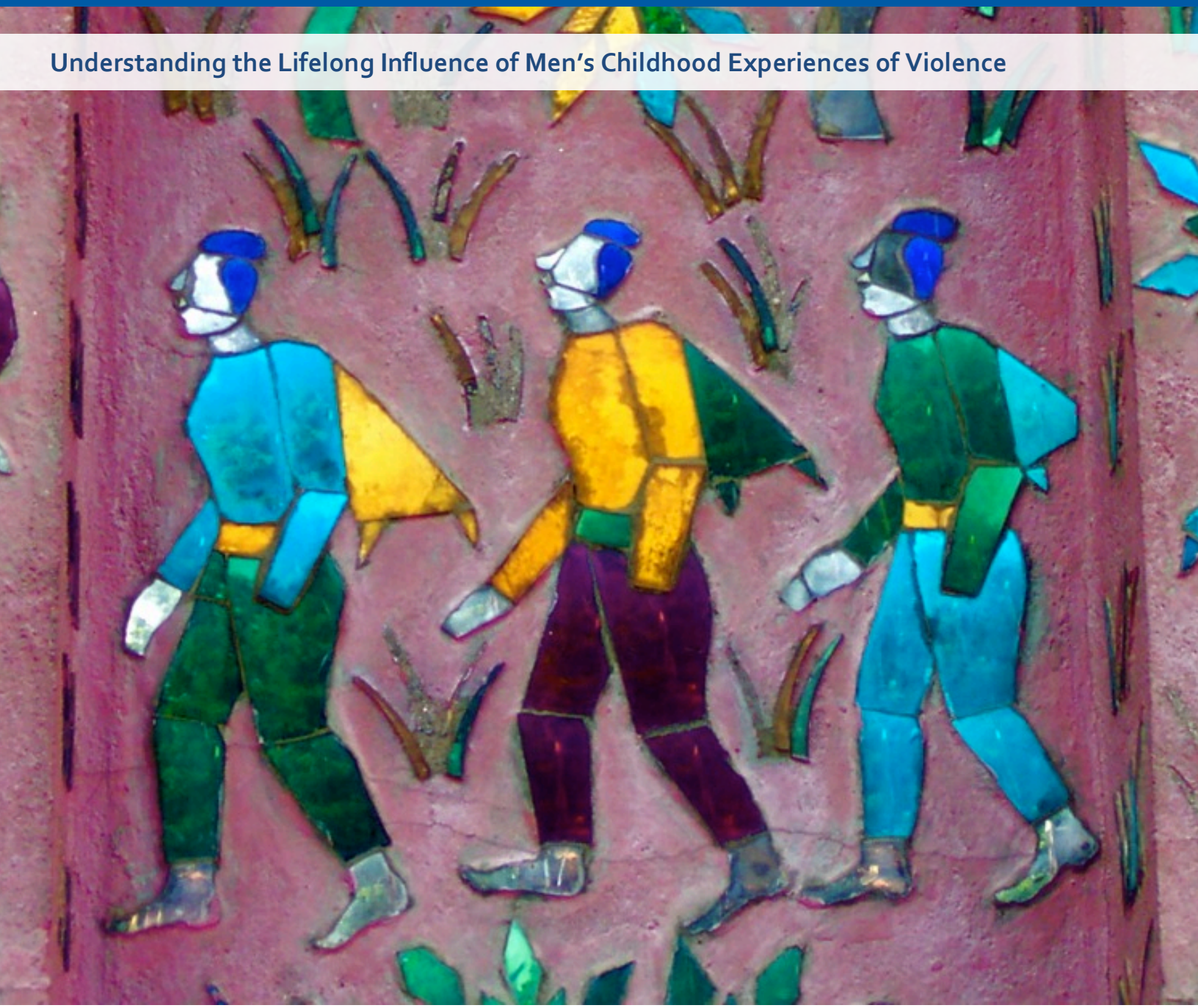
Bridges to Adulthood

Understanding the Lifelong Influence of Men's Childhood Experiences of Violence



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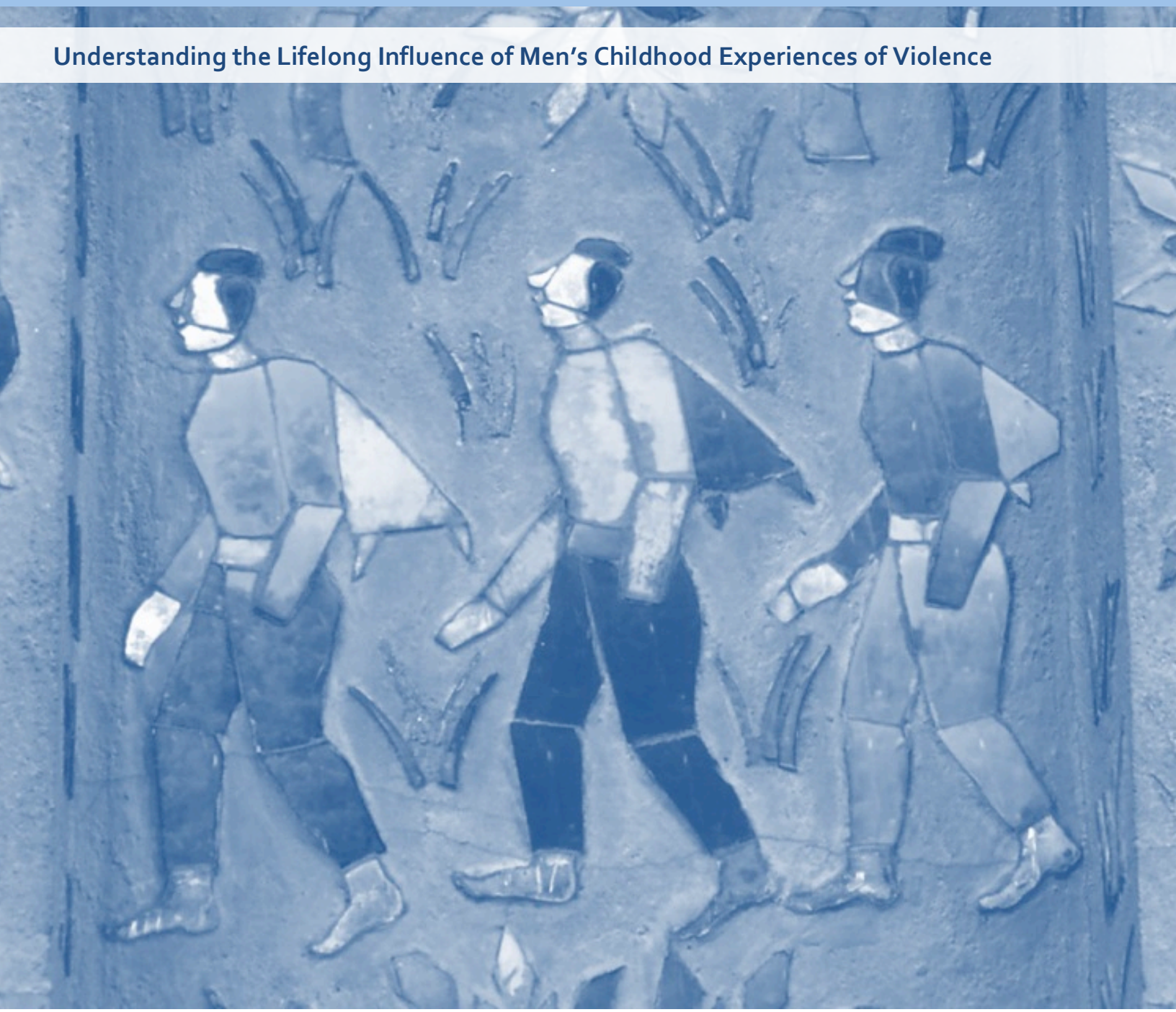

Analyzing Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)

Manuel Contreras | Brian Heilman | Gary Barker | Ajay Singh | Ravi Verma | Joanna Bloomfield

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IMAGES is part of the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project (MGEPP), a multi-year, multi-country effort to build the evidence base on how to change public institutions and policies to better foster gender equality and to raise awareness among policymakers and program planners of the need to involve men in health, development and gender equality issues.

ICRW and Instituto Promundo co-lead the MGEPP and coordinated IMAGES. The country surveys were coordinated and authored by:

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AOR	Adjusted Odds Ratio
COR	Crude Odds Ratio
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IRB	Institutional Review Board
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
LSHTM	London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
MGEPP	Men and Gender Equality Policy Project
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

Executive Summary

Great numbers of men report experiencing violence as children and these experiences have significant lifelong effects, according to the new analysis of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) dataset included in this report. Adult men who were victims or witnesses of domestic violence as children, for instance, likely come to accept violence as a conflict-resolving tactic not only in intimate partnerships but also in their wider lives. Experiences of violence as children can also significantly influence how men relate to their partners and children and whether they show more or less gender-equitable attitudes. Men who experience violence as children are also consistently more likely to report low self-esteem and regular experiences of depression.

Using IMAGES data from six countries (Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico, and Rwanda), this report explores the prevalence and nature of violence against children as well as its potential lifelong effects. The report expands understanding of these issues by examining data from low- and middle-income countries, by analyzing men's reports of experiencing and perpetrating violence, and by examining broad categories of lifelong effects. Key findings include the following:

Men's reports of experiencing violence as children are very common in all study locations. As evidenced by the prevalence figures listed below, violence against children in the study locations is enormously prevalent.

- **20% to 85%** of men report having experienced psychological violence as children;
- **26% to 67%** of men report having experienced physical violence as children;
- **16% to 44%** of men report witnessing their mother being beaten by their father or another partner of hers; and
- **1% to 21%** of men report having experienced sexual violence as children.

Furthermore, from 34% to 79% of men report either having experienced bullying in their childhood neighborhoods or being physically punished at school by a teacher.

Parents' educational attainment, fathers' participation in domestic duties or childcare, and equitable decision-making in the childhood home can all reduce the likelihood of violence. Respondents raised by more educated parents reported lower levels of violence than their peers with less educated parents. However, mothers' educational attainment may be a stronger protective factor for children's experiences of violence than fathers' educational attainment, according to IMAGES data. Men who grew up in homes where fathers or male figures regularly participated in domestic and care work, including care of children, were also less likely to report having experienced violence during childhood. Furthermore, more equitable decision-making dynamics among respondents' parents were associated with lower levels of violence against children.

Childhood experiences of violence are associated with later adoption of inequitable gender attitudes around decision-making, violence against women, and notions of masculinity. Overall, in all countries except Rwanda, men

who were victims of household violence as children were more likely to support inequitable gender attitudes. The association between witnessing violence against one's mother as a child and adult gender attitudes seems to be even stronger: in all countries, men who reported witnessing domestic violence as children were more likely to hold inequitable gender attitudes. This association was statistically significant in Chile, India and Mexico.

IMAGES data strongly assert the validity of the oft-discussed "intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence," while also contributing new insight into how childhood experiences of violence influence other criminal violence and men's likelihood of having paid for sex. To the first point, the association between being a victim or witness of violence during childhood and perpetrating intimate partner violence as an adult is statistically significant in each of the six surveyed countries. However, childhood experiences of violence can also increase men's likelihood to resort to violent means of conflict resolution in adulthood even outside of intimate partnerships. An overwhelming and statistically significant association exists between being a victim or witness of violence during childhood and later participation in fights or robberies in all sites. Having experienced violence during childhood was often significantly associated with men's lifetime reports of having paid for sex.

Childhood experiences of violence can significantly influence how adult men interact with their partners and children beyond the domain of violence. Adult men who did not suffer violence as children were more likely to participate in domestic duties in Brazil, Croatia and Rwanda. The IMAGES questionnaire also asked men how often they communicated openly with their partners about life problems, and frequent communication of this nature was reported much more consistently by men who did not suffer violence during childhood than by men who did experience violence. Also, in some study locations, data suggest that exposure to childhood violence may negatively influence how men relate to their own children even before the moment of birth. Further analysis needs to be done to obtain conclusive results on these associations.

Violent events occurring during childhood have significant and noteworthy repercussions on the mental health of men as adults. IMAGES data show that in some countries, exposure to violence during childhood may have persistent negative psychological consequences in men. In particular, childhood experiences of violence are often linked with having low self-esteem and regularly experiencing depression in adulthood. These links were particularly strong in the case of India.

These findings lend support to a number of policy and program recommendations. Specifically, governments and NGOS should test, evaluate, and seek to scale up targeted approaches to violence prevention that recognize the complex lifelong influences of childhood witnessing and experiencing violence. Recommendations include:

Comprehensive family and community violence prevention approaches that combine gender equality messages, engage mothers and fathers, and seek to reduce the multiple stresses that low-income families with children often face are promising. In particular, parental training interventions and home visitation programs that include non-violent child-rearing strategies should be given more priority than they are currently given in social policy and child protection.

Secondary prevention strategies that offer men and boys opportunities to disclose and find psychosocial support for the multiple forms of violence they have witnessed and experienced during childhood are essential. Existing gender-based violence prevention efforts targeting men often treat all men the same. These data confirm conclusively that men who witnessed violence against their mothers have a greater propensity to use violence themselves and need additional support. Such strategies should not stigmatize men who have witnessed violence as children but instead should help, in ethical and confidential ways, provide additional support and help break the intergenerational transmission of violence.

More efforts to encourage and support men to be involved, non-violent fathers and communicative and equitable partners in their intimate and co-parenting relationships are needed. Such efforts should also include specific, targeted approaches that promote men's involvement as non-violent partners and fathers. Ways to implement such approaches inevitably vary by context, but could include: school-based education for boys on relationship and caregiving skills; prenatal courses for fathers (and mothers); and pre-marital courses for men.

Violence against children is a worldwide problem that affects millions. Though diverse in regularity and brutality, this violence causes devastating immediate impacts on children and can also affect the quality of their entire lives. Even when not aimed immediately in their direction, violence in the home, neighborhood, and school is known to have tremendous lifelong effects on children. By unraveling norms that condone violent conflict resolution, by promoting equitable relationships, and by strengthening men's positive roles as fathers – while also promoting children's and women's rights – we can begin to break the pernicious intergenerational transmission of violence and its many negative accompanying outcomes.

I. Introduction

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, established in 1989 and signed and ratified by most countries in the world, clearly states that States should take appropriate measures to protect children from all forms of violence. In the last decades, clear advances have been made in protecting children, especially at the policy level. At present, many countries have implemented mechanisms to protect children from violence. Also, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has created a Child Protection Strategy (UNICEF, 2008) that provides programmatic guidance to strengthen the protective environment for children.

Despite this progress, violence against children is still a worldwide problem that affects millions of children. This violence has a devastating impact on children that can affect the quality of the rest of their lives. Violence against children also has repercussions beyond the individuals experiencing it, and can produce high social and economic costs. At the national and global level, violence against children can become a barrier for the achievement of several of the Millennium Development Goals.

A society's norms may consider violence against children normal or even appropriate under certain circumstances.

Violence against children is in part a reflection of a society's cultural norms, which may view such violence as normal and appropriate under certain circumstances. In many countries, violence against children is justified and socially approved, in contradiction to the human rights agenda and children's developmental needs (Pinheiro, 2006). The elimination of this problem will require deep change not only in the cultural norms, attitudes and behaviors related to the use of violence as a way to resolve conflicts, but also in the gender norms and roles that support unequal power dynamics and encourage violence as part of masculinity.

Global data show that, in interaction with the individual characteristics and life experiences of caregivers and children, there are three overlapping factors that underpin violence against children (Barker, et al., 2010):

- **Poverty and structural inequalities** that shape care settings and frequently affect whether parents, families and other caregivers have the means to adequately care for their children in nonviolent ways;
- **Cultural and social norms** related to child-rearing practices and the acceptability of corporal punishment and other forms of violence against children (and women, and between men and boys); and
- **Gender norms and dynamics**, specifically the view that boys need be raised to be physically "tough" and emotionally stoic while girls are to be fragile, inferior and subordinate to boys and men.

Nearly universally, gender-related trends are apparent in the dynamics of violence against children. Worldwide, boys are more likely to experience bullying, fights and physical violence, while girls in most of the world are more likely to experience sexual violence, psychological violence and specific forms of discrimination and exclusion. As the UN's World Report on Violence Against Children states in recommendation 10:

> *Girls and boys are at different risk for different forms of violence across different settings. All research into violence against children and into strategies to prevent and respond to it should be designed to take gender into account. In particular, the study has found a need for men and boys to play active roles and exercise leadership in efforts to overcome violence. (qtd in Pinheiro, 2006, pg 27)*

Violence against children can take different forms and can occur in different settings. In particular, violence by parents and other close family members is a serious problem that happens in every country and society and across all social groups. Studies from many countries suggest that up to 80 to 98% of children suffer physical punishment in their homes (Pinheiro, 2006). The use of violence is a common way to educate and punish children and for many cultures corporal punishment is a necessary function of parenting. Other common types of violence against children that will be documented in this report are bullying, punishment by teachers, and sexual violence.

Violence by parents and other close family members is a serious problem that happens in every country and society and across all social groups.

Even when not aimed immediately in the direction of children, the existence of violence in the home has the possibility of influencing children's conduct both in the short and long-term periods (Fantuzzo & Mohr, 1999). Childhood exposure to violence is diverse in regularity, length of time, and brutality. The array of violence to which children are witnesses varies tremendously as well. Witnessing violence can include hearing violent acts, witnessing actual violent behaviors toward a parent or guardian, or being used as a shield against violence in the midst of a quarrel, among other experiences. Included within the realm of witnessing violence is the witnessing and/or participation in the aftermath of the incident(s). This can include supporting the assaulted parent through the healing process, witnessing the departure of a parent or being displaced from the home with a parent, as well as the stress and trauma related to observing violent acts between parents. Thus, even though children are often seemingly outsiders amongst two intimate partners engaged in violence, they are indeed victims of violence once they have witnessed it.

The negative effects of child abuse and exposure to domestic violence on behaviors during adulthood have been well documented. In particular, there are clear connections between children's experience of violence (as victims or witnesses) and their likelihood as adults to perpetrate or experience intimate partner violence. This extensive literature is described by Dutton and Hart (1993), Alksnis *et al.* (1995), Abrahams *et al.* (1999), Krug *et al.* (2002), Ehrensaft *et al.* (2003), Kitzmann *et al.* (2003), Whitfield *et al.* (2003), Gil-González *et al.* (2007), among others.

This dynamic, where children from violent homes enact or experience violent acts themselves as adults, is known as the "intergenerational transmission of violence." According to Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1973) as applied to family violence (O'Leary, 1988), violence is conceptualized as a behavior that is mainly learned during childhood within the family of origin. Men who experience violence in their families of origin, according to this paradigm, have learned a model of conflict resolution involving violence that they use during adulthood. The statistical strength of the "intergenerational transmission of violence," as elaborated in the numerous studies listed above, substantiates this theory.

This theory provides a strong link between the parallel crises of violence against children and violence against women. The 2005 WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Violence Against Women found that, depending on the country, between 10 and 70% of women have ever suffered physical and/or sexual violence from a male partner (García-Moreno, et al., 2005). Young children are frequently present when this violence happens or live in households where it takes place. It is estimated that between 133 and 275 million children worldwide witness intimate partner violence annually (UNICEF, 2006). Given the intergenerational transmission of violence dynamic, such high prevalence of intimate partner violence and childhood witnessing are troubling not only for the present survivors but also for future families and societies.

Young children are often present when intimate partner violence takes place or live in households where it occurs.

Researchers often rank the experience of child maltreatment as a primary risk factor for later perpetration or experiences of intimate partner violence. However, most existing research comes from high-income countries and focuses on women's reports of experiencing violence. This report seeks to enrich this conversation in three ways: by examining data from low and middle income countries, by analyzing men's reports of experiencing and perpetrating violence, and by examining broader categories of lifelong effects than intimate partner violence alone. This report aims to answer the following questions:

- **How common is men's victimization of violence during childhood within the household, at school and in public spaces?**

- **What factors increase or decrease the likelihood that a boy will experience violence in his childhood household?** In particular, is a more equal gender dynamic within a household a protective factor for childhood experiences of violence? Is there a demonstrable connection between the experiences of violence suffered by men during childhood and the educational level of their parents?

- **How, broadly speaking, does having experienced violence during childhood continue to affect men as adults?** How do adult men who have experienced violence as children compare to adult men who have not experienced this violence in terms of violent/criminal behavior, relationship dynamics, parenting, health, and other characteristics?

- **How important, comparatively, is the influence of childhood experiences of violence in predicting the likelihood that an adult man will perpetrate violence against a female partner?**

- **How similar and different are the answers to the above questions across countries?**

This analysis will provide important information for the development of evidence-based programs to prevent and address violence during both childhood and adulthood. The information presented here is based on one of the most comprehensive efforts to gather household survey data on men's gender-related attitudes and practices in different countries: the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). The following section will introduce the IMAGES study and locations and this report's methodology in greater detail.

II. Methodology

a. About the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)

IMAGES is part of a multi-year, multi-country effort known as the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project (MGEPP). The MGEPP seeks to gather evidence and raise awareness among policymakers and program planners of the need to involve men in gendered ways as part of health and development agendas. In addition to IMAGES, the MGEPP also comprises a recently published study on men and health policy[1] and forthcoming qualitative studies on a country-by-country basis on men working in caretaking professions.

The overall goal of IMAGES is to build understanding of men's practices and attitudes related to gender equality – along with women's opinions and experiences of men's practices – in order to inform, drive and monitor policy development. IMAGES seeks to assess the current practices and attitudes of men on a range of issues related to gender equality, including: fatherhood and caregiving; use of violence in intimate relationships and against other men; work-life balance; use of health services; negotiation/communication with partner about family size and sexual relations; knowledge of existing gender equality policies; and more. IMAGES incorporates items from the most recent survey instruments on gender, quality of life, childhood antecedents of violence (including gender-based violence), health, family gendered dynamics and fatherhood.[2]

IMAGES data presented in this report come selected locations in six countries: Brazil, Chile, Croatia, Mexico, India, and Rwanda. Implementers of IMAGES followed standard procedures for carrying out representative household surveys in each participating city, with the exception of Rwanda, where the survey is a nationally representative household sample. As seen in Annex 1, the survey was carried out in one or more urban settings in each country (and rural and urban areas in Rwanda) with men and women ages 18-59, guided by parameters elaborated below.

b. Questionnaire

The IMAGES questionnaire covers key topics related to gender equality, including intimate relationships, family dynamics, and health and social vulnerabilities for men. Based on previous research that found associations between early childhood exposure to violence and different gendered practices related to childrearing, IMAGES also includes items on childhood antecedents to particular men's practices.[3]

The selection of questions was informed by previous research confirming the influence of early childhood experiences, gender-related attitudes, educational attainment, age (as a proxy of generational differences as well as developmental stage), social class (or income), and employment status and economic stress on women's and men's attitudes and practices in terms of their intimate relationships, their sexual practices, their use of violence, their domestic practices and their health-seeking behaviors.

The men's questionnaire has approximately 250 items and took from 45 minutes to an hour to administer; the questionnaire for women is slightly shorter and took from 35 minutes to an hour to administer. The survey instruments were pre-tested in the participating countries. The survey instrument was designed to be relevant for: adult men and women in stable, co-habiting relationships as well as those not in stable relationships; women and men who define themselves as heterosexual as well as men

[1] Barker, G. et al. (2011). "What Men Have To Do With It: Public policies to promote gender equality." Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.

[2] These items include the "Questionnaire on Gender Equality and Quality of Life" implemented by the Norwegian Ministry of Gender Equality and Children Affairs, the WHO multi-country study on violence against women, the Gender-equitable Men (GEM) Scale (developed by Population Council and Promundo) and surveys on sexual violence and physical violence against women carried out by the Medical Research Council in South Africa.

[3] The full IMAGES questionnaire is available for download at: http://www.icrw.org/publications/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images.

and women of different sexual orientations and practices; and women and men who have children in the household (biological or otherwise) and those who do not. This paper presents findings from the men's survey alone; results of the women's survey were not considered in the present analyses.

Double-back translation of the questionnaire was carried out to ensure comparability and consistency of questions across settings. Some country-specific questions were included, and some countries excluded certain items due to local political or cultural considerations.

In Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Rwanda, the questionnaire was an interviewer-administered paper questionnaire. In India, the questionnaire was carried out using hand-held computers, with a mixture of self-administered questions and interviewer-asked questions. In Croatia, the questionnaire was self-administered (using a paper questionnaire). Standard procedures were followed for ensuring anonymity and confidentiality.

Although all participating countries included questions on all the themes that make up IMAGES, the questionnaire is not identical in all countries. The questionnaire in Rwanda was the most abbreviated of the six study countries, due to the much larger sample size – and thus sheer number of interviews – required to make the study nationally representative. For this reason, Rwandan data are not available for certain analyses that follow.

The most sensitive questions were asked later in the questionnaire, and some key variables were addressed by multiple questions (in order to improve validity). In all settings except Mexico, male interviewers interviewed male respondents and female interviews interviewed female respondents. In Mexico, female interviewers carried out some interviews with men, while all female respondents were interviewed by women.

c. Selection of location and participants

Survey locations were chosen to represent different contexts in each country and to achieve a mixture of major urban areas and a secondary city or cities. Within a survey location, neighborhoods or blocks were chosen based on population distributions from the most recent census data. Rural areas were included only in Rwanda and Croatia. Stratified random sampling and "probability proportional to size" sampling methods were used within each neighborhood or community to ensure the inclusion of adequate sample sizes by age and residence (and, in the case of Chile, socio-economic status).[4]

d. Ethical considerations

The survey instruments were pre-tested in the participating countries and the study protocol was approved by ICRW's institutional review board (IRB) and by in-country IRBs when such existed. Standard procedures were followed for ensuring anonymity and confidentiality. All research sites followed standard WHO practices for carrying out research on intimate partner violence in terms of offering referrals and information for services and special training of interviewers (Ellsberg, M. and Heise, L., 2005).

[4] *A more detailed description of the sampling methodology in each setting is included in Annex 1.*

e. Limitations

IMAGES was carried out as a city-based, random household survey. The findings presented here are representative of individual cities where the survey was carried out and not of their countries as a whole (except in the case of Rwanda, where the data are nationally representative). Throughout this report, city data are aggregated in order to present overall percentages for each country, but the initial results presented here are, strictly speaking, only representative of their city or neighborhood settings.

The findings presented here are representative of individual cities where the survey was carried out and not of their countries as a whole (except in the case of Rwanda, where the data are nationally representative).

Other limitations to IMAGES include the length of time it took for an individual to respond to the entire questionnaire, which led to fatigue on the part of interviewers and respondents in some contexts, as well as the challenge of getting middle-class households to respond in most settings. The fact that female interviewers carried out some interviews with men in Mexico may have also produced some biases in the case of that country's data. Other factors are also likely to have contributed to refusal rates or biased results, particularly ongoing urban violence in the cases of Brazil and Mexico. Interviewers in those two countries noted high levels of tension and reluctance on the part of respondents to allow interviewers to enter their homes. Interviewers suspect that the ongoing violence in both settings may have biased some of men's reports on their use of different forms of violence.

It is important to note that the data on childhood experiences of violence presented in this paper come from retrospective questions. That is, adult respondents were asked to recall events that may have happened many years in the past. Furthermore, no specific age range was specified to denote "childhood." Methodological research suggests that retrospective data like these are less reliable than prospective or longitudinal data. The authors acknowledge this limitation, but with confidence that the simplicity and clarity of the questions (see Annex 2) have maximized the reliability of the retrospective data at hand.

The following section presents the conceptual framework of the report.

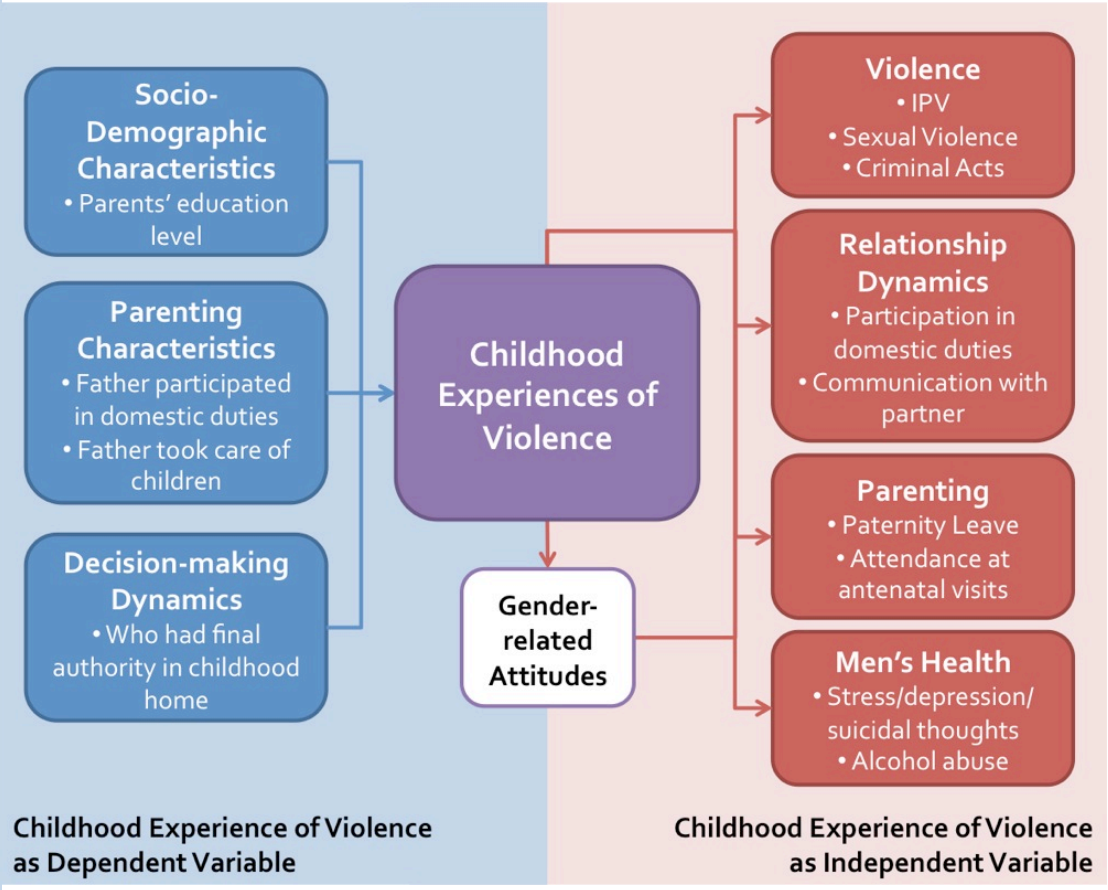
III. Conceptual framework and operational definitions

a. Conceptual framework

Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework guiding the data analysis presented in this report, and also mirrors the progression of results presented herein. After presenting basic frequencies on childhood experiences of violence among the male IMAGES respondents in the six countries, the report focuses on an analysis of those experiences as dependent variables influenced by socio-demographic characteristics, parenting characteristics, and decision-making dynamics in the respondents' (recalled) childhood homes. This analysis is represented by the blue boxes and arrows on the left side of the figure. Second, the report focuses on the relationship between childhood experiences of violence and men's gender-related attitudes. This analysis is represented by the red arrow connecting the "Childhood Experiences of Violence" and "Gender-related Attitudes" boxes.

Third, the report moves to a consideration of childhood experiences of violence as independent variables influencing various adult behaviors/characteristics of IMAGES respondents. This analysis, represented by the red arrows and boxes on the right side of the figure, examines the influence of respondents' childhood experiences of violence on their likelihood to: commit certain criminal behaviors (including intimate partner violence), embrace certain relationship dynamics, engage actively in parenting, and engage in certain health-related behaviors.

Figure 1
The conceptual framework shows how this paper proceeds.



Finally, the report analyzes the association between childhood experiences of violence and intimate partner violence more in-depth. The report presents a multivariate regression analysis for this purpose. The main reasons for conducting this type of analysis are to observe: (1) if this association is consistently strong in different cultural contexts, and (2) if a strong association between these variables is found in analysis of information based on men's reports of violence.

All of the risk and protective factors for either experiencing or perpetrating violence addressed in this paper emerge from the domains available in the IMAGES dataset. That is, they were decided based on data constraints prior to analysis. It is both possible and likely that risk and protective factors exist that are not considered directly in this paper due to these data limitations.

b. Operational definitions

The tables in Annex 2 present the specific statements/questions from the IMAGES survey upon which the variables presented in this paper are based. The tables present variables in the order they appear in the paper, and share the responses that were coded as a yes/affirmative for the variable in question. The reader can presume that other responses, though not listed in the tables in Annex 2, were coded as a no/negative for the variable in question. Any variables whose full coding details are presented in the paper's text or subsequent tables have been omitted from the tables in Annex 2.

IV. How men are exposed to violence during childhood

This section presents data on the different forms of violence that male respondents suffered during childhood. The analysis covers men's experiences both of suffering psychological, physical, and/or sexual violence and of witnessing violence against their mothers (see Table 1). The analysis also includes how these levels vary by current age and educational level of respondents (see Table 2). Physical violence perpetrated by teachers and peers in the school and neighborhood was also analyzed (see Figure 2).

Overall, data from IMAGES confirm that the rates of violence against children are high across the six countries. Men were more at risk of violence at home, however other forms of violence were also relatively common. In most of the countries, an association was found between respondents' having experienced childhood violence, being older at the time of the interview, and having a lower formal educational background.

a. In the household

Victim of psychological violence or neglect

The interviewees were asked three questions regarding experiences of psychological violence during their childhoods. These were about humiliation by parents/guardians in front of other people, parent/guardian substance abuse while taking care of the respondent, and parental threats of physical violence (see Annex 2). In most of the countries, men commonly reported humiliation or threats of physical violence by parents/guardians. In Rwanda, many men also reported that their parents were frequently drunk or on drugs when they were taking care of them.

The three types of psychological violence were aggregated in one variable named "psychological violence." Findings show that respondents from Chile, India and Rwanda reported the highest levels of victimhood, with prevalence rates exceeding 80%. In Croatia the prevalence is slightly over 70%. Only in Brazil and Mexico were the percentages of men who have experienced psychological violence under 50%.[5]

Victim of physical violence

IMAGES data confirm that many men experienced physical violence in childhood. The prevalence levels of having ever been spanked or slapped by a parent or adult in the home ranged from 36% in Brazil to 67% in Croatia. Similar to psychological violence, Brazilian and Mexican men reported the lowest rates of physical violence during childhood. However, the levels found in these countries are still alarming: around 4 out of 10 men reported suffering physical violence during childhood in their household.

Witness of physical violence: "I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or boyfriend"

The experience of having ever seen or heard one's mother being beaten by her husband or male partner was common among survey respondents. This implies that many mothers of IMAGES respondents suffered intimate partner violence. For example, in Rwanda 44% of men reported having ever witnessed physical abuse against their mother at home when they were children. Rates of witnessing violence among respondents were also high in Chile and India where more than 30% of men said that they saw their mothers being beaten at home. Lower rates were found in

[5] *Brazil, Mexico and Chile have seen increasing attention to violence against children in recent years, including national level campaigns to reduce and detect violence against children. In the case of Chile and Brazil, there is also new national policy support for ending corporal punishment of children in schools and in the home. IMAGES findings suggest that these campaigns and policy changes may be having an aggregate effect and leading to improvements in children's rights in these locations.*

Brazil, Croatia and Mexico.

IMAGES data highlight a possible contradiction between respondents' witnessing of domestic violence as children and their perceptions of respect between adult partners. This is especially true in India, where a third of those men whose fathers had beaten their mothers also reported that their fathers treated their mothers with respect. This somewhat contradictory finding may be explained by cultural norms that condone the use of physical violence toward women even while children perceive that their fathers are treating their mothers with "respect."

Country	Psy 1	Psy 2	Psy 3	Psy any	Phys	Witness	Sexual	n
Brazil	8	6	6	20	36	16	1	744
Chile	34	15	36	85	48	32	8	1,151
Croatia	24	12	35	71	67	16	3	1,451
India	32	14	39	85	45	38	21	1,547
Mexico	16	8	16	40	26	17	3	982
Rwanda	29	31	23	83	60	44	17	2,204

Table 1
Reported rates of childhood psychological violence, physical violence, witnessing of intimate partner violence, and sexual violence are high across all study locations.

How to interpret this table:
Psy 1 *= % who reported being "insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people"*
Psy 2 *= % who reported that "one or both of my parents were too drunk or high on drugs to take care of me"*
Psy 3 *= % who reported that "I was threatened with physical punishment in my home"*
Psy any *= % who reported any of the above three (see Annex 2)*
Witness *= % who witnessed intimate partner violence against mother*
Sexual *= % who experienced any act of sexual violence (see Annex 2)*

b. Sexual violence

Although the majority of victims of sexual violence are women and girls, men and boys also experience sexual violence, most often perpetrated by men against male children. Findings from IMAGES confirm that sexual violence against males occurs in all study sites and is particularly prevalent in some countries. The experience of sexual violence during childhood was most widely reported among men in India and Rwanda where approximately one in five men mentioned that they were abused as a child. In Chile, approximately 8% reported ever having experienced sexual abuse.

c. Analysis by age and educational level

IMAGES data show important relationships between the age and education of respondents and their likelihood of having experienced violence as children (Table 2). Overall, those respondents who were older at the moment of the interview reported more experiences of victimhood during childhood than younger individuals. The relationship between age and physical or psychological violence was statistically significant in Chile and Croatia ($p < .05$) as well as Mexico ($p < .001$). A similar finding was observed in the case of witnessing violence. Younger respondents reported fewer experiences of witnessing violence perpetrated by a male figure against their mother compared with older respondents. A highly statistically significant ($p < .001$) association was found in Chile, Croatia, India and Mexico.

Multiple hypotheses could explain this phenomenon. One possible explanation is that intimate partner violence is decreasing in these countries. Men may be less likely to report violent situations as part of a change in cultural norms toward condemnation of this practice. As consequence, it is possible that some young men feel ashamed to accept that their mothers were beaten by their fathers and thus did not report it to interviewers. It may also be that older men see less risk in reporting violence, despite assurances of confidentiality, especially if their parents are deceased. Younger men, according to this hypothesis, may fear disciplinary action coming against their parents in the event that they report experiencing or witnessing violence.

The education level of respondents also influenced their likelihood of reporting experiences of certain types of violence in childhood. The Chile dataset shows a statistically significant association between lower educational attainment and the experience of physical or psychological violence during childhood ($p < .001$). The India and Mexico datasets show statistical significance at the $p < .05$ level in this category as well. Those respondents from Chile and Mexico with lower educational attainment were also significantly more likely to report having seen their mother being beaten by a husband or partner than those with higher educational attainment, at a $p < .001$ level.

Table 2

*As **age** increases, does the likelihood of having reported childhood violence also increase?*

Country	Physical/Psychological[6]	Witness	Sexual	n
Brazil	-	-	-	744
Chile	*	**	-	1,151
Croatia	*	**	-	1,451
India	-	**	*	1,547
Mexico	**	**	-	982
Rwanda	-	-	-	2,204

*As **education** levels increase, does the likelihood of having reported childhood violence decrease?*

Country	Physical/Psychological	Witness	Sexual	n
Brazil	-	-	-	744
Chile	**	**	-	1,151
Croatia	-	-	-	1,451
India	*	-	-	1,547
Mexico	*	**	-	982
Rwanda	-	-	-	2,204

How to interpret these tables:
** = Yes, with a statistically significant ($p < .05$) relationship*
*** = Yes, with a statistically significant ($p < .001$) relationship*

Much research recognizes the connection between educational attainment and experiences of violence. It is possible that the educational level of respondents is linked to the education level of their parents, and may also be a proxy for social class in some cases. As noted in the introduction, previous research has found an association between stressed living conditions (often but not always in low-income settings) and family violence. These associations could explain why those participants with higher educational levels reported less violence during childhood. Another possibility is that a positive and less stressful home environment with lowered levels of violence could

[6] *This category includes respondents who were victims of physical and/or psychological violence.*

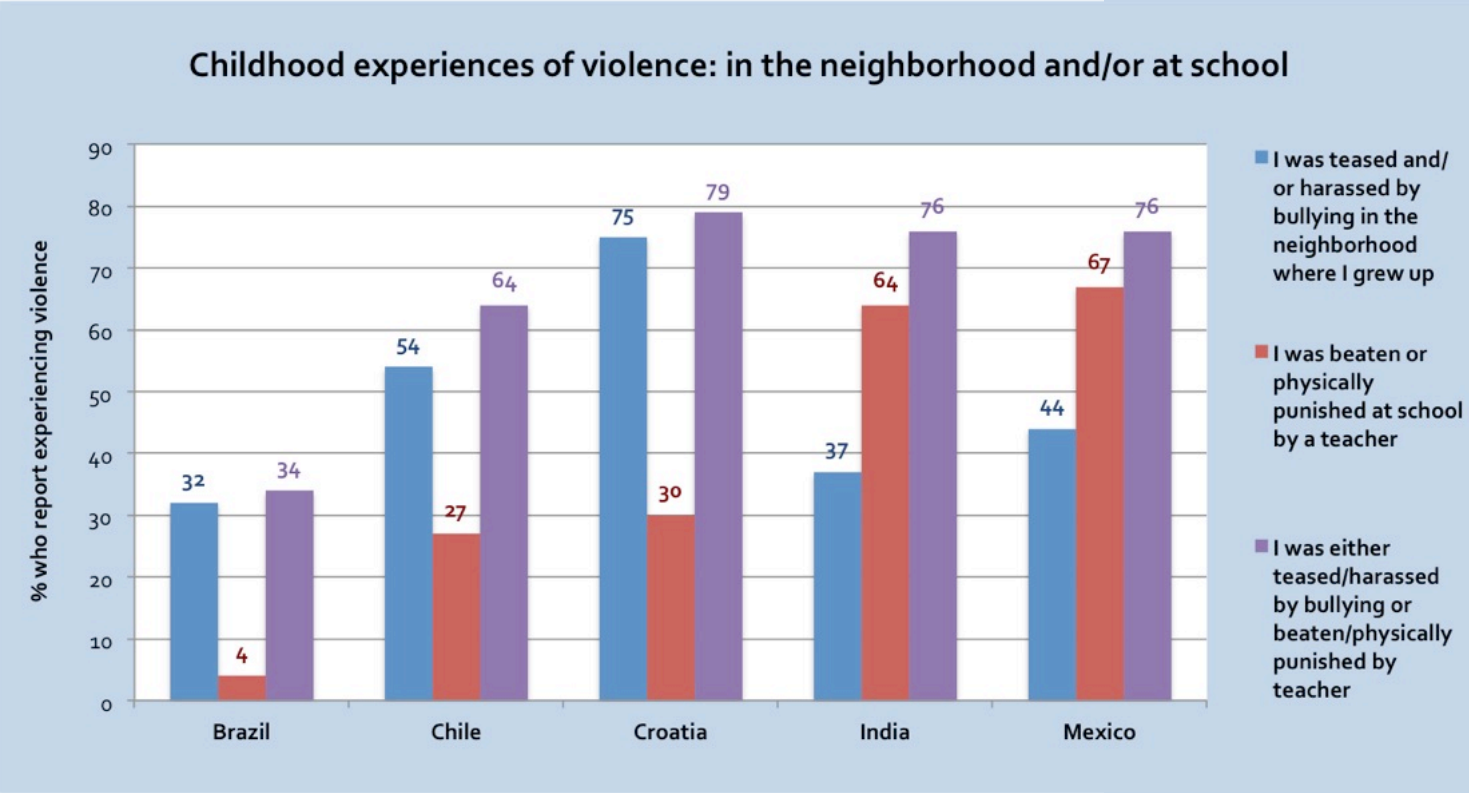
lead to more opportunities for education and skill development. These associations require analysis beyond the scope of this paper, but they are instructive in setting the stage for the analyses presented later.

d. School and neighborhood

Schools and neighborhoods are other spaces where men are frequently victims of violence during childhood. According to IMAGES, physical violence perpetrated by teachers is a common trend in India and Rwanda, where more than 60% of men said that they were beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher during childhood. In Chile and Croatia the prevalence of this violence is about half that of India and Rwanda. In the case of Brazil, the percentage is very low compared to the rest of the countries, only 4% of men mentioned they were physically punished by a teacher.[7]

For many men, schools and neighborhoods are also spaces where they were exposed to other types of violence, such as fighting and bullying. In Croatia, three-quarters of the respondents reported individual victimization by bullying. In the rest of the countries the experience of bullying or fighting in one's neighborhood ranged from 32% to 54%.

Figure 2
Across the IMAGES sites, 34-79% of respondents reported either being harassed by bullying or being physically punished by teachers



[7] *The relatively low rates of teacher violence in Brazil may be explained by the idea that culturally children are the 'property' or dependents of parents and not of teachers, as well as by children's rights, norms and policies in Brazil which condemn aggression against students by school staff.*

V. Protective factors for violence against children

This chapter examines the influence of variables representing possible protective factors for childhood experiences of violence (see Table 3). The factors are: educational level of respondents' parents, participation in household duties by respondents' fathers, respondents' fathers' participation in childcare, and decision-making dynamics among respondents' parents.

Respondents who were raised by more educated parents reported lower levels of violence than their peers with less educated parents. For example, 63% of Chilean respondents whose fathers did not have any formal education reported being victims of physical or psychological violence within the household during childhood compared with 59% of those respondents whose fathers had up to primary level, 56% of those whose fathers had primary to senior secondary education, and 41% whose fathers had senior secondary or higher educational level. The difference is statistically significant in this country. Overall, this pattern held true in the majority of countries. In Mexico this pattern is also statistically significant.

According to IMAGES data, mothers' educational attainment seems to be a stronger protective factor for children's experiences of violence than fathers' educational attainment. In all countries, men whose mothers achieved the highest educational levels reported the lowest levels of violence during childhood. The association of mothers' educational level and violence during childhood was statistically significant in Croatia as well as in Mexico. In Croatia, for example, 82% of respondents whose mothers had no formal education reported physical or psychological abuse compared with 69% of respondents who mentioned that their mothers had gone beyond the senior secondary educational level.

Parents' educational attainment, fathers' participation in domestic duties or childcare, and equitable decision-making in the childhood home can all reduce the likelihood of violence.

Survey findings show that respondents' fathers' participation in domestic and care work is a protective factor as well. In the five countries for which data are available (all except India), men who grow up in homes where fathers or male figures regularly participated in domestic and care work, including care of children, were less likely to experience violence during childhood. For example, in Chile 53% of respondents who mentioned that their fathers sometimes or frequently participated in domestic duties suffered violence within the household, compared with 65% of those whose fathers did not participate in these activities. This association was statistically significant. Similarly, statistical significance was found in Croatia and Mexico. In Brazil, only 36% of the respondents who reported that their fathers sometimes or frequently took care of them and their siblings were victims of violence whereas this level was 49% among those who said that their fathers did not take part in such duties. The same pattern was found in the rest of the countries and it was statistically significant in all sites except Mexico.

Finally, more equal dynamics among partners was also associated with lower levels of violence against children. The survey item, "Who had the final word about how the family spent money on large investments" was used to assess the equality or inequality of major financial decisions in respondents' childhood homes. In all countries, those respondents who said that their father had the final word also had a higher risk of experiencing violence. In India, 73% of men who reported that the father had the final word about how to spend money also reported being physically or psychologically abused within the household as compared to 63% of men who said that the decision was made by the mother or more equally among parents. This association was statistically significant in all countries except Chile.

In summary, findings from IMAGES show that higher educational level of parents, higher levels of engagement of men in child care or domestic work and more equal relationship dynamics between parents are protective factors which may reduce the likelihood of children's experiences of violence.

		Brazil	Chile	Croatia	India	Mexico
Father's level of education	No Formal Education	37	***63***	78	64	***42***
	Up to Primary Class V	44	***59***	75	74	***41***
	Primary to Senior Secondary	35	***56***	71	67	***35***
	Beyond Senior Secondary	29	***41***	72	67	***29***
Mother's level of education	No Formal	38	75	***82***	65	***43***
	Up to Primary	47	58	***72***	71	***42***
	Primary to Senior Secondary	35	54	***73***	71	***33***
	Beyond Senior Secondary	14	45	***69***	56	***31***
Father sometimes or frequently participated in domestic duties?	No	45	***65***	***78***	***61***	***45***
	Yes	40	***53***	***72***	***72***	***32***
Father took care of respondent and siblings sometimes or frequently?	No	***49***	***62***	***83***	***74***	42
	Yes	***36***	***55***	***73***	***66***	36
Who had the final word about how your family spent money on large investments?	Father	***53***	60	***79***	***75***	***45***
	Mother or Equally	***31***	54	***70***	***63***	***32***

Table 3
Protective factors for experiencing psychological or physical violence in the childhood home

How to interpret this table:

The numbers represent the percentage of respondents in that particular category (whose fathers had no formal education, to take the top row as an example) who reported experiencing either psychological or physical violence in the childhood home. In the case of Chile, then, we see that 63% of men whose fathers had no formal education experienced violence, as compared to 59% of men whose fathers finished up to primary class V, 56% of men whose fathers finished primary to secondary, and 41% of men whose fathers finished beyond senior secondary education.

Bold and italic numbers, like those in the example of Chile and Father's level of education, present statistically significant relationships at the $p < .05$ level.

VI. Effects of experiencing violence in childhood

Research has long confirmed the consistent influence of various childhood experiences, including violence, on adult behaviors. The aforementioned "intergenerational transmission of violence" is one example of such a childhood-adulthood link that, with such consistent evidence, has taken a major place in programming and policymaking discussions. The IMAGES dataset has the capability not only to further substantiate this particular intergenerational relationship, but also to identify other important outcomes of violence experienced during childhood. Because of the breadth of the dataset, we are now able to explore questions such as, "Do violent experiences in childhood affect adult men's health?," "Do violent experiences in childhood affect men's participation as partners and caregivers as adults?," and more.

This chapter explores many of these types of relationships. First, it presents relationships between childhood experiences of violence and the gender-related attitudes of the adult men surveyed in IMAGES. Second, it moves to an exploration of the influence of childhood experiences of violence on adult criminal behaviors (including intimate partner violence) and transactional sex. Third, it considers adult outcomes related to relationship dynamics and parenting. Fourth, the section concludes with an analysis of certain adult indicators of men's health and attempts to establish a link with childhood experiences of violence. Predictably, the IMAGES dataset substantiates the notion that childhood experiences of violence have long-lasting negative effects on individuals' lives. Most importantly, this new dataset shows that these negative effects are perhaps even broader than researchers have previously realized.

a. Gender-related attitudes

Overall, men who experienced violence as children were more likely to subscribe to inequitable attitudes about gender roles.

Do men's experiences of violence in childhood influence how they perceive relations between men and women? Bivariate analysis of the IMAGES dataset suggests that they do indeed. Table 4 presents the results of cross-tab analysis of men's childhood experiences of violence and men's likelihood to agree or strongly agree with certain inequitable gender attitudes. The attitude items analyzed focus on household decision-making ("A man should have the final word about decisions in his home"), violence ("There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten"), and masculinity ("To be a man, you need to be tough").

Overall, in all countries except Rwanda, men who were victims of household violence as children were more likely to support inequitable gender attitudes in these three domains. In Mexico, having experienced violence in childhood showed a statistically significant association with all three attitude items. That is, the proportion of men with gender inequitable attitudes related to decision-making, violence against women and traditional male roles was higher among those who suffered violence than among those who did not. For example, in Mexico 28% of men who experienced household violence as children agreed that "a man should have the final word about decisions in his home" whereas 21% of those who did not experience violence agreed with the same statement. In Chile, the association between childhood violence and adult attitudes proved significant for the questions on decision-making and violence.

The association between witnessing violence against one's mother and later gender attitudes seems to be even stronger. In all countries, men who reported witnessing violence were more likely to hold inequitable gender attitudes. This association was

statistically significant in Chile, India and Mexico for all three attitude items. Croatian respondents presented statistically significant associations with two attitude items, and Rwandan respondents with one. The Brazil dataset presents the same pattern (higher proportion of men with gender inequitable attitudes among those who were witnesses of violence against their mothers) although no associations were statistically significant.

Table 4
Relationship between childhood experiences of violence and adult gender attitudes

GENDER ATTITUDES	Country		Agree: "A man should have the final word about decisions in his home"	Agree: "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten"	Agree: "To be a man, you need to be tough"
Victim of household violence, psychological and/or physical	*Brazil*	No	41	18	41
		Yes	46	21	49
	Chile	No	***36***	***6***	38
		Yes	***43***	***13***	43
	Croatia	No	19	***7***	58
		Yes	21	***14***	62
	India	No	81	***58***	86
		Yes	81	***68***	86
	Mexico	No	***21***	***4***	***5***
		Yes	***28***	***8***	***11***
	Rwanda	No	65	20	21
		Yes	66	20	19
Witness of intimate partner violence against mother	*Brazil*	No	41	19	44
		Yes	49	24	51
	Chile	No	***38***	***8***	***38***
		Yes	***45***	***14***	***46***
	Croatia	No	19	***9***	***60***
		Yes	23	***23***	***67***
	India	No	***79***	***59***	***83***
		Yes	***83***	***73***	***90***
	Mexico	No	***21***	***4***	***6***
		Yes	***30***	***12***	***13***
	Rwanda	No	65	***17***	19
		Yes	68	***25***	20

How to interpret this and all subsequent tables in this chapter:

Experiences of childhood violence have become independent variables and are thus now presented as rows. Use the rows to identify a category of men based on country setting and experience of violence. The numbers then represent the percentage of men in this category who subscribe to the attitude item (or, in later tables, behavior/characteristic) represented by the columns.

With the first row as an example, we see that 41% of men in Brazil who did not experience household violence agree with the statement, "A man should have the final word about decisions in his home" as compared to the 46% of men in Brazil who did experience violence who agree with this statement. Those who experienced violence, then, have a slightly higher likelihood to support the gender-inequitable attitude. Those cases where the relationship is statistically significant at the p < .05 level are presented as bold and italic numbers.

Bivariate analysis of the IMAGES dataset shows that childhood experiences of violence are associated with gender inequitable attitudes in adulthood around decision-making, violence against women, and traditional notions of masculinity. Holding closely to the expected outcomes of Social Learning Theory, the IMAGES dataset suggests that merely witnessing violence against one's mother may be a meaningful enough experience to influence adult attitudes. At least in the bivariate analyses presented above, having witnessed violence was a more consistent predictor of adult gender attitudes in the three areas than having survived violence oneself.

b. Criminal behavior and transactional sex

Whereas the previous analysis considered effects of childhood violence on adult *attitudes,* the following three sub-sections turn to the influence of experiences of violence in childhood on adult *behaviors*. The first analysis considers adult behaviors related to violent and/or criminal behaviors (including intimate partner violence) and participation in transactional sex.

As presented in Table 5, IMAGES data substantiate that childhood victimization and witnessing of violence are significantly associated with violent and criminal behaviors later in life, including intimate partner violence (Table 5). Most importantly, the association between being a victim or witness of violence during childhood and perpetrating adult intimate partner violence is statistically significant in each of the six surveyed countries.

For example, in India the proportion of men who have committed physical violence against their female partners is 44% among those who were victims of psychological and/or physical violence within the household during childhood. In contrast, this percentage is only 22% among those who were not victims of this type of violence. In the same country, the proportion of men who have committed intimate partner violence is 56% among those who were witnesses of physical violence against their mothers whereas this percentage is 24% among those who were not witnesses of this kind of violence. The same pattern was found in the rest of the study locations.

IMAGES results also show an association between having experienced violence during childhood and perpetration of sexual violence during adulthood (either against a partner/spouse or against another woman or girl). In all study sites, men who were victims and/or witnesses of violence within the childhood household were also more likely to commit sexual violence. This association was statistically significant in Chile, India, Mexico and Rwanda in the case of being a victim and in all countries except Brazil in the case of being a witness. In India, 36% of those who witnessed violence against their mothers later perpetrated sexual violence, as compared to 17% who were not witnesses of this type of violence. Most researchers agree that sexual violence is linked to norms that support the idea that men have the right to control women, including their sexuality. IMAGES data support the idea that this norm is reinforced when children witness violence committed by male figures against their mothers.

IMAGES data show that childhood experiences of violence can increase men's likelihood to resort to violent means of conflict resolution as adults, both inside and outside the home.

Many men use violence to exert control over others and/or to deal with conflicts. This is particularly evident with regards to violence against women, but it can also manifest in additional types of violence such as fighting, theft, and robbery. IMAGES data show that childhood experiences of violence can increase adult men's likelihood to resort to violent means of conflict resolution, even outside of their intimate partnerships. This pattern is recognizable in each of the countries included in the study. An overwhelming and statistically significant association between being a victim or

witness of violence during childhood and later participation in fights or robbery was found across all study countries (see Table 5).

Globally, numerous studies have affirmed how social expectations about men's sexuality encourage men's purchasing of sex (Ricardo and Barker, 2008). As presented above, IMAGES data support the notion that childhood experiences of violence can significantly influence the degree to which adult men subscribe to harmful attitudes about relations between men and women. Also contributing to this discussion, IMAGES data show that having experienced violence during childhood is often significantly associated with men's lifetime reports of having paid for sex. A statistically significant association between being a victim of violence as a child and having ever paid for sex was found in the Chile, Croatia, India and Mexico datasets. The Chile and India datasets also presented a statistically significant association between being a witness to violence and having ever paid for sex.

Overall, in all countries except Brazil, more men who were victims or witnesses of violence during childhood paid for sex during adulthood than those who were not victims or witnesses of violence during childhood did. In Brazil, the association was found in the opposite direction in the case of those who were a witness of violence. However, Brazilian IMAGES respondents also showed an association between having paid for sex and more gender-equitable attitudes and higher educational attainment (Barker G., et al., 2011), suggesting that there are other socio-economic and cultural factors that have an influence on men's involvement in transactional sex in this study site.

Figure 3
In all countries, men who witnessed their mothers being beaten are statistically significantly more likely to have also participated in fights or robberies.

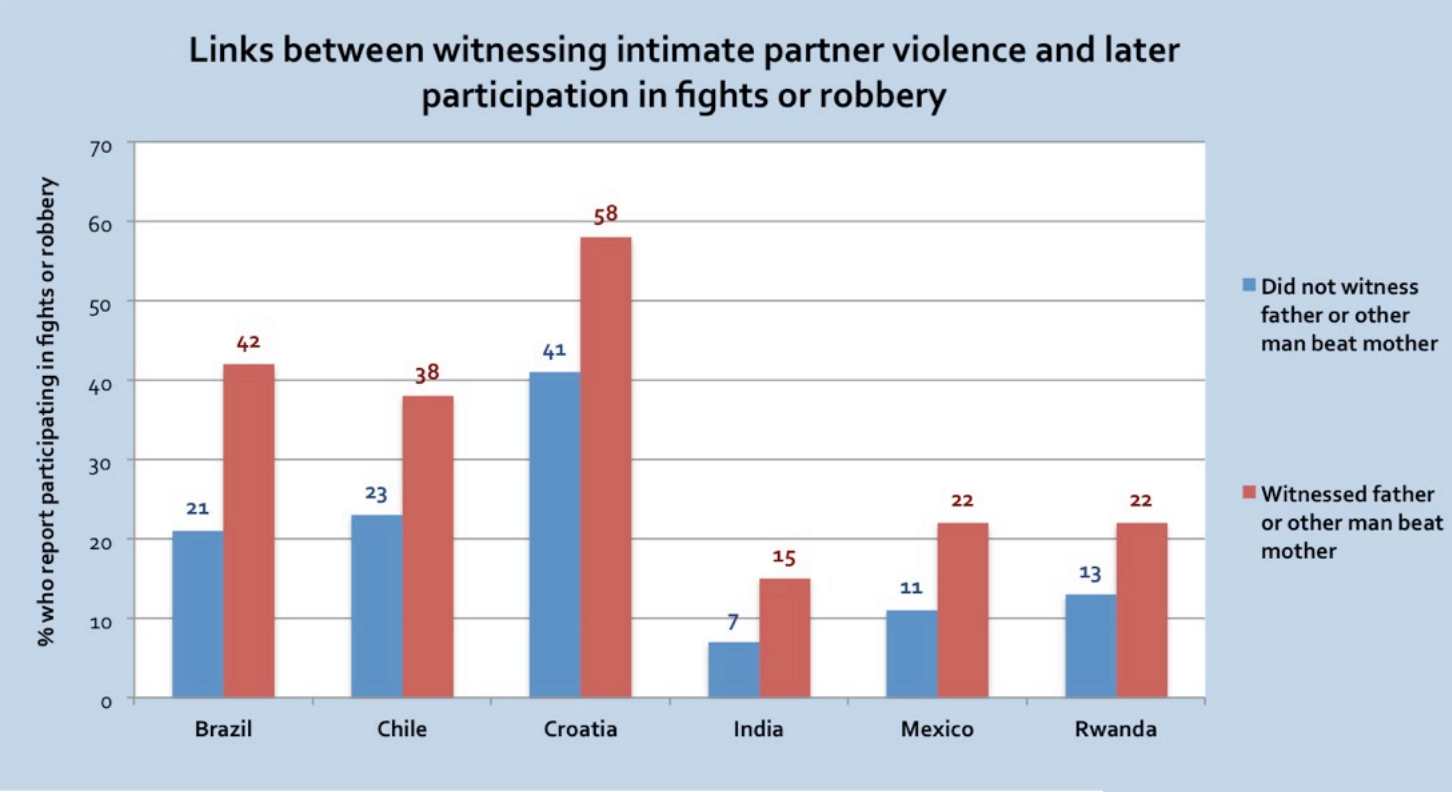


Table 5
Relationship between childhood experiences of violence and adult violence, criminal behaviors, and transactional sex

VIOLENCE, CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR, and TRANSACTIONAL SEX	Country		Ever perpetrated intimate partner violence	Ever perpetrated sexual violence	Ever participated in fights or robbery	Ever paid for sex
Victim of household violence, psychological and/or physical	*Brazil*	No	**15**	2	**22**	55
		Yes	**38**	3	**29**	58
	Chile	No	**14**	**3**	**17**	**15**
		Yes	**41**	**14**	**38**	**28**
	Croatia	No	**22**	7	**32**	**9**
		Yes	**37**	10	**49**	**13**
	India	No	**22**	**18**	**4**	**18**
		Yes	**44**	**27**	**13**	**32**
	Mexico	No	**12**	**2**	**12**	**14**
		Yes	**27**	**7**	**17**	**24**
	Rwanda	No	**27**	**3**	**9**	14
		Yes	**43**	**11**	**18**	16
Witness of intimate partner violence against mother	*Brazil*	No	**21**	2	**21**	57
		Yes	**41**	3	**42**	51
	Chile	No	**21**	**7**	**23**	**19**
		Yes	**47**	**15**	**38**	**29**
	Croatia	No	**29**	**8**	**41**	10
		Yes	**52**	**14**	**58**	15
	India	No	**24**	**17**	**7**	**18**
		Yes	**56**	**36**	**15**	**42**
	Mexico	No	**13**	**3**	**11**	17
		Yes	**36**	**9**	**22**	23
	Rwanda	No	**30**	**6**	**13**	14
		Yes	**50**	**13**	**22**	17

IMAGES data strongly assert the validity of the oft-discussed "intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence," while also contributing new insight into how this intergenerational influence also affects criminal violence in robberies and fights as well as men's likelihood of having paid for sex. The adult effects of having experienced violence in childhood may be wide-ranging when it comes to adult violent behaviors; the following sections will broaden the analysis to look at adult behaviors other than violent acts.

c. Relationship dynamics and parenting

If men who have experienced violence during childhood are statistically more likely to perpetrate violence against their partners and others, can we also therefore assume that they are less likely to be equitable partners and parents in other domains? This section analyzes the effect of violence experienced in childhood on the relationship dynamics of men with their current partners and the engagement of men in parenting (Table 6). Specifically, four variables were analyzed that represent how adult men report on relationship dynamics and parenting behaviors: (1) participation in domestic duties, (2) communication with their partners about problems, (3) attendance at antenatal visits during partner's pregnancy, and (4) taking paternity leave at the birth of a child.

IMAGES data support the predictable but much less researched influence of childhood experiences of violence in how adult men interact with their partners and children beyond the domain of violence alone. Men who did not suffer violence as children were more likely to participate in domestic duties in Brazil, Croatia and Rwanda. In the case of Croatia this association was found to be statistically significant. The same pattern was found in the case of those who were not witnesses of violence in the same countries as well as in Chile. In India, the opposite trend was found: more men reported participation in domestic duties among those who were witnesses of violence than among those who were not witnesses.

The IMAGES questionnaire asked men how often they communicated openly with their partners about life problems. Frequent communication of this nature was reported much more consistently by men who did not suffer violence during childhood than by men who did experience violence. This trend was found in all countries except in India in the case of witnessing violence against one's mother.

The present analysis considers two variables that reflect men's engagement as fathers in the earliest stages of their children's lives. Research shows that both attendance at antenatal visits and paternity leave can significantly strengthen the bond between a father and his children. IMAGES shows that a man's own childhood experiences of violence may begin to affect his relationship with his own children even in these earliest stages of fatherhood. In Croatia, India and Mexico those men who had been victims of violence as children were significantly less likely to accompany their partners to a prenatal visit during their most recent pregnancy than those who were not victims. Having witnessed violence was also a predictor of lower attendance at antenatal visits. Those men who were witnesses of violence against their mothers were also less likely to accompany their partners to a prenatal visit than those who were not witnesses. This trend was found in five countries and the association was statistically significant in Chile, Croatia, and Mexico.

Furthermore, in India, Mexico and Rwanda, men who suffered psychological and/or physical violence were significantly less likely to take off time from work at the birth of their most recent child than men who were not victims of this violence. In Chile and Mexico a statistically significant association was found between being a witness of violence and not taking paternity leave.

Table 6
Relationship between childhood experiences of violence and adult relationship and parenting dynamics

RELATIONSHIP DYNAMICS and PARENTING	*Country*		Participation in Domestic Duties	Communicates About Problems with Partner	Attendance at Antenatal Visits	Took Paternity Leave
Victim of Household Violence, Psychological and/or Physical	*Brazil*	No	62	***90***	78	***58***
		Yes	56	***81***	78	***69***
	Chile	No	52	***91***	86	26
		Yes	52	***86***	85	21
	Croatia	No	***68***	94	***97***	40
		Yes	***59***	92	***90***	41
	India	No	13	70	***95***	***77***
		Yes	18	65	***89***	***65***
	Mexico	No	54	90	***95***	***72***
		Yes	55	87	***88***	***59***
	Rwanda	No	54	n/a	n/a	***54***
		Yes	51	n/a	n/a	***46***
Witness of intimate partner violence against Mother	*Brazil*	No	62	86	80	63
		Yes	54	83	72	68
	Chile	No	54	***90***	***89***	***26***
		Yes	48	***84***	***81***	***17***
	Croatia	No	62	***95***	***95***	42
		Yes	56	***85***	***81***	36
	India	No	***13***	64	***88***	69
		Yes	***20***	70	***96***	69
	Mexico	No	54	90	***94***	***70***
		Yes	56	88	***86***	***58***
	Rwanda	No	54	n/a	n/a	50
		Yes	51	n/a	n/a	48

The impression that emerges is that in some countries, exposure to childhood violence either as a victim or witness may negatively influence how men relate to their own children even before and immediately after the moment of birth. Further analysis needs to be done to obtain conclusive results on these associations.

d. Men's health

Frequently missing from the conversation on the intergenerational transmission of violence and/or harmful gender norms is whether adult men's status as survivors or witnesses of childhood violence has a lifelong toll on their own health and well-being. Does having survived or witnessed violence as a child in any way influence men's likelihood to experience lifelong stress? To abuse alcohol regularly? To suffer from low self-esteem and/or depression? Data from IMAGES show that experiencing violence during childhood is associated with the health of men as adults, including the physical and mental health problems listed above.

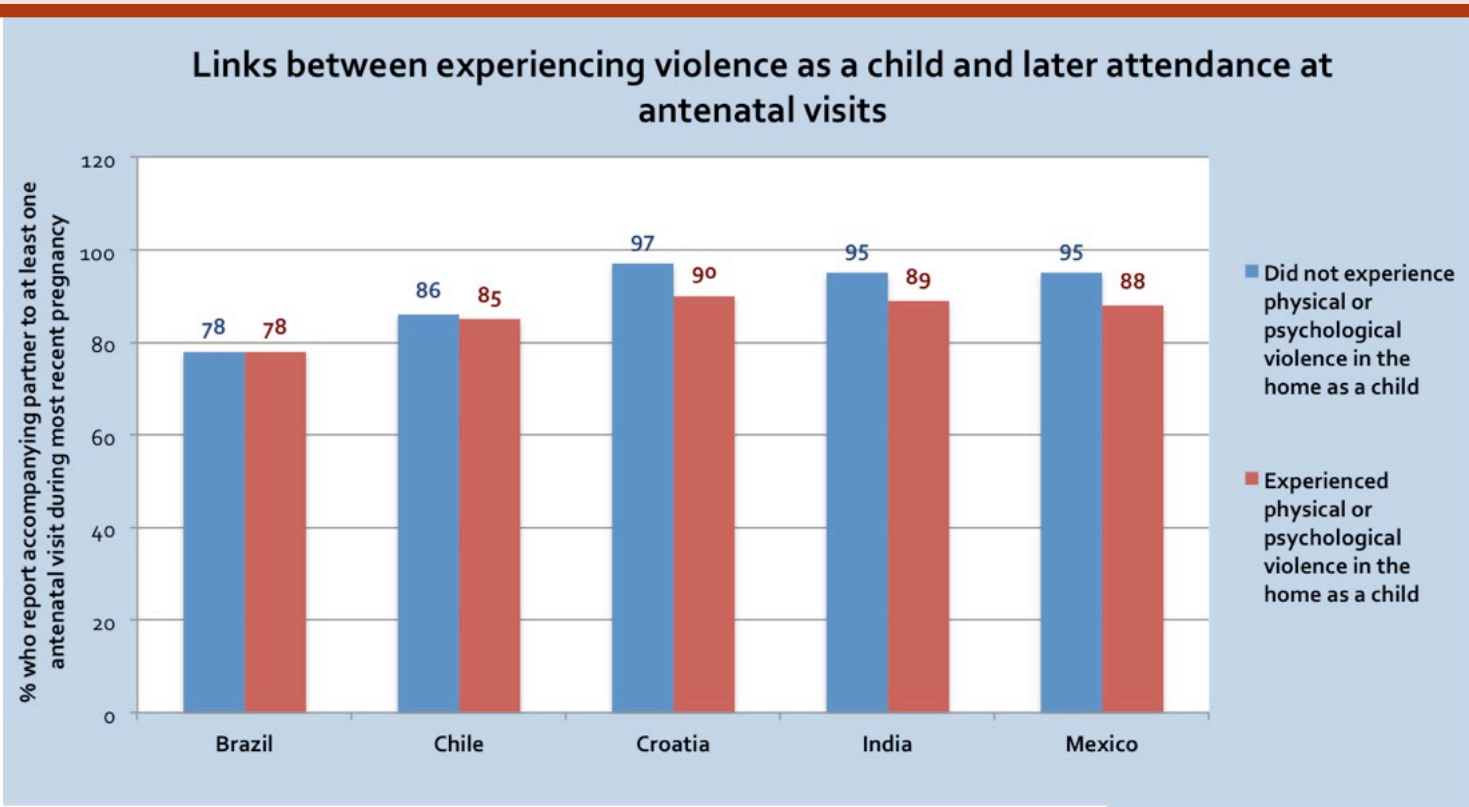


Figure 4
In all countries except Brazil, men who experienced violence as children are less likely also to have accompanied their partners to antenatal visits during their most recent pregnancy

Table 7 presents the relationships between childhood violence and: (1) regular work-related stress, (2) regular abuse of alcohol, (3) low self-esteem, and (4) depression.

Men who were victims and witnesses of violence as children were more likely to report persistent stress about not having enough work or income. This pattern is seen in all countries except Mexico. In Brazil, Chile and India the association is statistically significant for those who were victims and in Chile and India for those who were witnesses. In certain country contexts, then, these influential childhood experiences may potentially exacerbate the stress that many men feel about working and earning enough to support their families.

In some countries, regular abuse of alcohol is also associated with having been victim or witness of violence during childhood. This is the case in India, where being a victim and witnessing violence were both significantly associated with alcohol abuse. In India, 25% of men who were victims of violence reported regular abuse of alcohol compared with 17% of those who were not victims. The association between witnessing violence and adult alcohol abuse is even stronger: 30% of Indian men who were witnesses of violence reported regular abuse of alcohol compared with only 13% who were not witnesses. The link between violence against children and alcohol abuse during adulthood was also found in Croatia for those who were victims of violence.

Analysis of IMAGES data suggests that the association between experiencing violence as a child and suffering from low self-esteem and depression as an adult is indeed very strong. Men who reported experiencing violence as victims or witnesses were more likely to report low self-esteem in all countries included in the study (see Figure 5). In Brazil, Chile, India and Mexico, the links between being a victim of violence and having low self-esteem as an adult were found to be statistically significant. In the latter two countries the association was statistically significant for those who were witnesses as well. The influence of having experienced violence as a child and later self-esteem is particularly strong in India where 42% of men who reported witnessing violence

against their mothers also reported low self-esteem compared with only 21% of those who didn't witness such violence. At least in the case of the India dataset, then, having witnessed physical violence against one's mother is an experience that may potentially double one's likelihood of having low self-esteem later in life.

Regarding depression, in most of the countries those men who reported childhood abuse were more likely to report regularly experiencing depression as adults. This association was found statistically significant in Chile, India and Mexico in the case of being a victim of violence and in Chile, Croatia and Mexico in the case of witnessing domestic violence.

Table 7
Relationship between childhood experiences of violence and adult health characteristics

MEN'S HEALTH	*Country*		Work-related Stress	Regular Abuse of Alcohol	Low Self-Esteem	Depression
Victim of household violence, psychological and/or physical	*Brazil*	No	***29***	***73***	***7***	8
		Yes	***43***	***63***	***16***	10
	Chile	No	***53***	37	***9***	***11***
		Yes	***60***	42	***16***	***21***
	Croatia	No	48	***38***	14	29
		Yes	54	***44***	16	33
	India	No	***51***	***17***	***17***	***23***
		Yes	***67***	***25***	***35***	***30***
	Mexico	No	89	33	***4***	***6***
		Yes	85	35	***8***	***16***
Witness of intimate partner violence against mother	*Brazil*	No	33	70	11	8
		Yes	44	69	11	8
	Chile	No	***54***	38	12	***15***
		Yes	***64***	40	16	***21***
	Croatia	No	51	43	15	***30***
		Yes	56	40	19	***46***
	India	No	***54***	***13***	***21***	28
		Yes	***74***	***30***	***42***	29
	Mexico	No	89	33	***5***	***8***
		Yes	83	32	***11***	***18***

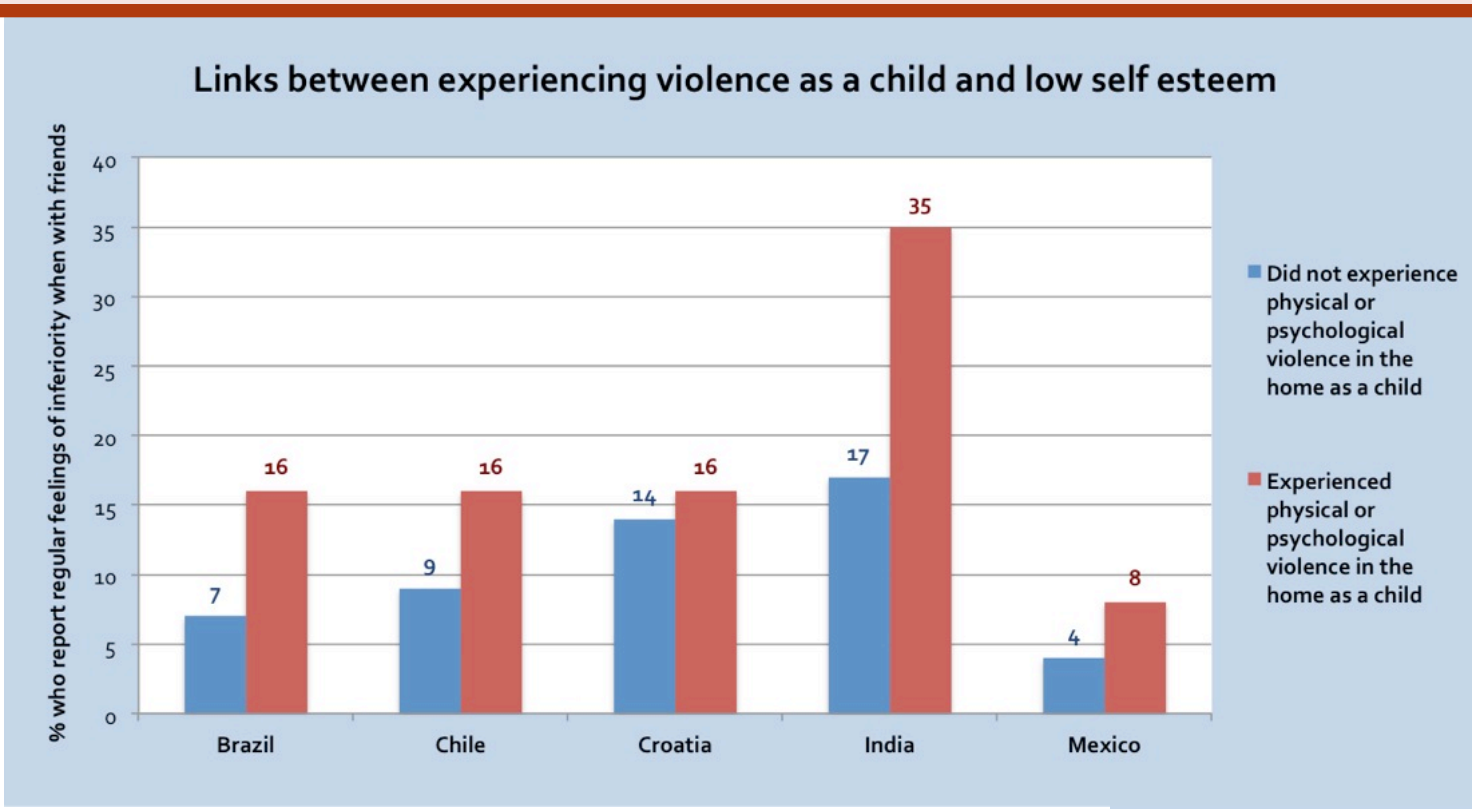


Figure 5
In all countries but Croatia, men who experienced violence as children are statistically significantly more likely also to report feelings of inferiority when with friends.

Overall, violent events occurring during childhood have significant and noteworthy repercussions on the mental health of men as adults. IMAGES data show that in some locations exposure to violence during childhood may have persistent negative psychological consequences in men. In particular, childhood experiences of violence were strongly associated with having low self-esteem and regularly experiencing depression in adulthood. These links were particularly strong in the case of India.

This section has presented evidence that suggests an array of important adult outcomes of men's childhood experiences of violence. The following section strengthens this finding by using multivariate regression analysis of some of the same relationships in two countries: Brazil and India.

VII. How important are childhood experiences of violence in predicting adult intimate partner violence? In-depth analysis of Brazil and India

The previous section presented several dozen bivariate analyses of relationships between childhood experiences of violence and various adult outcomes. These prior analyses considered each potential relationship in isolation, and presented specific, compelling results. Yet the surest way to establish a strong statistical link between any of the experiences in question is to factor multiple potential influences into the same multivariate regression model and see which influence proves the strongest in comparison with the others. Toward this end, this section presents multivariate regression results that explore the effect of different variables (including age, education, gender attitudes, victimization of psychological and/or physical violence during childhood, witness of physical violence against one's mother, and regular abuse of alcohol) on men's reports of ever having perpetrated intimate partner violence.[8] As in previous sections, the analysis below pays particular attention to the effect of experiences of violence during childhood on the perpetration of partner violence during adulthood.

Results of the logistic regressions are presented below.[9] For both countries, crude odds ratios (COR) are presented first in the leftmost columns of results, with adjusted odds ratios (AOR) presented in the rightmost columns of results.[10]

In Brazil, COR show that four variables, when analyzed individually, had statistically significant predicting value for having ever perpetrated intimate partner violence: (1) victimization of violence as a child, (2) witnessing violence as a child, (3) having up to primary education, and (4) regularly abusing alcohol. After adjusting for all factors, these trends remained the same. However, the effect of childhood victimization of violence does not remain statistically associated to intimate partner violence. The influence of having witnessed violence against one's mother increases, however, when all variables are taken into account. AOR show that those who were witnesses of violence during childhood have a 4.89 higher likelihood to ever perpetrate intimate partner violence than those who were not. The effect of alcohol abuse and low educational level also increased and remained significant, although the odds ratios are lower than those emerging from being a witness of intimate partner violence.

In the case of Brazil, when multiple, strongly influential variables are considered in the same regression model, the influence of having witnessed violence against one's mother emerges as the strongest predictor of adult perpetration of intimate partner violence. Low levels of education as well as regular abuse of alcohol are also statistically significant predictors of perpetration of intimate partner violence even when all other variables are considered (see Table 8).

[8] Other variables were also originally considered in the analysis. However, only those variables that showed significant improvement to the model and were not correlated with other variables were included in the model as presented.

[9] This analysis was carried out only with the sample of ever-partnered men in the study countries, and is presented in terms of crude and adjusted odds ratios, P values (P) and 95% confidence intervals. Odds ratios are adjusted to account for the effect of all six independent variables in the table (as opposed to the isolated effect of that variable alone).

[10] "Odds ratio" is the ratio of exposed to unexposed cases divided by the ratio of exposed to unexposed noncases. Odds ratio describes the strength of association between variables. AOR are the odds ratios adjusted for confounding factors.

	BRAZIL: Intimate partner violence ever					
	Crude odds ratio	*P*	*95% confidence interval*	*Adjusted odds ratio*	*P*	*95% confidence interval*
Age						
50 – 59	--	--	--	--	--	--
35 – 49	1.345	0.146	0.902 – 2.005	1.429	0.314	0.713 – 2.867
25 – 34	0.708	0.142	0.447 – 1.122	1.142	0.729	0.539 – 2.418
18 – 24	1.408	0.148	0.886 – 2.237	***2.217***	***0.042***	***1.030 – 4.774***
Education level						
Beyond Senior Secondary	--	--	--	--	--	--
Primary to Senior Secondary	0.876	0.480	0.607 – 1.264	2.358	0.194	0.647 – 8.597
Up to Primary Class V	***1.642***	***0.014***	***1.104 – 2.442***	***4.517***	***0.018***	***1.295 – 15.75***
No Formal Education	1.236	0.728	0.375 – 4.079	3.674	0.187	0.531 – 25.41
Gender attitudes (GEM Scale)						
High Equity	--	--	--	--	--	--
Moderate Equity	1.193	0.395	0.794 – 1.792	1.270	0.367	0.755 – 2.134
Low Equity	1.596	0.181	0.804 – 3.165	1.811	0.207	0.720 – 4.558
Witness of violence during childhood						
No	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes	***2.197***	***0.002***	***1.324 – 3.645***	***4.897***	***0.000***	***2.971 – 8.071***
Survivor of violence in childhood home						
No	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes	***4.063***	***0.000***	***2.698 – 6.116***	1.350	0.329	0.739 – 2.464
Regular abuse of alcohol						
No	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes	***1.625***	***0.019***	***1.083 – 2.437***	***1.907***	***0.008***	***1.188 – 3.061***

Table 8
Logistic regression results: Brazil

Which factors (age, education level, gender attitudes, witnessing violence as a child, having survived violence, or alcohol abuse) wield the strongest influence on an adult man's likelihood to have ever perpetrated intimate partner violence?

Bold, italic, highlighted cells represent statistically significant results at the p < .05 level

In the case of India, COR show a significant association between five variables and the likelihood of perpetrating intimate partner violence. These include: (1) older age, (2) lower levels of education, (3) witnessing violence against one's mother, (4) having been victimized by violence in the childhood home, and (5) regular abuse of alcohol. After controlling for other variables, all these factors except regular abuse of alcohol continue to display a significant effect on the likelihood of having ever perpetrated intimate partner violence. The AOR model shows that those who were witnesses of violence during childhood in India have 3.20 higher odds of having also perpetrated intimate partner violence than those who were not witnesses. Those who were victims of violence as children have 2.02 higher odds of perpetrating later violence than those who did not suffer this type of violence. As was the case in Brazil, lower levels of education were also strongly related with the likelihood of having ever perpetrated intimate partner violence.

Table 9
Logistic regression results: India

Which factors (age, education level, gender attitudes, witnessing violence as a child, having survived violence, or alcohol abuse) wield the strongest influence on an adult man's likelihood to have ever perpetrated intimate partner violence?

Bold, italic, highlighted cells represent statistically significant results at the p < .05 level

	INDIA: Intimate partner violence ever					
	Crude odds ratio	*P*	*95% confidence interval*	*Adjusted odds ratio*	*P*	*95% confidence interval*
Age						
50 – 59	--	--	--	--	--	--
35 – 49	1.137	0.357	0.865 – 1.493	0.582	0.021	0.368 – 0.921
25 – 34	0.794	0.115	0.596 – 1.058	***0.481***	***0.003***	***0.297 – 0.778***
18 – 24	***0.275***	***0.002***	***0.122 – 0.621***	***0.171***	***0.000***	***0.067 – 0.432***
Education level						
Beyond Senior Secondary	--	--	--	--	--	--
Primary to Senior Secondary	1.058	0.685	0.804 – 1.393	1.374	0.076	0.968 – 1.951
Up to Primary Class V	***1.850***	***0.006***	***1.194 – 2.867***	***2.198***	***0.003***	***1.306 – 3.699***
No Formal Education	1.452	0.053	0.995 – 2.120	***1.635***	***0.041***	***1.019 – 2.621***
Gender attitudes (GEM Scale)						
High Equity	--	--	--	--	--	--
Moderate Equity	1.150	0.331	0.868 – 1.524	1.160	0.515	0.742 – 1.815
Low Equity	1.145	0.409	0.830 – 1.579	1.238	0.421	0.736 – 2.081
Witness of violence during childhood						
No	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes	***4.177***	***0.000***	***3.124 – 5.586***	***3.205***	***0.000***	***2.337 – 4.395***
Survivor of violence in childhood home						
No	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes	***2.713***	***0.000***	***1.964 – 3.749***	***2.020***	***0.000***	***1.412 – 2.890***
Binge drinking						
No	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yes	***2.280***	***0.000***	***1.545 – 3.364***	1.433	0.101	0.932 – 2.203

In sum, multivariate analysis of the Brazil and India IMAGES datasets suggests that the most consistent influence on ever having perpetrated intimate partner violence is having witnessed one's mother being hit by her husband or partner. This relationship is strongly significant in both study sites, even when accounting for other variables.

VIII. Implications for action

Children are exposed to violence in a variety of ways all over the world. Even when not aimed immediately in the direction of children, the existence of violence in the home has the possibility of influencing children's conduct both in short- and long-term periods (Fantuzzo & Mohr, 1999). These exposures to violence are diverse in regularity, length of time, and brutality.

The experience of violence during childhood as a victim and/or as a witness carries numerous implications for behaviors and well-being later in life. The present study has attempted both to further substantiate the pernicious "intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence" and also to provide new analysis of adult attitudes toward gender roles and behaviors (including those related to violence as well as criminal behaviors, transactional sex, relationship dynamics, fatherhood, and men's health) that also may be influenced by men's experiences of violence as boys.

This new analysis indicates that there are many complex relationships connecting childhood incidents of violence and adult attitudes and behaviors, but that these linkages show consistent patterns across diverse cultural contexts. Adult men who are victims and witnesses of violence as children likely come to accept violence as a conflict-resolving tactic, and the present paper has shown that this holds true not only in intimate partnerships but also in the wider world (as evidenced by men's attitudes about violence, attitudes about masculinity, and likelihood of having participated in fights and/or robberies).

The paper has also shown how experiences of violence as children may significantly influence how men relate to their partners and children outside the realm of violence and whether they show more or less gender-equitable attitudes. Childhood violence has in certain study sites been associated with how often men communicate with their partners, attend prenatal visits when their partner is pregnant, and/or take paternity leave when their children are born. These findings urge researchers, programmers, and policymakers alike to broaden their conceptualization of the intergenerational damage done by domestic violence. The data also affirm that violent, emotionally stoic, non-communicative masculinities are shaped, among other things, by the presence of violence in the home.

The paper has additionally considered how men themselves may suffer negative lifelong consequences of having been victims or witnesses of violence as children. Men who experienced violence as children are consistently more likely to report low self-esteem and regular experiences of depression, according to IMAGES data.

With these wide-ranging adult implications of childhood experiences of violence in mind, the present study offers support for a number of key recommendations:

1. Governments and NGOs should test, evaluate and seek to scale up comprehensive family and community violence prevention approaches that combine gender equality messages, engage mothers and fathers, and seek to reduce the multiple stresses that low-income families with children often face. In particular, parental training interventions and home visitation programs that include non-violent child-rearing strategies should be given much more priority than they are currently given in social policy and child protection. Existing child protection policies and mechanisms in too much of the world focus mostly on response after children have experienced severe violence and not nearly enough on primary prevention.

2. Governments and NGOs should test, evaluate and seek to scale up secondary prevention strategies that offer men and boys opportunities to discuss, disclose and find psychosocial support for multiple forms of violence they have witnessed and experienced during childhood. This process may help break the cycles of transmission. Existing gender-based violence prevention efforts targeting men often treat all men the same. These data confirm conclusively that men who witnessed violence against their mothers have a greater propensity to use violence themselves and need additional support. Such strategies should not stigmatize men who have witnessed violence as children but instead should help, in ethical and confidential ways, provide additional support.

3. Governments and NGOs should test, evaluate and seek to scale up efforts to encourage and support men to be involved, non-violent fathers and communicative and equitable partners in their intimate and co-parenting relationships. While more efforts are needed to reach men with evidence-based violence prevention interventions, such efforts should also include specific, targeted approaches that promote men's involvement as non-violent partners and fathers. Ways to implement such approaches inevitably vary by context, but could include: school-based education for boys on relationship and caregiving skills; prenatal courses for fathers (and mothers); and pre-marital courses for men.

Arguing for more and better prevention does not imply that support for survivors and legal protection should be reduced. Evidence is clear that ending impunity for violent acts – whether against women, children or other men – is a key part of prevention, just as support for survivors is a fundamental human right. But the percentages of men who witness violence growing up and who go on to use it later in life are at such levels to call them epidemic. This requires that programmers working in the child protection, violence against women prevention/response, engaging men in violence prevention, and other related fields abandon the perception of competition for resources that often emerges. We have no choice but to unite these causes.

Finally, it is also crucial not to overstate the case of the "intergenerational transmission" of certain negative outcomes. For instance, although in recent decades sexual violence against children has emerged as a widely condemned public health problem, researchers are acknowledging that this particular form of violence does not have the same lifelong influences as we so commonly find with intimate partner violence. The intense impact of this and all forms of childhood trauma is increasingly well recognized, but at the same time researchers and programmers must acknowledge that the experience of being abused as a child does not automatically turn every victim into a perpetrator as an adult. For example, in the case of sexual violence, IMAGES data did not find a consistent association between being a victim of childhood sexual abuse and perpetrating this violence as an adult. Researchers and programmers should continue to focus on identifying and expanding those factors and interventions that help prevent intergenerational transmissions of violence before they happen.

Intimate partner violence and violence against children devastate lives. This includes the lives of the victims themselves, of witnesses of violence, and in later years of the entire families of childhood victims and witnesses. The international public health and development communities – particularly the sectors of children's rights, women's rights, and those working to engage men in violence prevention – must work urgently and cooperatively to break these cycles of devastation. Likewise, countries that care seriously about the health and well-being of children must work to end violence

against women, and vice versa. By unraveling norms that condone violent conflict resolution, by promoting equitable relationships, and by strengthening men's positive roles as fathers – while simultaneously advancing children's and women's rights – we can begin to break the pernicious intergenerational transmission of violence and its many negative accompanying outcomes.

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Annexes

Annex I: Details of sampling strategy by study location

	Brazil	Chile	Croatia	India	Mexico	Rwanda
Sample size, men	750	1192	1501	1534	1001	2301
Sample size, women	448	426	506	521	383	1311
Age group	18-59	18-59	18-59	18-59	18-59	18-59
Site(s)	**One major metropolitan area:** Rio de Janeiro, with two neighborhoods: Maré (low income) (n=686 men, 408 women) and Vila Valquiere (middle income) (n= 64 men, 40 women)	**Three metropolitan areas:** Valparaíso (n=198 men), Concepción (n=197 men), Santiago (n=797 men, 426 women)	**One metropolitan area and two rural areas:** Zagreb (n=809 men, 264 women), and towns and villages in two counties in Eastern Croatia (n=692 men, 242 women)	**Two metropolitan areas:** Delhi (n=1037 men, 313 women) and Vijayawada (state of Andhra Pradesh) (n=497 men, 208 women)	**Three metropolitan areas:** Monterrey (n=515 men, 172 women); Queretaro (n=222 men,127 women); Jalapa (n=264 men, 84 women)	**Nationally representative sample covering all provinces**: Eastern province (25%), Kigali (11%), Northern province (19%), Southern province (25%), Western province (20%)
Sample stratification strategy	Two different income groups: low income (Maré) and middle class (Vila Valquiere), household sample proportional to size of community	Stratified by place of residence and socioeconomic level	Stratified by age and place of residence (rural/urban)	Census block selected by probability proportional to size, systematic random sampling to select household	Stratified by age and place of residence (and marital status in the case of women)	Stratified by age and place of residence (see above)
In-country research partner	Promundo	CulturaSalud, EME	CESI-Center for Education, Counseling and Research	ICRW, SIGMA Research and Consultancy Pvt. Ltd.	El Colegio de México, México, D.F	Rwanda Men's Resource Centre (RWAMREC)
Questionnaire Application Process	Paper Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer-administered)	Paper Survey (interviewer-administered)	Paper Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer administered)	Handheld Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer administered)	Paper Survey (mix of self administered and interviewer administered)	Paper Survey (interviewer administered)

Annex II: Survey items for variables presented in the report

Section IV. How men are exposed to violence during childhood

Variable	Relevant IMAGES survey items
Victimization of psychological violence or neglect in childhood home	One or more of three items: • *"I was insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)* • *"One or both of my parents were too drunk or high on drugs to take care of me" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)* • *"I was threatened with physical punishment in my home" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)*
Victimization of physical violence in childhood home	*"I was spanked or slapped by my parents or adults in my home" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)*
Witness of physical violence in childhood home	*"I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or boyfriend" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)*
Victimization of sexual violence as a child	One or more of two items: • *"Someone touched my buttocks or genitals or made me touch them on the genitals when I did not want to" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)* • *"I had sex with someone because I was threatened or frightened or forced" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)*
Victimization of physical violence in school	*"I was beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher" (Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)*
Victimization of physical violence in neighborhood	*"I myself was teased and harassed by bullying in the neighborhood where I grew up" (Sometimes or Yes)*

Section V. Protective factors for violence against children

Variable	Relevant IMAGES survey items
Father participated in domestic duties	One or more of the following responses: *"When you were a child or teenager, did your father or another man in the home:"* • *prepare food? (Sometimes or Frequently)* • *clean the house? (Sometimes or Frequently)* • *wash clothes? (Sometimes or Frequently)* • *clean the bathroom/toilet? (Sometimes or Frequently)*
Father took care of respondent and siblings	*"When you were a child or teenager, did your father or another man in the home take care of you or your siblings?" (Sometimes or Frequently)*

Section VI. Effects of experiencing violence in childhood: Criminal Behavior and Transactional Sex

Variable	Relevant IMAGES survey items
Ever perpetrated physical intimate partner violence (intimate partner violence)	Response of "Once" or "More than once" to any one of the following five questions: • *"Have you ever slapped a partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her?"* • *"Have you ever pushed or shoved a partner?"* • *"Have you ever hit a partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her?"* • *"Have you ever kicked, dragged, beaten, choked, or burned a partner?"* • *"Have you ever threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife, or other weapon against a partner?"*
Ever perpetrated sexual violence	Response of "Once" or "More than once" to any one of the following nine questions: • *"How many times have you have sex with a woman or girl when she didn't consent to sex or after you forced her?"* • *"How many times have you had sex with a woman or girl when she was too drunk to say whether she wanted it or not?"* • *"Have you ever forced your current girlfriend or wife into having sex with you?"* • *"Was there ever a time when you forced a former girlfriend or wife into having sex?"* • *"Did you ever force a woman who was not you wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex with you?"* • *"How many times have you and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she didn't consent to sex or you forced her?"* • *"How many times have you and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she was too drunk to stop you?"* • *"Have you ever done anything sexual with a boy or man when he didn't consent or you forced him?"* • *"Have you ever done anything sexual with a boy or man when you put your penis in his mouth or anus when he didn't consent or you forced him?"*
Ever participated in fights or robbery	Response of "Once" or "More than once" to either of the following two questions: • *"Have you ever robbed someone?"* • *"Have you ever been involved in a fight with a knife, gun, or other weapon?"*
Ever paid for sex	*"Have you ever had sex with a prostitute or sex worker?" (Yes, with a female; Yes, with a male; or Yes, with a transvestite)*

Section VI. Effects of experiencing violence in childhood: Relationship Dynamics and Parenting

Variable	Relevant IMAGES survey items
Participates in domestic duties	Response of "Shared equally," "Usually me," or "I do everything" to the following seven items: *"If you disregard the help you receive from others, how do you and your partner divide the task of (1) washing clothes (2) repairing the house (3) buying food (4) cleaning the house (5) cleaning the bathroom/toilet (6) preparing food (7) paying bills?"*
Communicates about problems with partner	*"When was the last time you talked to your partner about problems you are facing in your life?" (2-4 weeks ago, 1-2 weeks ago, or Within this week)*
Has attended antenatal visit	*"Did you accompany the mother(s) of your child(ren) to a prenatal visit during the last or the present pregnancy?" (Yes, I went with her to every visit or Yes, I went with her to some visits)*
Has taken paternity leave	*"Did you take leave the last time you had a child, and if so how many days?" (One or more days of unpaid leave and/or One or more days of paid leave)*

Section VI. Effects of experiencing violence in childhood: Men's Health

Variable	Relevant IMAGES survey items
Experiences work-related stress	Response of "Yes" or "Partly" to one or both of the following statements: • *"I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work."* • *"I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough income."*
Regularly abuses alcohol	*"How often do you have five or more drinks on one occasion?" (Monthly, Weekly, Almost Daily, or Daily)*
Low self-esteem	One or more of the following responses to statements: • *"I feel that my life is of no use to anyone" (Partly agree or Completely agree)* • *"I have a lot to be proud of on the whole" (Partly disagree or Completely disagree)* • *"I feel inferior sometimes when I am together with friends" (Partly agree or Completely agree)*
Experiences depression	*"In the last month, how often did you experience depression?" (Sometimes or Often)*

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