

# Spousal Disagreement in Reporting of Intimate Partner Violence in Kenya<sup>†</sup>

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Intimate partner violence (IPV) is both a global health and a human rights problem. The detrimental impacts of IPV on physical, mental, and sexual and reproductive health are well documented (World Health Organization 2017). In addition, the yearly costs of IPV are estimated to be 1.2–2 percent of GDP (Duvvury et al. 2013).

Globally, it is estimated that one in three women experience IPV at some point in their lifetime (World Health Organization 2017). Data for men are much more scarce. However, recent studies suggest that many men also experience IPV (Paul, Smith, and Long 2006; Hines and Douglas 2009; Straus 2010; McHugh, Rakowski, and Swiderski 2013).

IPV occurrence is usually measured by using self-report questionnaires in which victims or perpetrators are asked a set of questions about different acts of violence. This approach raises concerns about accuracy. Studies from developed countries show that self-reports often lead to underreporting, due to a desire to hide violence, differing interpretations of the questions, and imperfect recall (Follingstad and Rogers 2013).

In addition to potential inaccuracy in self-reports, differences in reporting between spouses are common (Armstrong et al. 2002). The standard is to measure IPV with the woman's report, or the highest report. However, the best way of dealing with discrepancies remains an open question (Follingstad and Rogers 2013).

We know of only two papers studying discrepancies in IPV reports in developing countries. We show in other work that the determinants of IPV in developing countries can be very different from those in developed settings (Haushofer et al. 2019). Yount and Li (2012) uses data from Egypt and finds that more than 25 percent of couples disagreed about the occurrence of physical violence. Halim et al. (2018) studies disagreement on the prevalence of physical, sexual, emotional, and economic violence in Tanzania. The authors find that between 36 percent (physical violence) and 48 percent (emotional violence) of couples disagree. We build on this literature by studying not only the incidence of disagreement but also the extent of it. We explore how these magnitudes vary by type of violence and type of household, including gender attitudes. In addition, we study male as well as female victims. A better understanding of what drives differences in private reports within the household is crucial for more precise research on IPV and effective policymaking.

## I. Data and Measurement

We use the baseline survey data from couples who participated in a randomized controlled trial of an unconditional cash transfer program operated by the nongovernmental organization GiveDirectly in Rarieda District, Kenya. In addition, we use the first survey of additional control households that were collected during the endline. In total, we have data from 800 couples. To target the poor, eligibility to participate in the randomized controlled trial was determined by living in a house with a thatched

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roof. GiveDirectly identified 120 villages within the district that had the highest proportion of thatched roofs, and about 20 percent of all households in each village were surveyed.<sup>1</sup>

In each surveyed household, both the husband and the wife (if double-headed household) responded to an individual survey that included questions about IPV. To ensure privacy, participants were interviewed in private without the interference of other household members. The IPV module was adapted from the Demographic and Health Survey, and both spouses were asked about violence against themselves and violence they had perpetrated against their spouse. We distinguish between physical, sexual, and emotional (or psychological) violence. Each of these categories consists of several questions about specific acts (e.g., beating). In the main analysis, we create an indicator variable for each of the three types of violence, indicating whether the person has been a victim or perpetrator of this type of violence in the past six months. In the online Appendix, we report the results for each type of act. Finally, we elicit gender attitudes (e.g., we ask whether only men should be allowed to vote).

## II. Results

### A. Occurrence of IPV

Table 1 (see Tables A1–A6 in the online Appendix for more details) presents results on the occurrence of violence against women and men, as reported by both women and men. Overall, there is more violence against women than against men for all types of IPV. Panel A shows that women report experiencing more violence than men report perpetrating, for all types of violence (and all acts; see the online Appendix). Panel B shows different patterns for violence against men. First, men are more likely to report being victims of physical and sexual violence than women are to report perpetrating (physical: 4 percent versus 2 percent; sexual: 6 percent versus 1 percent). In contrast, women report perpetrating more emotional violence

TABLE 1—REPORTED IPV

	Husband's report	Wife's report	<i>p</i> -value
<i>Panel A. Violence against women</i>			
Any physical violence	0.18	0.27	0.000
Any sexual violence	0.09	0.13	0.017
Any emotional violence	0.71	0.86	0.000
<i>Panel B. Violence against men</i>			
Any physical violence	0.04	0.02	0.069
Any sexual violence	0.06	0.01	0.000
Any emotional violence	0.65	0.79	0.000

*Notes:* The table displays the reported occurrence of any physical, sexual, and emotional violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against women (panel A) and violence against men (panel B). The reported *p*-value is from a two-sided *t*-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal.

than men report experiencing (79 percent versus 65 percent).

### B. Agreement on IPV Reporting

Next, we create an indicator variable that is 1 when spousal reports of a given type of violence coincide and 0 otherwise. Table 2 displays the frequency of agreement on physical, sexual, and emotional violence against women (column 1, panel A) and men (column 1, panel B).<sup>2</sup> We find that 16 to 32 percent of couples disagree about violence against women, while 6 to 32 percent disagree about violence against men.

Disagreement is more likely to be one spouse experiencing more violence than their partner reports perpetrating. The proportion of couples where the wife reports victimization but the husband does not report perpetration (column 4) ranges from 10 percent (sexual violence) to 23 percent (emotional violence). The proportion where the husband reports perpetration but the wife does not report experiencing it (column 3) ranges from 6 percent (sexual violence) to 9 percent (physical and emotional violence).

We find a similar pattern for physical and sexual violence against men. The proportion of couples where the husband reports victimization but the wife does not report perpetration dwarfs the reverse (physical: 4 percent versus 2 percent;

<sup>1</sup>For more details about the recruitment of households and the randomized controlled trial, see Haushofer and Shapiro (2017).

<sup>2</sup>For breakdown by act, see Tables A7–A12 in the online Appendix.

TABLE 2—AGREEMENT ON IPV REPORTING

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: yes Wife: yes (2)	Husband: yes Wife: no (3)	Husband: no Wife: yes (4)	Husband: no Wife: no (5)
<i>Panel A. Agreement: violence against women</i>					
Physical violence	0.73	0.08	0.09	0.18	0.64
Sexual violence	0.84	0.03	0.06	0.10	0.81
Emotional violence	0.68	0.62	0.09	0.23	0.06
<i>Panel B. Agreement: violence against men</i>					
Physical violence	0.94	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.94
Sexual violence	0.94	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.94
Emotional violence	0.65	0.54	0.11	0.25	0.11

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (column 1), where both spouses report that IPV happened (column 2), where the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (column 3), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen while the wife reports that it did (column 4), and where both spouses report that IPV did not happen (column 5) for physical, sexual, and emotional violence.

sexual: 6 percent versus 0 percent). However, we find the opposite pattern for emotional violence against men: the wife reports more perpetration in more than twice as many couples (25 percent) as the husband reports more victimization (11 percent).

### C. Predictors of Agreement

Given that we find frequent discrepancies, and that the nature of these discrepancies varies by type of violence and gender of the victim, our final step is to shed light on predictors. Previous studies in developing countries have focused on age, education, duration of marriage, and degree of urbanicity (Yount and Li 2012). We do not find any correlation with age, education, or duration of marriage (see Table A13 in the online Appendix), with the exception of husband's age and wife's education and agreement on reporting of emotional violence against women. Thus, in Table 3, we investigate the association between intrahousehold differences in gender attitudes and the likelihood that a couple agrees on IPV reporting (for the extended table, see Table A13 in the online Appendix). We divide the intrahousehold differences into variables where the husband (wife) has more gender-unequal attitudes than the wife (husband). We then regress whether a couple agrees on the IPV reporting on differences in gender attitudes together with a set of controls including age, education, and years of marriage.

We find that differences in gender attitudes are correlated with the likelihood that a couple agrees on the reporting of violence against women. In particular, if the husband has a more gender-unequal attitude than the wife, the couple is less likely to agree (not significant for physical violence), while if the wife has a more gender-unequal attitude than the husband, the couple is more likely to agree (not significant for sexual violence). This could be because husbands with more gender-unequal attitudes do not view their actions as violence and thus report perpetrating less IPV than their wives report experiencing. Similarly, wives with more gender-unequal attitudes may normalize IPV, and thus their reports may coincide with their husbands' similarly low reports of violence.

Recall that for men, the primary discrepancy is that women report perpetrating more emotional violence than men report experiencing. Table 3 shows that if the husband has a more gender-unequal attitude than the wife, agreement is less likely, while if the wife is the one with the more gender-unequal attitude, agreement is more likely. This could be because extremely patriarchal husbands do not think they can be victims of their wives or are ashamed to admit it, and hence they report experiencing less violence than their wives report perpetrating. This is supported by the fact that we find these effects only for emotional violence, a type of violence that may be unacknowledged by a patriarchal mindset. Additionally, women with

TABLE 3—PREDICTORS OF AGREEMENT ON IPV REPORTING

	Agreement: violence against women			Agreement: violence against men		
	Physical	Sexual	Emotional	Physical	Sexual	Emotional
H more gender-unequal attitude	-0.007 (0.025)	-0.044 (0.022)	-0.052 (0.027)	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.025)
W more gender-unequal attitude	0.049 (0.027)	0.005 (0.020)	0.071 (0.030)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.076 (0.022)
Victim reports IPV	-0.565 (0.038)	-0.735 (0.043)	0.314 (0.053)	-0.974 (0.008)	-0.930 (0.037)	0.541 (0.034)
Observations	744	743	744	745	745	745
R <sup>2</sup>	0.338	0.456	0.102	0.576	0.887	0.311

*Notes:* The table reports ordinary least squares regressions of agreement levels (indicator variable taking the value 1 if the couple agrees on IPV reporting) on within-household differences in gender attitudes. “H (W) more gender-unequal attitude” is the difference in gender attitudes when the husband (wife) has a more gender-unequal attitude than the wife (husband), and 0 otherwise. Controls are age and education of the husband and the wife, years of marriage, within-household differences in acceptance of IPV, wife’s gender attitudes and acceptance of IPV, and IPV levels as reported by the victim. Robust standard errors are in parenthesis.

more gender-unequal attitudes are probably unlikely to perpetrate violence against their husbands, leading both spouses to accurately report the same low levels of violence against men.

### III. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we investigate whether men and women disagree in their reporting of intimate partner violence against both men and women in Kenya. We find higher levels of violence against women than men, regardless of who reports. In addition, we find significant disagreement in reports between spouses, mostly with the victim reporting higher levels than the perpetrator (except for emotional violence against men). Finally, we show that within-household differences in gender attitudes might be an important predictor of disagreement levels.

Previous studies find that victims (both men and women) report more violence than the perpetrators (Marshall et al. 2011, Yount and Li 2012, Halim et al. 2018). While our results for violence against women are consistent with this finding, our results for emotional violence against men are not: women report perpetrating more violence than their husbands report experiencing. This disagreement is more likely when men have more gender-unequal attitudes and women have less gender-unequal attitudes. Thus, discrepancies are not solely the result of underreporting by the perpetrator.

Future research should account for the effect of norms surrounding violence and gender roles on the measurement of IPV against both women and men, even when privacy of the report is perfectly guaranteed, as people’s perception of their own experience of IPV may differ from the perception of others. Eliciting relative gender attitudes and other such characteristics of the husband and wife, and using them to estimate the direction and magnitude of reporting discrepancies for different types of violence, is an approach that may have potential. We hope our insights inspire further work on these reporting discrepancies for both women and men in developing countries, in order to improve our understanding of how to effectively reduce the incidence of IPV.

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**Online Appendix for “Spousal (dis)agreement in reporting of intimate partner violence in Kenya” by J. Haushofer, C. Ringdal, J. Shapiro and X. Y. Wang**

Table A1: Physical violence against women

	Husband's report	Wife's report	p-value
Any physical violence	0.18	0.27	0.000
Pushed or shook you	0.11	0.16	0.001
Slapped you	0.14	0.22	0.000
Twisted your arm or pulled your hair	0.04	0.08	0.002
Punched you	0.04	0.11	0.000
Kicked, dragged or beat you	0.04	0.13	0.000
Tried to choke or burn you	0.01	0.03	0.001
Threatened to attack you	0.03	0.07	0.000

*Note:* The table displays the reported occurrence of all acts of physical violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against women. The reported p-value is from a two-sided t-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal.

Table A2: Sexual violence against women

	Husband's report	Wife's report	p-value
Any sexual violence	0.09	0.13	0.029
Forced sexual intercourse	0.08	0.12	0.004
Forced sexual acts	0.04	0.11	0.000

*Note:* The table displays the reported occurrence of all acts of sexual violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against women. The reported p-value is from a two-sided t-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal.

Table A3: Emotional violence against women

	Husband's report	Wife's report	p-value
Any emotional violence	0.71	0.86	0.000
Jealous if you talked to other men	0.13	0.26	0.000
Accused you of being unfaithful	0.10	0.23	0.000
Forbade meeting friends	0.19	0.17	0.401
Limited contact with your family	0.06	0.12	0.000
Didn't trust you with money	0.22	0.36	0.000
Humiliated you	0.16	0.30	0.000
Threatened to hurt you	0.42	0.54	0.000
Insulted you	0.28	0.65	0.000

*Note:* The table displays the reported occurrence of all acts of emotional violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against women. The reported p-value is from a two-sided t-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal. Note that the number of observations for "Humiliated you" an "Insulted you" are 558 as this data was only collected at baseline.

Table A4: Physical violence against men

	Husband's report	Wife's report	p-value
Any physical violence	0.04	0.02	0.064
Pushed or shook you	0.02	0.02	1.000
Slapped you	0.02	0.01	0.272
Twisted your arm or pulled your hair	0.01	0.00	0.102
Punched you	0.01	0.00	0.256
Kicked, dragged or beat you	0.00	0.00	0.317
Tried to choke or burn you	0.01	0.00	0.045
Threatened to attack you	0.01	0.00	0.012

*Note:* The table displays the reported occurrence of all acts of physical violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against men. The reported p-value is from a two-sided t-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal.

Table A5: Sexual violence against men

	Husband's report	Wife's report	p-value
Any sexual violence	0.06	0.01	0.000
Forced sexual intercourse	0.06	0.01	0.000
Forced sexual acts	0.02	0.01	0.011

*Note:* The table displays the reported occurrence of all acts of sexual violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against men. The reported p-value is from a two-sided t-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal.

Table A6: Emotional violence against men

	Husband's report	Wife's report	p-value
Any emotional violence	0.65	0.79	0.000
Jealous if you talked to other women	0.22	0.22	0.733
Accused you of being unfaithful	0.20	0.26	0.005
Forbade meeting friends	0.11	0.04	0.000
Limited contact with your family	0.04	0.01	0.003
Didn't trust you with money	0.19	0.35	0.000
Humiliated you	0.16	0.13	0.237
Threatened to hurt you	0.33	0.31	0.392
Insulted you	0.15	0.42	0.000

*Note:* The table displays the reported occurrence of all acts of emotional violence as reported by the husband and the wife, respectively, for violence against men. The reported p-value is from a two-sided t-test testing the hypothesis that the husband's and wife's reports are equal. Note that the number of observations for "Humiliated you" an "Insulted you" are 558 as this data was only collected at baseline.



Table A7: Agreement on physical violence against women

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: Yes Wife: Yes (2)	Husband: Yes Wife: No (3)	Husband: No Wife: Yes (4)	Husband: No Wife: no (5)
Any physical violence	0.74	0.08	0.09	0.18	0.64
Pushed or shook you	0.81	0.04	0.07	0.12	0.78
Slapped you	0.76	0.06	0.08	0.16	0.70
Twisted your arm or pulled your hair	0.90	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.89
Punched you	0.86	0.01	0.03	0.11	0.86
Kicked, dragged or beat you	0.86	0.01	0.03	0.12	0.85
Tried to choke or burn you	0.96	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.96
Threatened to attack you	0.90	0.00	0.03	0.07	0.90

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (Column (1)), both spouses report that IPV happened (Column (2)), the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (Column (3)), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen, while the wife does (Column (4)) and both spouses report that IPV did not happen (Column (5)).

Table A8: Agreement on sexual violence against women

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: Yes Wife: Yes (2)	Husband: Yes Wife: No (3)	Husband: No Wife: Yes (4)	Husband: No Wife: no (5)
Any sexual violence	0.84	0.03	0.06	0.10	0.81
Forced sexual intercourse	0.84	0.02	0.06	0.10	0.82
Forced sexual acts	0.88	0.01	0.03	0.10	0.86

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (Column (1)), both spouses report that IPV happened (Column (2)), the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (Column (3)), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen, while the wife does (Column (4)) and both spouses report that IPV did not happen (Column (5)).

Table A9: Agreement on emotional violence against women

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: Yes Wife: Yes (2)	Husband: Yes Wife: No (3)	Husband: No Wife: Yes (4)	Husband: No Wife: no (5)
Any emotional violence	0.68	0.62	0.09	0.23	0.06
Jealous if you talked to other men	0.71	0.05	0.07	0.21	0.66
Accused you of being unfaithful	0.76	0.04	0.06	0.19	0.72
Forbade meeting friends	0.72	0.04	0.15	0.13	0.68
Limited contact with your family	0.85	0.01	0.05	0.10	0.83
Didn't trust you with money	0.60	0.09	0.13	0.27	0.51
Humiliated you	0.68	0.07	0.09	0.23	0.61
Threatened to hurt you	0.63	0.29	0.13	0.24	0.33
Insulted you	0.47	0.20	0.08	0.45	0.27

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (Column (1)), both spouses report that IPV happened (Column (2)), the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (Column (3)), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen, while the wife does (Column (4)) and both spouses report that IPV did not happen (Column (5)). Note that the number of observations for “Humiliated you” an “Insulted you” are 558 as this data was only collected at baseline.

Table A10: Agreement on physical violence against men

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: Yes Wife: Yes (2)	Husband: Yes Wife: No (3)	Husband: No Wife: Yes (4)	Husband: No Wife: no (5)
Any physical violence	0.94	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.94
Pushed or shook you	0.96	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.96
Slapped you	0.97	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.97
Twisted your arm or pulled your hair	0.99	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.99
Punched you	0.99	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.99
Kicked, dragged or beat you	0.99	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
Tried to choke or burn you	0.99	0.00	0.01	0.00	1.00
Threatened to attack you	0.98	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.98

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (Column (1)), both spouses report that IPV happened (Column (2)), the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (Column (3)), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen, while the wife does (Column (4)) and both spouses report that IPV did not happen (Column (5)).

Table A11: Agreement on sexual violence against men

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: Yes Wife: Yes (2)	Husband: Yes Wife: No (3)	Husband: No Wife: Yes (4)	Husband: No Wife: no (5)
Any sexual violence	0.94	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.94
Forced sexual intercourse	0.94	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.94
Forced sexual acts	0.98	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.98

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (Column (1)), both spouses report that IPV happened (Column (2)), the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (Column (3)), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen, while the wife does (Column (4)) and both spouses report that IPV did not happen (Column (5)).

Table A12: Agreement on emotional violence against men

	Overall agreement (1)	Husband: Yes Wife: Yes (2)	Husband: Yes Wife: No (3)	Husband: No Wife: Yes (4)	Husband: No Wife: no (5)
Any emotional violence	0.65	0.54	0.11	0.25	0.11
Jealous if you talked to other women	0.68	0.06	0.16	0.16	0.62
Accused you of being unfaithful	0.69	0.07	0.13	0.18	0.62
Forbade meeting friends	0.86	0.01	0.10	0.04	0.85
Limited contact with your family	0.95	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.95
Didn't trust you with money	0.61	0.07	0.11	0.28	0.54
Humiliated you	0.75	0.02	0.14	0.11	0.73
Threatened to hurt you	0.89	0.27	0.07	0.04	0.62
Insulted you	0.58	0.08	0.07	0.35	0.51

*Note:* The table displays the proportion of couples where husband and wife agree on the reporting of IPV (Column (1)), both spouses report that IPV happened (Column (2)), the husband reports that IPV happened while the wife does not (Column (3)), where the husband reports that IPV did not happen, while the wife does (Column (4)) and both spouses report that IPV did not happen (Column (5)). Note that the number of observations for “Humiliated you” an “Insulted you” are 558 as this data was only collected at baseline.

Table A13: Determinants of agreement on IPV reporting, extended

	Violence against women			Violence against men		
	Physical	Sexual	Emotional	Physical	Sexual	Emotional
H more gender-unequal att.	-0.007 (0.025)	-0.044 (0.022)	-0.052 (0.027)	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.025)
W more gender-unequal att.	0.049 (0.027)	0.005 (0.020)	0.071 (0.030)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.076 (0.022)
H higher acceptance of IPV against W	0.006 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.012)	0.031 (0.016)			
W higher acceptance of IPV against W	0.004 (0.014)	0.007 (0.010)	-0.030 (0.016)			
H higher acceptance of IPV against M				-0.006 (0.019)	0.014 (0.017)	0.013 (0.036)
W higher acceptance of IPV against M				-0.019 (0.018)	0.017 (0.018)	0.097 (0.183)
Gender attitudes, W	-0.062 (0.026)	-0.015 (0.019)	-0.135 (0.030)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.067 (0.021)
Acceptance of IPV against M, W	-0.003 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.010)	0.034 (0.015)			
Acceptance of IPV against M, W				0.022 (0.017)	-0.016 (0.018)	-0.088 (0.179)
Victim reports IPV	-0.565 (0.038)	-0.735 (0.043)	0.314 (0.053)	-0.974 (0.008)	-0.930 (0.037)	0.541 (0.034)
Age, W	0.004 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.003)
Age, H	-0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.005 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001 (0.002)
Education, H	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.003)	0.006 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.005 (0.006)
Education, W	-0.003 (0.005)	0.005 (0.004)	-0.016 (0.008)	0.004 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.008 (0.007)
Years married	-0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.004 (0.003)
Observations	744	743	744	745	745	745
$R^2$	0.338	0.456	0.102	0.576	0.887	0.311

*Note:* The table reports OLS regressions of agreement levels (indicator variable taking the value 1 if the couple agrees on IPV reporting) on within-household differences in gender attitudes and acceptance of IPV. “H more gender-unequal att.” is the difference in gender attitudes when the husband has a more gender-unequal attitude than the wife, and 0 otherwise. “H higher acceptance of IPV against W” is the difference in acceptance of IPV against women when the husband has a higher degree of acceptance than the wife, and 0 otherwise. “H higher acceptance of IPV against M” is the difference in acceptance of IPV against men when the husband has a higher degree of acceptance than the wife, and 0 otherwise. The remaining variables are defined correspondingly for the wife. Controls: Age and education of the husband and the wife, years of marriage, wife’s gender attitudes and acceptance of IPV and IPV levels as reported by the victim. Robust standard errors in parenthesis.