Primary education and adult women's experience of intimate partner violence: Quasi-experimental evidence from sub-Saharan Africa

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Sexual Violence Research Initiative Form

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Motivation (1)

- Global evidence shows intimate partner violence (IPV) is pervasive and costly to individuals and society
- Research agenda has turned to "what works," for prevention—with particular attention to:
  - Primary prevention
  - Scalable interventions
  - Cost-effective interventions
- Education and empowerment interventions have been cited as "promising" (Ellsberg et al. 2014; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2014)

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What about basic education? (2)

- Generally education found to be protective against IPV (Abramsky et al. 2011; Kishor & Johnson 2006)
- However, not universal
  - sometimes education is a risk factor
  - "Inverted U" relationship

Caveats:

- Few studies can identify a causal relationship
- Virtually no longitudinal studies/program evaluations
- Systematic reviews focus on education as "behavior change and community interventions"-- Leaving out standard government schooling

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Objectives (3)

1. Use quasi-experimental methods to explore relationship between primary education and later experience of IPV in Malawi and Uganda among young adult women aged 22 – 29.

2. Explore pathways through which impacts may (or may not) be realized

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Pathways: Education → IPV (4)

1. Increase bargaining power inside partnership → Ambiguous effects on IPV (depending if IPV is extractive, instrumental or expressive)
2. Delay age at marriage → Decrease in IPV (younger age is a risk factor for IPV)
3. Increase quality of marriage match → Decrease in IPV as partnership is more likely to be equitable

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Data and key variables (5)

Women aged 22 - 29 from Demographic and Health Surveys:

- Malawi (2004/2010), Uganda (2006/2011)

Indicators:

- **IPV**: Any emotional, physical or sexual IPV
- **Schooling**: Self-reported grade attained

Identification:

- Implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) policies in the mid-1990s **as natural experiments** to identify casual impacts of education on IPV using an instrumental variable (IV) approach.
- UPE highly successful in improving enrollment in both countries – particularly of girls

IV Estimation Model (6)

$$(1)\ \boldsymbol{Education}_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \boldsymbol{UPE}_i + \ldots \alpha_k \boldsymbol{X}_k + v_i$$

$$(2)\ IPV_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \widehat{\boldsymbol{Education}}_i + \cdots \beta_k \boldsymbol{X}_k + \varepsilon_i$$

UPE = Partial or full exposure to UPE at during primary years (13/12 or younger). "Randomly" assigned by birth cohort if girl is on track for age in public education system.

$\boldsymbol{X}_k$ = Controls for ethnic group and religion

Linear Probability Models. Standard errors clustered at the primary sampling unit level.

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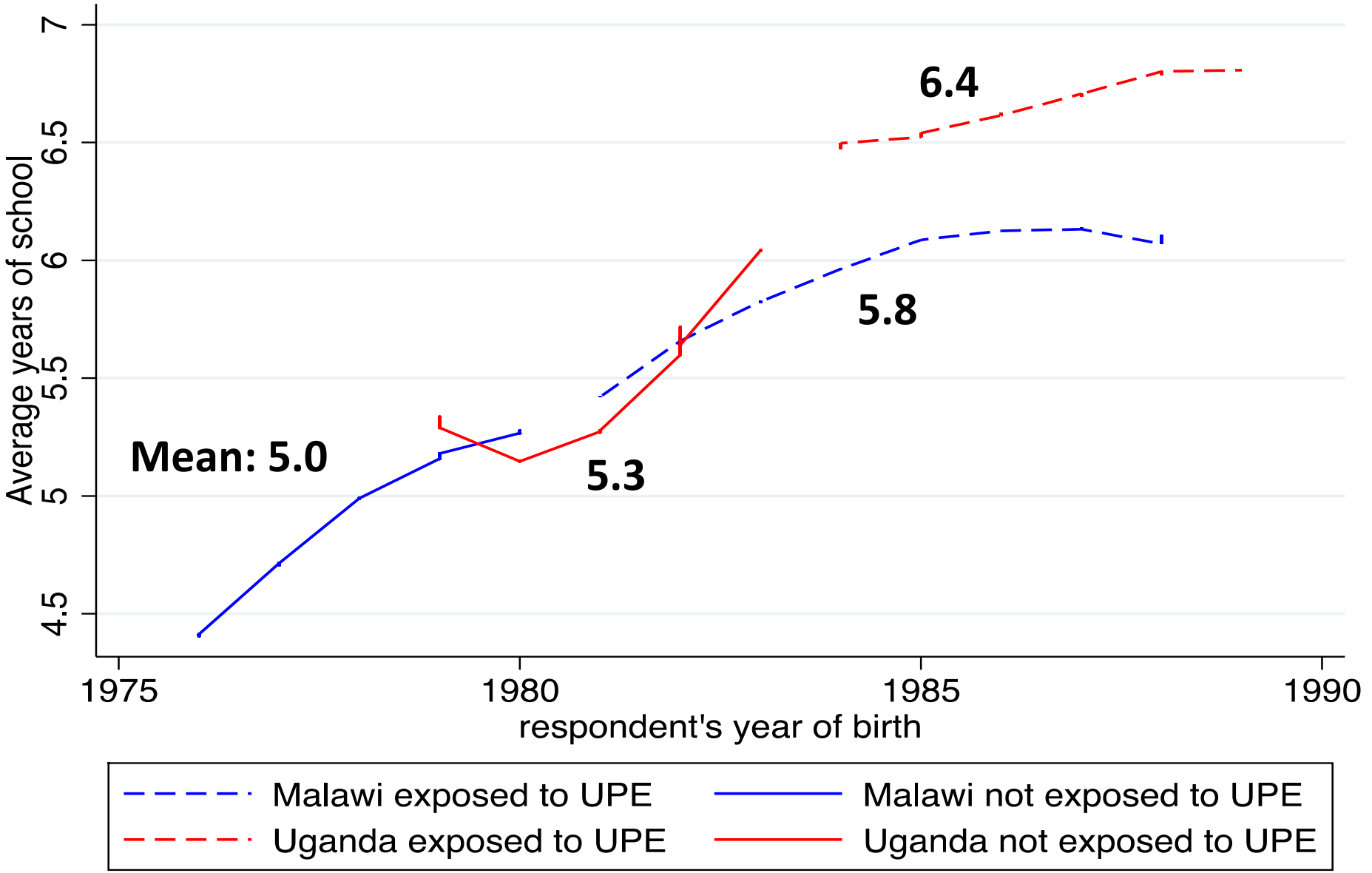
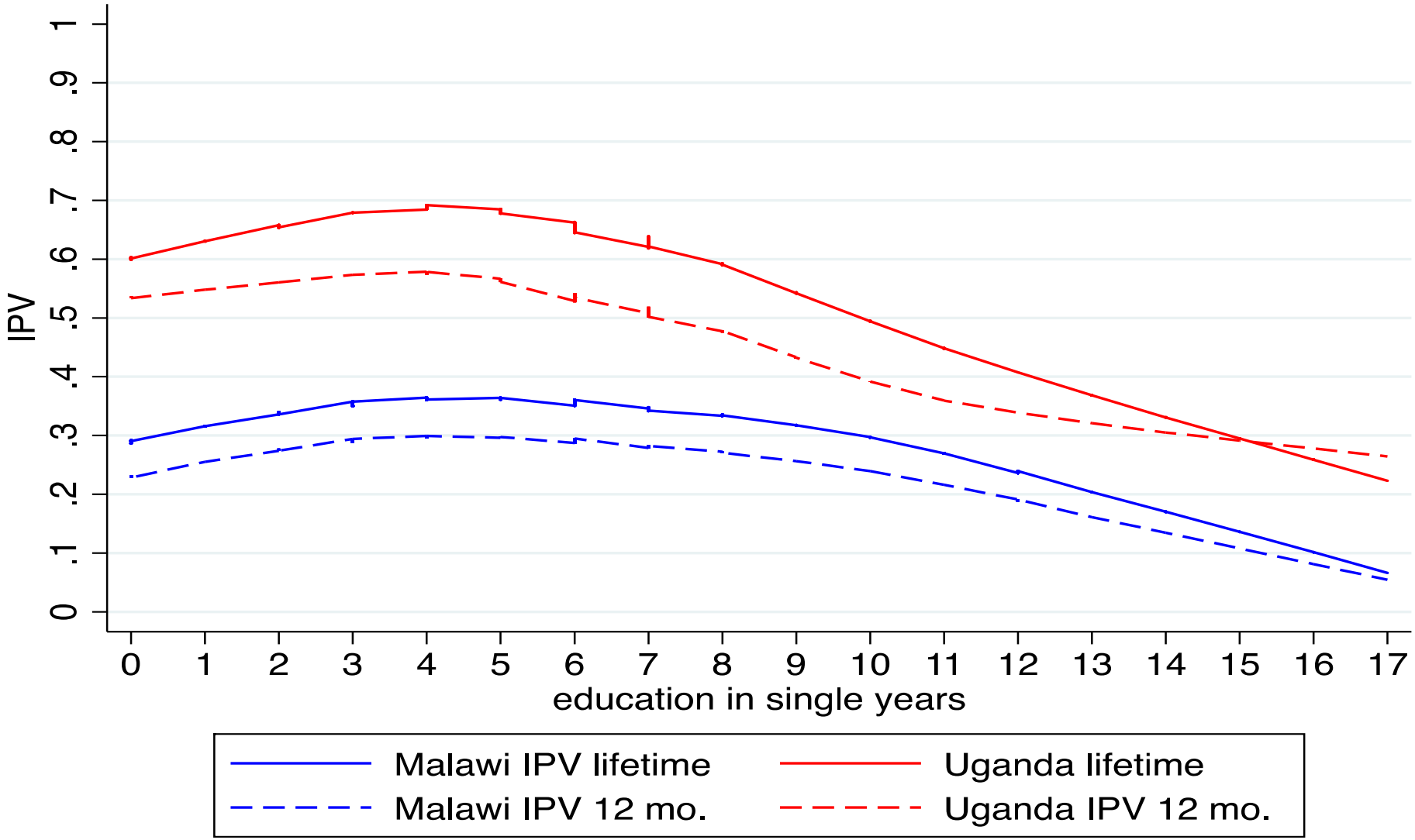
Trends: UPE and grade attainment (7)



Lowess plots of IPV and educational attainment (8)



Uninstrumented (naïve) probit results (9)

VARIABLES	(1) Malawi IPV lifetime	(2) Uganda IPV lifetime	(3) Malawi IPV last 12 mo.	(4) Uganda IPV last 12 mo.
Grades attained	-0.00*	-0.02***	-0.00*	-0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Observations	5,159	1,025	5,159	1,025

Sample is among females aged 22 to 29 in DHS (Malawi 2004 and 2010; Uganda 2006 and 2011). All models include controls for religion and ethno-linguistic background. Robust standard errors are clustered at the cluster level.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

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Main Instrumental Variables (IV) results (10)

Panel A	(1) Malawi Grade attained	(2) Uganda Grade attained
VARIABLES		
Exposure to UPE at age 12/13	0.68***	1.15***
	(0.10)	(0.25)
Observations	5,159	1,025
R-squared	0.08	0.19

Panel B.	(1) Malawi Lifetime IPV	(2) Uganda Lifetime IPV	(3) Malawi IPV 12 mo.	(4) Uganda IPV 12 mo.
VARIABLES				
Grades attained	0.09***	-0.10**	0.10***	-0.07*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Observations	5,159	1,025	5,159	1,025

Sample is among females aged 22 to 29 in DHS (Malawi 2004 and 2010; Uganda 2006 and 2011). All models include controls for religion and ethno-linguistic background. Robust standard errors are clustered at the cluster level.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Heterogeneous impacts and pathways (11)

- Malawi: Stratify on education
  1) no education or less than primary,
  2) completed primary and above.
- Results:
  - Sample (1) schooling => increases in IPV
  - Sample (2) schooling => decreases in IPV
- Malawi and Uganda: Pathways
  1) Work for cash, decision-making
  2) Age first sex, age at marriage
  3) Partners grade attainment, partners education

Preliminary Conclusions (12)

- Education and IPV relationship complex and non-monotonic
- Evidence of ‘backlash’ among low levels of education in Malawi
  - Consistent with findings from other economic empowering interventions—however not universal
- Need impact evaluations and longitudinal evidence to better understand how to overcome initial power dynamics when women are disempowered in different intervention typologies

Thank you!

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