



Hidden casualties

The links between armed conflict and intimate partner violence in Colombia

Signe Svallfors

Hidden casualties

The links between armed conflict and intimate partner violence in Colombia

Signe Svallfors

The Department of Sociology, Stockholm University

Abstract

The Colombian peace process was internationally celebrated for its unprecedented focus on women's experiences of war, but the everyday violence women may face in their homes was not acknowledged. This article explores the links between local armed conflict violence and individual women's experiences of intimate partner violence, contributing a systematic framework of multiple micro- and macro-level mechanisms that could generate a positive relationship between the two. The study combines pooled nationally representative data on individual women's experiences from intimate partner violence with information about the intensity of local conflict violence during the period 2004–2016. Results from fixed effects linear probability models show that conflict generally linked to a slightly elevated risk of women experiencing physical and sexual violence perpetrated by their partner. The association to emotional violence was, however, negligible. Among women who had experienced IPV, conflict related to an increased probability of being partnered at interview, which could potentially reflect women staying in abusive relationships because conflict normalizes violence or increases women's reluctance to leave those relationships. If so, conflict not only puts women at more risk of violence in their relationships, but also exacerbates the vulnerability of women who are already victimized.

Keywords: Intimate partner violence; armed conflict; gender; women's health; Colombia

Stockholm Research Reports in Demography 2020:43

ISSN 2002-617X

© Signe Svallfors



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

Introduction

The Colombian peace process between the government and the left-wing guerrilla FARC has been internationally celebrated for its unprecedented focus on women's experiences of armed conflict. After substantial efforts by the Colombian civil society led to an exceptional inclusion of women at all sides of the negotiations, the Havana Peace Accords adopted in 2017 recognized the particular effects of war on women, above all in terms of sexual violence (Gindele et al. 2018; Salvesen and Nylander 2017). But the everyday violence women may face in their homes was not acknowledged in the otherwise gender-comprehensive accords.

Conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) is a known feature of many conflicts worldwide. It does not occur in a vacuum, but may reflect the overall status of women in a society and a larger culture of gender-based violence (GBV) in both peace and war. An exclusive focus on CRSV overlooks violence against women in the private sphere (Gray 2019; Kirby 2015). This article explores the link between local conflict violence and individual women's experiences of intimate partner violence. Building on the feminist notion 'the personal is political', I will problematize how violence committed in the 'public sphere' is more readily acknowledged, while the connections between women's experiences of violence in 'private' and larger socio-political structures are made invisible.

GBV is a global problem of pandemic proportions (K. M. Devries et al. 2013). It is a severe violation of women's integrity and rights, with great population health costs (Heise 1994). GBV is associated with unintended pregnancy and abortion (Gomez 2011; Pallitto et al. 2013), contraceptive non-use (Svallfors and Billingsley 2019), self-reported ill health (Ellsberg et al. 2008), suicidal thoughts and attempts (K. Devries et al. 2011; Ellsberg et al. 2008), and society-level gender equality (Heise and Kotsadam 2015; Yodanis 2004). Hence, understanding GBV during war is a matter of recognizing human security beyond armed groups and how different forms of violence are interlinked. It also adds to our comprehension of how contextual factors such as exposure to violent conflict shapes lives, social relations and the risk of gendered violence at the micro level.

The term GBV illustrates violence related to hierarchies between sociobiologically ascribed categories such as gender. It is manifested in many forms, such as rape, sexual assault and exploitation, child and forced marriage, and forced contraception, abortion and adoption. I use the term intimate partner violence and its abbreviation IPV here since analyses are restricted to this form due to the lack of information on men's victimization and violence against women by other perpetrators.

This study builds on a small body of quantitative research in which women's exposure to local conflict has been linked to a higher risk of experiencing IPV at the population level¹ (La Mattina 2017; Østby 2016; Østby, Leiby, and Nordås 2019; Rieckmann 2014). Compared to previous studies on Colombia (Rieckmann 2014), I use monthly instead of yearly conflict data and disentangle different forms of IPV. This enables more precision in the analysis of timing of violence and facilitates a better understanding of the complexities of violence that women may face. While previous literature has tended to focus on one or two potential theoretical pathways, I propose a systematic framework of multiple micro- and macro-level mechanisms that could generate a positive relationship between the two. The article also contributes with novel analyses of how conflict exacerbates women's victimization by reducing their likelihood of leaving violent relationships.

Colombia is a particularly interesting case for studying the relationship between conflict and IPV. First, the undergoing peace process with its unique gender focus provides a moment of opportunity for research and policy efforts targeting GBV in all its diversities. Insights from

this study can inform prevention programs and transitional justice interventions in Colombia and beyond. Second, Colombia has had a uniquely long-term conflict with large variation across space and time in violence intensity. Third, unlike most humanitarian settings, long-term, high-quality, nationally representative data are available on the prevalence of IPV.

Perspectives on intimate partner violence in armed conflict

I propose a systematic framework that operates on the macro and micro levels to explain how conflict may spill over into relationships in a way that could affect women’s risk of experiencing violence, as illustrated in Figure 1. On the macro level, conflict may shape the dynamics of a society or a community in a way that undermines women’s safety. On the micro level, conflict may have effects on relationships and individuals that enable violence against women. These mechanisms are not mutually exclusive and are perhaps mutually enforcing (Müller and Tranchant 2019). The hypothesis is that exposure to conflict is associated with a higher probability of being exposed to IPV.

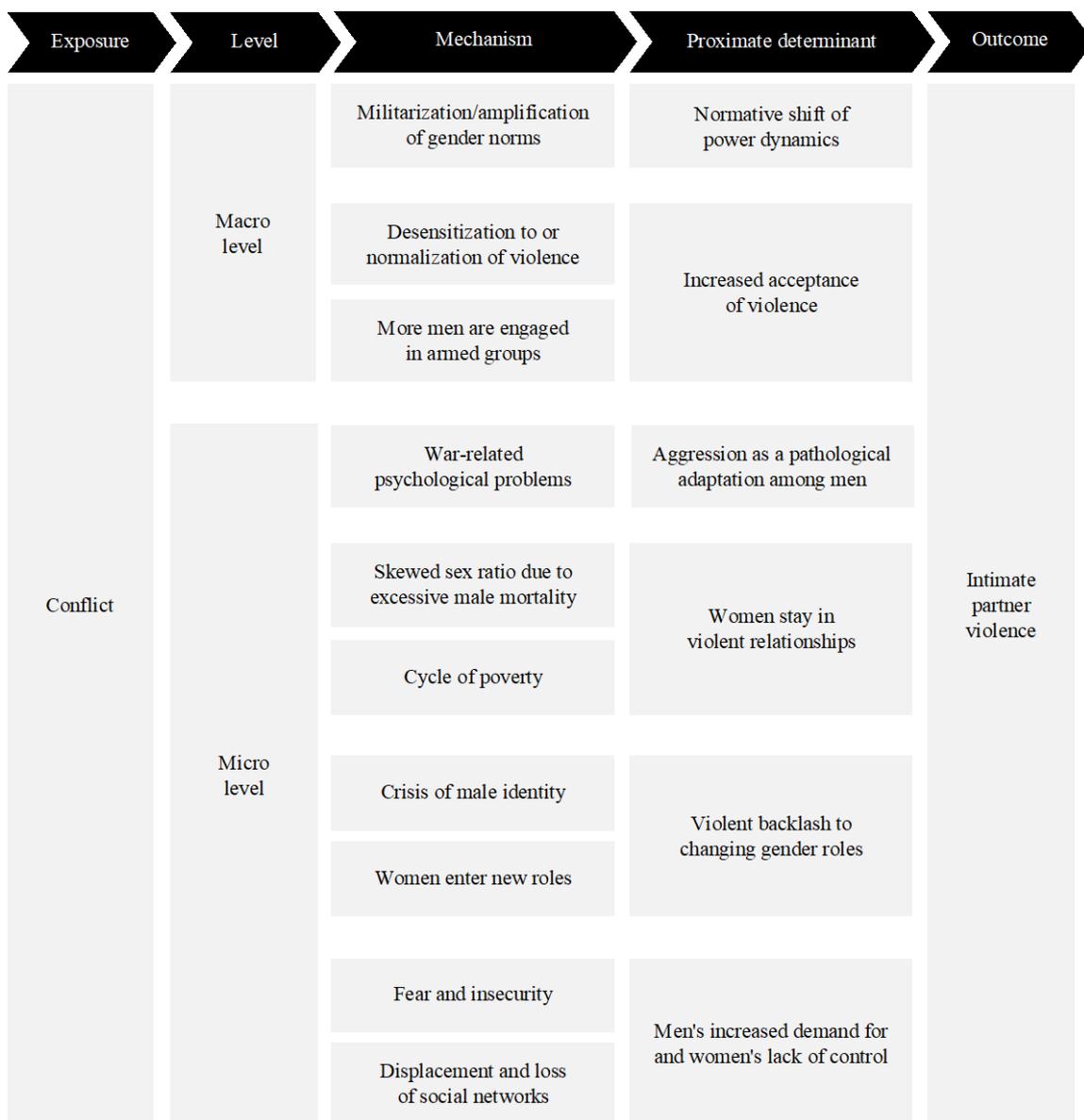


Figure 1. Mechanisms between armed conflict and intimate partner violence

Normative shift of power dynamics

In societies and communities plagued by violent conflict, a normative shift of power dynamics that condones IPV in general may occur if gender norms are militarized or patriarchal attitudes are amplified.

Community-level gender unequal attitudes are known to drive risk of IPV for individual women (Ackerson and Subramanian 2008; Cools and Kotsadam 2017; Koenig, Ahmed, et al. 2003; Koenig et al. 2006; Vyas and Heise 2016). Scholars have argued that gender relations in war are based on pre-existing gender norms, calling to attention how IPV may occur as an amplification of patriarchal attitudes and practices (Brownmiller 1976; Milillo 2006; Alsaba and Kapilashrami 2016; Henry 2016; Sengupta and Calo 2016).

Building on Connell's (2002a; 2002b; R. W. Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) concept of hegemonic masculinity, militarized masculinity is a useful term to explain changes in gender norms during conflict. It identifies the soldier as hegemonic within armed groups, where militarized masculinity is socialized in profoundly male dominated organizations. It is not a cultural constant but pervades societies and time with few exceptions because even though most men are not soldiers, most soldiers are men (Robert W. Connell 2000; Goldstein 2001; Parpart and Partridge 2014; Roness and Fasting 2017; Wadham 2017).

Conflict may amplify patriarchal gender norms in the process of militarization, which has the capability of transforming meanings of people, things and ideas far beyond the battlefield. The basic assumptions in militarism are that armed struggle is the best solution to conflict, human nature is prone to conflict, and men who do not participate in fighting (such as conscientious objectors) are unpatriotic and feminized (Bibbings 2012; Clark 1946; Enloe 2002; A. Jones 2006). Militarism and patriarchy aren't inseparable, but the first tends to privilege the other by constructing both masculinity and femininity in parallel (Enloe 2000, 288–300) through designating the role of arms and politics to men and the role of care-giving to women (Cockburn and Zarkov 2002). Sexual violence can be a strategy for armed groups to create social ties and socialize norms about masculinity (Cohen 2017). Large-scale, masculinity-affirming CRSV could spill over into other forms of GBV, including IPV.

Increased acceptance of violence

Also at the macro level, acceptance of IPV may increase within a society or community if violence overall becomes normalized in the context of conflict and if more men engaging in armed activities creates a compositional change.

War tends to have a desensitizing effect on the perception of violence and create a dehumanized view on victims (Annan and Brier 2010; Wood 2014). Increased acceptance of violence can also occur in tandem with an amplification of patriarchal norms. When men are thought of as inclined to force by nature or nurture, men's violence may be normalized and condoned regardless of whether it is committed by soldiers or civilians. Violence against women may then not be considered 'real' crimes, as the behavior is regarded a 'part and parcel of being male' (Bibbings 2012, 51). Community-level IPV and homicide rates have been connected to individual risk of IPV (McQuestion 2003; Pallitto and O'Campo 2005; Koenig et al. 2006), perhaps reflecting a macro-level normalization.

Aggression as a pathological adaptation among men

At the individual level, war trauma may cause psychosocial problems that in turn cause more IPV if men develop aggression as a pathological adaptation to a violent environment.

We can expect changes in norms and behavior among witnesses of violence in families (Pollak 2004) and communities. Responses to trauma tend to vary across gender, as men are more prone to develop aggression while women are more likely to show signs of depression (Mead, Beauchaine, and Shannon 2010; Ng-Mak et al. 2004; Schwab-Stone et al. 1995). Young boys and girls express emotions similarly but are typically socialized later to do so differently. Boys and men are often taught to suppress emotion even when faced with war atrocities, or risk shame and death. GBV may be enabled by constructing masculinity through emotional suppression to enhance men's war capabilities (Goldstein 2001; Montes 2013).

IPV is sometimes condoned as an inevitable by-product of conflict through the medicalization of war traumas that naturalize everyday militarized gender roles (Gray 2016a). Mental health disorders have been linked to both conflict (Tamayo-Agudelo and Bell 2019) and IPV perpetration (Yu et al. 2019). Violent behavior may be reinforced if men turn to alcohol and drugs to deal with trauma, poverty and loss of identity, since substance abuse has been consistently linked to violent abuse (Hindin, Kishor, and Ansara 2008; Kishor and Johnson 2004; Koenig, Ahmed, et al. 2003; Koenig, Lutalo, et al. 2003; Mootz et al. 2018; Sengupta and Calo 2016; Yu et al. 2019).

Women stay in violent relationships

At the micro level, women's trauma and changes to relationship dynamics and socio-economic conditions may lead to victims' acceptance of violence and increased propensity of staying in abusive relationships. A higher frequency of IPV related to conflict could result from relationships that would otherwise have dissolved did not, not only from new violence.

IPV is often theorized as a result of power dynamics (Goode 1971; Heise 1998) based on material, economic and social resources in a relationship (Miedema, Shwe, and Kyaw 2016). Relative and absolute socio-economic status of the victim, partner and community is often discussed as central proximate determinants of IPV (Yount 2005; Friedemann-Sanchez and Lovaton 2012; Vyas and Heise 2016; Cools and Kotsadam 2017). Women with better resources may be more able to leave an abusive relationship as well as conflict areas, and conflict-induced poverty could hinder women from staying safe.

In war contexts, being 'a good man' often represents taking up arms to protect the family. Choosing a partner engaged in an armed group can be a protection measure, putting women at risk of a 'domestication' of violence (Theidon 2009). Women may stay in an abusive relationship if excessive male mortality in conflict creates a skewed sex ratio, with fewer prospects of forming a new relationship (J. H. Jones and Ferguson 2006; La Mattina 2017). La Mattina (2017) found that women were no more accepting of IPV to explain their increased victimization, but trauma may lower their self-esteem (Carlton-Ford, Ender, and Tabatabai 2008) and make them less avoidant of harm (Mead, Beauchaine, and Shannon 2010) without changing normative beliefs.

Violent backlash to changing gender roles

Given how conflict disrupts the social fabric and reorganizes resources, gender dynamics are likely to shift at multiple levels. Men may exercise IPV as a control instrument if conflict

changes gender roles within couples, for example if men lose labor market opportunities or if women enter new economic and political roles.

IPV has been discussed as a violent backlash to when women's decision-making or resource attainment challenge hegemonic male breadwinner norms (Burazeri et al. 2005; Cools and Kotsadam 2017; Gupta et al. 2009; Heise and Kotsadam 2015; Hindin and Adair 2002; Tenkorang 2018). This could occur in conflict due to the upheaval of social structures, for example if development programs focus explicitly on women's empowerment (Sengupta and Calo 2016) or if more women become heads of household and main breadwinners where it is culturally uncommon (Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996; Rajasingham-Senanayake 2004). Women who organize in their communities may be especially at risk, by simultaneously challenging the gendered division of labor and norms about female respectability (Enloe 2000, 126–31).

Men's increased demand for and women's lack of control and power

During conflict, gender dynamics within couples may revert back to a traditional division between men as empowered and women as disempowered due to fear, insecurity and displacement. In a context with narrowly defined masculinity, insecurity can lead men to grasp for control in any way they can such as becoming more dominant in a partnership. This operates in the same way as the backlash mechanism presented above (see also Jones and Ferguson (2009)).

Displacement often causes new vulnerabilities for women, among other things because of the disruption of social networks that are sources of social control and checks on behavior that could protect them from harm. Precarity following displacement often forces women into sex work or domestic work under slave-like circumstances as the only available way of make a living (Meertens 2001b; 2001a; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996; Mootz et al. 2019; Osorio Pérez 2008; Wirtz et al. 2014). Hence, displacement may put women at risk of IPV. However, Friedemann-Sánchez and Lovaton (2012) found that conflict-induced migration was associated with reduced risk of physical IPV, perhaps indicating that leaving communities where violence is normalized liberates women from harm.

Gendered complexities of violence in Colombia

The Colombian armed conflict ignited in the mid-1960s with the surge of left-wing guerrillas trying to influence policy with the means of arms. It has its roots in the Colonial heritage, with core issues such as unequal land ownership, labor conditions, state elitism and bipartisanship, and a substantive democratic deficiency. Over the decades, the war has mutated into even more complex logics, linked to the privatization and impunity of violent crimes, tactical assassinations of politicians, journalists and human rights defenders, and the trade of illicit drugs and arms (Bergquist, Peñaranda, and Sánchez G. 2001; Jansson 2008).

The lives of most Colombians have been spent under violence that has had multifaceted and gendered consequences. For young men, homicides have been the principal cause of death, and taking up arms has been a way to escape precariousness in a country with tremendously uneven resource distributions. Women, contrarily, have more often been the primary targets of widespread sexual violence and displacement, not least following the murder of a partner (Franco et al. 2006; Garfield and Llantén Morales 2004; Meertens 2001b; 2001a; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996; Mootz et al. 2019; Osorio Pérez 2008; Wirtz et al. 2014).

Sexual violence against women has been used as a symbolic representation of war in Colombia, perpetrated by all armed groups. It has been used purposefully to exert control over territory and people, intimidate individuals and communities, extract information, humiliate and hurt enemies, enforce strict rules of conduct, and to punish allegiances, transgressions of traditional gender roles, and civil society activism. Sexual violence has been one of the main drivers of women's displacement, which has further exacerbated their vulnerability. Women have often not considered themselves victims and have generally avoided reporting violations in fear of reprisals and stigmatization. The government has allowed a system of impunity surrounding these crimes. It is impossible to say how prevalent this phenomenon has been, but Afro-Colombian and indigenous women in rural areas have been disproportionately affected according to a discriminatory nexus of gender, ethnicity and precarity. Combining these factors, sexual violence has been normalized (Kreft 2019; 2020; Meertens 1995; 2001b; 2001a; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996; Theidon 2009).

Empirical approach

Two sets of data are combined to account for women's experiences of conflict and partner violence. The Colombian Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) offer nationally representative indicators for experiences of and attitudes to IPV from 2005, 2010 and 2015. Data were pooled to increase statistical power. To correctly observe women's exposure to conflict and avoid self-selection out of 'treatment', the sample is restricted to women who did not move from one municipality to another during the time when conflict is observed. Estimates were robust to including women who relocated (available upon request). The sample selection consists of 76,692 or 66,760ⁱⁱ women who did not relocate in the past year or five years respectively, are aged 13–49, and have ever been in a union, as those are the ones asked about experiences of IPVⁱⁱⁱ. Response rates were over 86 percent in all rounds (DHS 2005; 2011; 2017).

The Uppsala Conflict Data Program Georeferenced Event Data (UPCD-GED) measures each event of organized violence in which at least one person was killed, based on global and local media, reports, books, etc. It includes information on when and where the event happened and the number of deaths in each event (Sundberg and Melander 2013; Croicu and Sundberg 2018). The intensity of conflict in Colombia is illustrated in Figure 2, where darker colors indicate later events and bigger size of the bubbles indicate more casualties.

The datasets are combined in multiple ways to enable comparisons of estimates and model fit between different measures of conflict. Events and deaths of violent conflict are merged to observations of individual women according to different time frames (one, three or five years before IPV is observed) and location (departments, i.e., administrative subdivisions^{iv}).

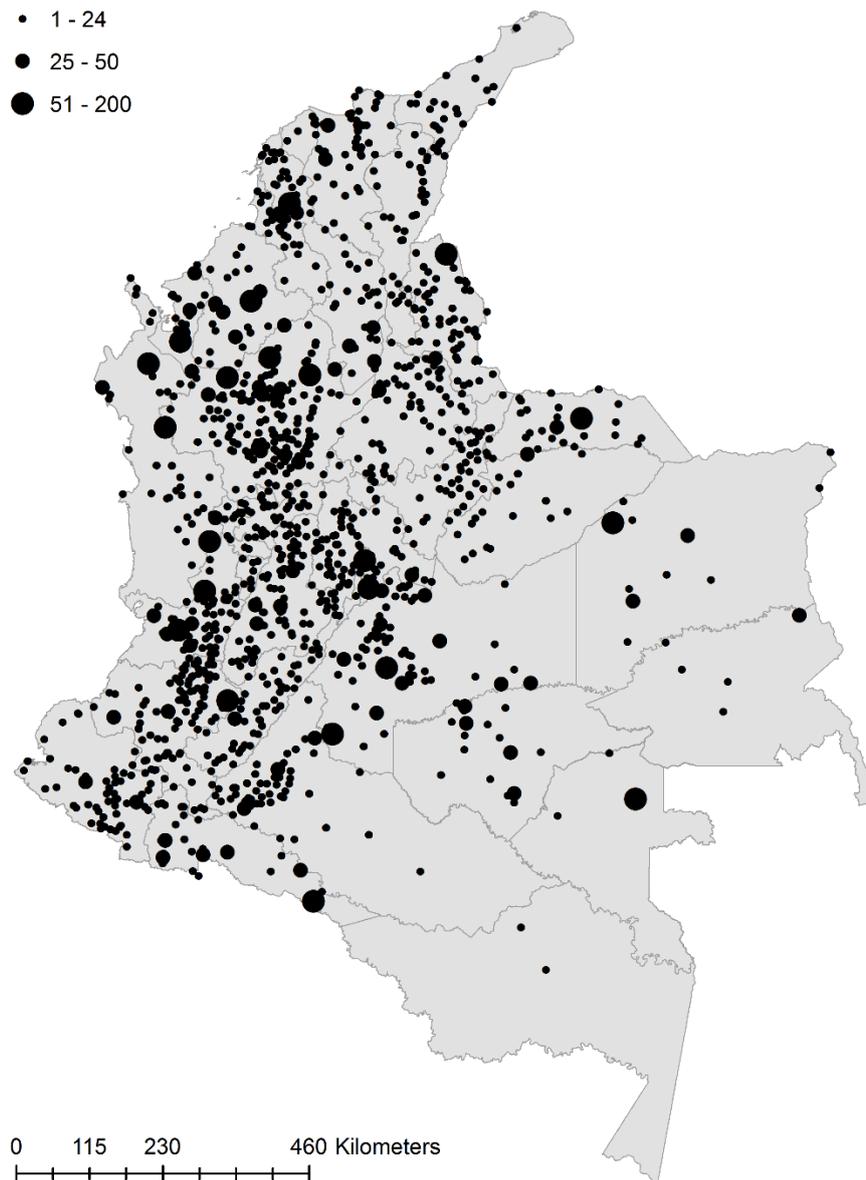


Figure 2. Prevalence of conflict events across Colombia 1989–2016

Method

I use linear probability models (LPMs) to estimate the probability that a certain outcome will occur using a linear combination of effects of independent variables.

Since assignment to ‘treatment’ is not randomized in Colombia, but stratified across sociogeographic factors, the method used must consider variation within country subdivisions. Fixed effects and robust standard errors compensate for local omitted factors that could co-determine IPV and armed conflict. This allows the baseline risk of IPV to vary across clusters and uses variation within clusters to generate estimates in a multilevel structure (Angrist and Pischke 2009; Stock and Watson 2008). The cluster variable *department* indicates in which of Colombia’s 33 departments the respondent lived at the time of interview. The range of sampled respondents in each department varied between 1,542 in Guainía to 5,259 in Antioquia.

Dependent variables

Four items and indices provided in the DHS are included to measure women's experiences of IPV in the past year.

Emotional violence is a composite measure of whether or not the respondent's (ex)partner was jealous if she talked to other men, accused her of unfaithfulness, did not permit her to meet female friends, tried to limit contact with her family, insisted on knowing where she was, didn't trust her with money, ignored or didn't address her, didn't request her opinion for family or social gatherings and on important family matters (Cronbach's α , i.e., the internal consistency of the index = 0.81).

Physical violence indicates whether or not the respondent's (ex)partner had: pushed, shook, thrown something at, slapped, punched, or hit her ($\alpha = 0.75$).

Severe physical violence captures if the respondent's (ex)partner in the last year had: kicked, dragged, strangled or burnt her; or threatened or attacked her with a knife, gun or other weapon ($\alpha = 0.71$).

Sexual violence measures whether the respondent's (ex)partner physically forced her into having unwanted sex.

Acceptance of violence combines five items of whether the respondent answered affirmatively to considering IPV justified in any of the following situations: if a woman goes out without telling husband, neglects the children, argues with husband, refuses to have sex with him, or burns the food ($\alpha = 0.64$). The indicators were only available survey rounds 2010 and 2015. Never-partnered women were excluded for consistency with other dependent variables.

Descriptive statistics of the dependent variables measuring experiences and acceptance of IPV in the sample population is presented in Figure 3. There is a gradient in prevalence as more than half of the population has experienced emotional violence, one fifth physical violence, 8 percent severe physical violence, while 5 percent of women report sexual violence.

To explore whether women who experienced IPV stay in or leave relationships, an additional dependent variable measures whether women are partnered and co-residing at interview. Figure 4 displays distributions of being partnered among those who reported IPV in the past year. A larger proportion were partnered among those who experienced emotional or physical violence, while around half of women who experienced severe physical or sexual violence were partnered at interview. Among those who reported acceptance of IPV, three-quarters were partnered.

Focal independent variables

Numerous specifications of conflict were tested using Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) to assess how and when department-level conflict contributes most to model fit. The functional form of the relationships between conflict and outcomes was explored comparing linear, dummy and categorical measures. The temporality of the relationships was evaluated by comparing exposure to conflict during the past one, three and five years, to see whether

conflict has a more direct or more long-term impact. Finally, I tested whether conflict measured as number of battle deaths or events contributed more to model fit.

Four distinct conflict indicators were chosen based on AIC: linear measures of number of events in the past year or past five years, and categorical measures of whether there was zero, low (<25) or high (≥ 25) conflict deaths in the past year or past five years. Other specifications (binary or three-year indicators, or linear measures of number of deaths) did not contribute as much to model fit. R^2 values did not vary depending on which conflict indicator was used.

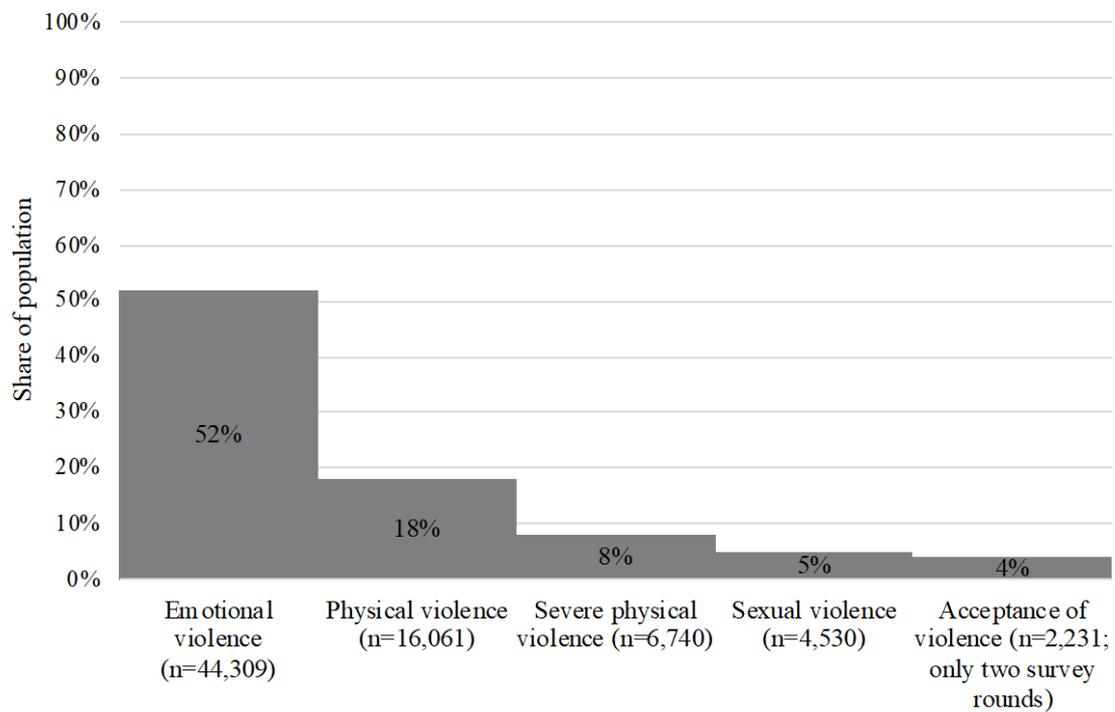


Figure 3. Distribution in sample of women who experienced or accepted IPV

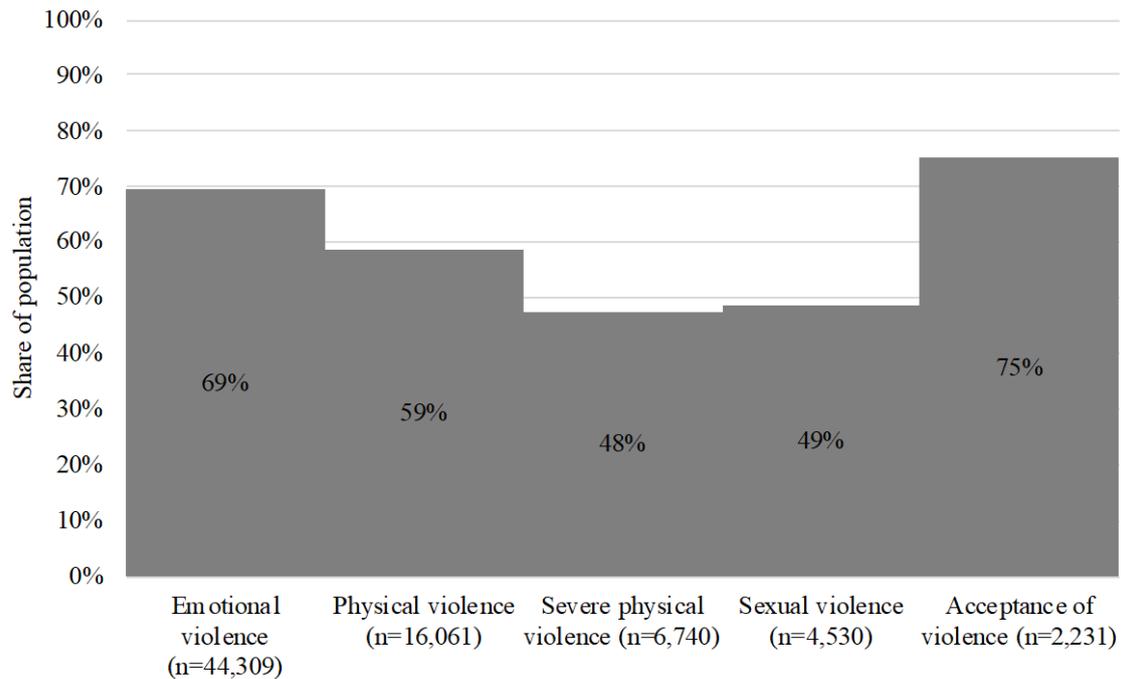


Figure 4. The share of women that were partnered at interview among all women who reported IPV in the past year

Control variables

I control for sociodemographic characteristics that may stratify the risk of conflict and IPV. *Survey round* accounts for period effects. *Age groups* account for life-course differences^v. *Partner status* measures whether respondent is partnered and co-residing, partnered but not co-residing, widowed, divorced/separated at time of interview. Respondent's highest level of *education* is included because women with better educational and economic resources may have better chances of leaving abusive relationships as well as conflict-affected areas^{vi}. *Residence* captures whether respondent lived in a rural or urban area at interview. If respondent's father ever beat her mother is indicated in the variable *family violence*.

Descriptive statistics of the study population are displayed in Table I.

Limitations

Because the available data do not allow for an analysis of the frequency of IPV during the past year, this study treated IPV as a certain characteristic of a relationship. Even though the DHS applies the WHO golden standard of researching IPV, more nuanced measures could improve our understanding of the intensity of partner violence.

Since conflict exposure is measured within a department, the distance to each event for individual women vary. Women who live near unit borders may be equally or more affected by events in neighboring departments than by events further away in the same department.

Even if women's conflict exposure is only observed at their current place of residence, women are probably less likely to disclose shorter moves and returns, conflict-induced or not. The analyses are limited by lack of detailed data on women's migration histories, but the main results are robust to a subset of never-movers (available upon request).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the sample population

	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Conflict events in department during past year, linear measure	76,692	4.38	7.59	0	55
Conflict events in department during past five years, linear measure	66,760	25.67	38.47	0	248
		Frequency	Percent		
Conflict deaths in department during past year, categorical measure	No conflict	28,507	37.27		
	Low conflict	28,784	37.45		
	High conflict	19,401	25.27		
TOTAL		76,692	100.00		
Conflict deaths in department during past five years, categorical measure	No conflict	9,398	14.08		
	Low conflict	19,862	29.75		
	High conflict	37,500	56.17		
TOTAL		66,760	100.00		
Survey round	2005	23,121	30.15		
	2010	31,011	40.44		
	2015	22,560	29.42		
Age in 5-year groups	13–19	3,492	4.55		
	20–24	9,345	12.19		
	25–29	12,323	16.07		
	30–34	13,153	17.15		
	35–39	13,232	17.25		
	40–44	12,912	16.84		
	45–49	12,235	15.95		
Family violence history	No	52,691	62.02		
	Yes	29,074	34.22		
	Don't know	3,187	3.75		
Highest level of education	Primary or lower	26,309	34.30		
	Secondary	35,304	46.03		
	Tertiary	15,079	19.66		
Residence	Urban	55,990	73.01		
	Rural	20,702	26.99		
Relationship status	Partnered, coresiding	56,007	73.03		
	Partnered, not coresiding	3,525	4.60		
	Widowed	1,849	2.41		
	Divorced/separated	15,311	19.96		
TOTAL		76,692	100.00		

Sample statistics for control variables are displayed for women who did not change residence in the past year.

Relationship status is included because it is an important confounder for who is at risk of IPV. It is only possible to know what relationship status women had at the time of interview, not at conflict or IPV exposure, both of which may affect relationship status. This limitation is mitigated by the IPV measure also including former partners. Overall conclusions do not change when excluding relationship status (available upon request) from the models.

Any analysis of health outcomes in conflict are prone to survivorship bias. Displaced women, who are particularly vulnerable to GBV in multiple forms including IPV, are probably not represented. The analyses suffer from underreporting both of IPV due to fear and since women who died from IPV cannot give their accounts, and of armed conflict due to remoteness and media fatigue. The estimates reported here should be read as floor effects, since we could expect the prevalence of both conflict and IPV to be larger.

Results

Table II displays the results from the department-fixed effects LPMs. Each outcome is presented in four models with distinct conflict indicators, to assess whether the impact of conflict on IPV is more immediate or long-term, and whether the functional form of the relationship is linear or categorical. Findings are adjusted by survey year, age, family violence, highest level of education, residence, and partner status at interview. Estimates for control variables are only displayed for Model 1, as they varied little to nothing over models. AIC and additional full model results are available upon request.

The estimates for the linear conflict indicators show that for each conflict event, the probability of physical, severe physical and sexual violence is slightly elevated, in Model 1 by around 0.1 percentage points in the past year and in Model 2 by 0.02 points in the past five years. This indicates that the immediate impact of war on IPV is stronger compared to the long-term. Emotional violence or acceptance to violence do not have a statistically significant relationship to linear measurements of conflict.

In Model 3, when conflict is measured categorically in the past year and in reference to women who weren't exposed, none of the estimates are statistically significant, suggesting this functional form of conflict indicators is not as relevant as linear measures. In Model 4, if exposed to the highest level of conflict in the past five years, women face around an eight percentage-points' increased probability of emotional IPV and around a four points' increase of physical violence. Women exposed to low conflict in the past five years have an additional two percentage points' probability of experiencing physical IPV. The other categories were not statistically significant, again pointing away from this functional form.

These findings suggest that there is a persistent relationship between conflict and physical, severe physical and sexual IPV. The connection to emotional IPV is weakly supported. Attitudes to violence do not have a statistically significant relationship in any of the models, even when including never-partnered women (available upon request). The linear measure of events in the past year is used for subsequent analyses since it appears to be most relevant.

Only the statistically significant relationships of control variables in Model 1 will be discussed in the following.

The probability of emotional violence is 13 percentage points lower for women interviewed 2015, but there is no evidence of other period effects in IPV. Older age generally protects women from all forms of IPV except sexual violence, which may partially be explained by the decrease in acceptance of violence across the life-course. It also indicates that emotional and physical IPV start early during the stages of family formation. However, this finding should be treated with caution since the reference group – 13- to 19-year-old women and girls who have already formed their first partnership – is probably highly selective. Severe violence does not decrease until women are in their late 40s. Sexual violence is one or two percentage points more probable among women above age 25 compared to the youngest.

If the respondent reports a history of family violence, i.e., that her father hit her mother, she is more likely to experience any form of and be more accepting of IPV. Those who do not know about family violence are also more likely to experience IPV, but it is not possible to interpret what this category actually represents.

As expected, those with higher education are less exposed to and accepting of IPV. Residence connects to a lower risk of emotional and physical violence, which may result from reporting bias, a crisis of masculinity when faced with modern city values, or protective social control in rural areas. Rural women are more likely to report acceptance to IPV.

Compared to those who are living with their partner at interview, women who are not co-residing are slightly more at risk of emotional violence and at lower risk of physical violence. Widows are more at risk of physical, severe physical and sexual violence, but at lower risk of emotional violence. Being divorced or separated consistently and substantially relates to higher risk of IPV, which may reflect women ending violent relationships or facing a violent backlash as revenge after a break-up. Since there is no information about in which relationship IPV occurred, it is difficult to conclusively interpret these findings.

Table 2. Department-fixed effects linear probabilities (and t-values) of women's experiences of and attitudes to intimate partner violence in relation to local conflict violence in Colombia

	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Severe violence	Sexual violence	Attitudes to violence
MODEL 1					
Survey round (ref. = 2005/2010)					
<i>2010</i>	-0.0331 (-1.57)	0.0133 (1.23)	0.0096 (1.65)	0.0002 (0.06)	(Ref.)
<i>2015</i>	-0.1270*** (-6.04)	0.0115 (0.97)	0.0118 (1.94)	-0.0078 (-1.81)	0.0083 (1.59)
Age group (ref. = 13–19)					
<i>20–24</i>	-0.0051 (-0.45)	-0.0000 (-0.00)	0.0078 (1.42)	0.0083 (1.87)	-0.0159** (-3.28)
<i>25–29</i>	-0.0284* (-2.52)	-0.0375*** (-4.76)	0.0021 (0.40)	0.0143** (3.51)	-0.0210*** (-5.03)
<i>30–34</i>	-0.0477*** (-4.61)	-0.0545*** (-6.49)	-0.0010 (-0.22)	0.0195*** (4.85)	-0.0260*** (-5.53)
<i>35–39</i>	-0.0676*** (-5.88)	-0.0808*** (-9.66)	-0.0064 (-1.35)	0.0220*** (4.67)	-0.0252*** (-5.41)
<i>40–44</i>	-0.0940*** (-7.73)	-0.1091*** (-10.82)	-0.0201*** (-3.62)	0.0157*** (3.86)	-0.0271*** (-6.53)
<i>45–49</i>	-0.1194*** (-10.56)	-0.1323*** (-13.87)	-0.0282*** (-6.07)	0.0077* (2.06)	-0.0224*** (-4.69)
Family violence (ref. = No)					
<i>Yes</i>	0.1082*** (22.60)	0.0803*** (24.96)	0.0347*** (14.22)	0.0244*** (11.20)	0.0048* (2.73)
<i>Don't know</i>	0.0655*** (6.72)	0.0417*** (5.85)	0.0200** (3.27)	0.0184*** (3.74)	0.0072 (1.41)
Education (Ref. = Primary)					
<i>Secondary</i>	-0.0189*** (-4.21)	-0.0211*** (-4.92)	-0.0223*** (-7.33)	-0.0148*** (-6.87)	-0.0338*** (-11.14)
<i>Higher</i>	-0.0495*** (-6.69)	-0.0604*** (-13.13)	-0.0490*** (-15.25)	-0.0262*** (-10.16)	-0.0462*** (-11.11)
Residence (Ref. = Urban)					
<i>Rural</i>	-0.0446*** (-6.36)	-0.0199*** (-4.55)	-0.0042 (-1.29)	0.0012 (0.46)	0.0259*** (4.75)
Partner status (Ref. = Partnered, coresiding)					
<i>Partnered, not coresiding</i>	0.0307** (3.46)	-0.0167** (-3.33)	-0.0026 (-0.60)	-0.0015 (-0.48)	-0.0048 (-1.44)
<i>Widowed</i>	-0.0981*** (-7.75)	0.0266* (2.42)	0.0419*** (5.82)	0.0144* (2.14)	0.0070 (1.55)
<i>Divorced/separated</i>	0.1187*** (9.74)	0.1851*** (18.04)	0.1341*** (16.85)	0.0872*** (17.16)	0.0016 (0.83)
Conflict events in past year	0.0014 (1.49)	0.0017** (3.30)	0.0011*** (4.36)	0.0010*** (6.06)	0.0003 (0.21)
Constant	0.5679*** (37.55)	0.1984*** (20.05)	0.0573*** (9.03)	0.0241*** (4.95)	0.0725*** (12.21)
R-squared overall	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.02
N	76,692	76,692	76,692	76,692	53,571

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, ref.=reference

Table 2. Continued

MODEL 2					
Conflict events in past five years	0.0002 (0.97)	0.0003* (2.70)	0.0002*** (3.65)	0.0002*** (5.29)	-0.0001 (-1.14)
Constant	0.6005*** (40.05)	0.2015*** (17.46)	0.0583*** (8.04)	0.0230*** (4.50)	0.0740*** (12.61)
R-squared overall	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.02
N	66,760	66,760	66,760	66,760	46,634
MODEL 3					
Conflict categories in past year (Ref. = Zero)					
<i>Low</i>	0.0120 (0.69)	0.0138 (1.19)	0.0040 (0.70)	0.0026 (0.56)	-0.0083 (-0.83)
<i>High</i>	0.0110 (0.38)	0.0264 (1.41)	0.0056 (0.61)	0.0118 (1.98)	-0.0021 (-0.15)
Constant	0.6011*** (25.71)	0.1992*** (12.09)	0.0637*** (6.24)	0.0242** (3.39)	0.0770*** (9.45)
R-squared overall	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.02
N	76,692	76,692	76,692	76,692	53,571
MODEL 4					
Conflict categories in past five years (Ref. = Zero)					
<i>Low</i>	0.0464 (1.78)	0.0238* (2.46)	0.0102 (1.89)	0.0061 (1.12)	0.0058 (0.56)
<i>High</i>	0.0773* (2.41)	0.0358* (2.27)	0.0060 (0.68)	0.0013 (0.17)	-0.0017 (-0.14)
Constant	0.5394*** (16.55)	0.1833*** (10.73)	0.0630*** (6.54)	0.0314*** (4.33)	0.0696*** (5.35)
R-squared overall	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.02
N	66,760	66,760	66,760	66,760	46,634

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, ref.=reference. Models 2–4 are adjusted for survey round, age, family violence, education, residence, and partner status.

Figure 5 shows predicted probabilities to contextualize the strength of the relationship at different levels of local conflict violence intensity, using the linear indicator of conflict in the past year. Results are adjusted by survey round, age, history of family violence, education level, and partner status. Since accepting attitudes of IPV were not related to conflict in any model, those marginal effects are not reported.

Across the number of conflict events in the past year, women's probability of IPV increased by eight, eight, six and five percentage points respectively for emotional, physical, severe physical and sexual violence. While these effect sizes are rather small, they still represent many more women facing experiences that are extremely harmful to their well-being and the social consequences of these offenses cannot be minimized. The graver forms of violence increase the most relative to their prevalence: the probability doubles at the highest intensity of conflict observed.

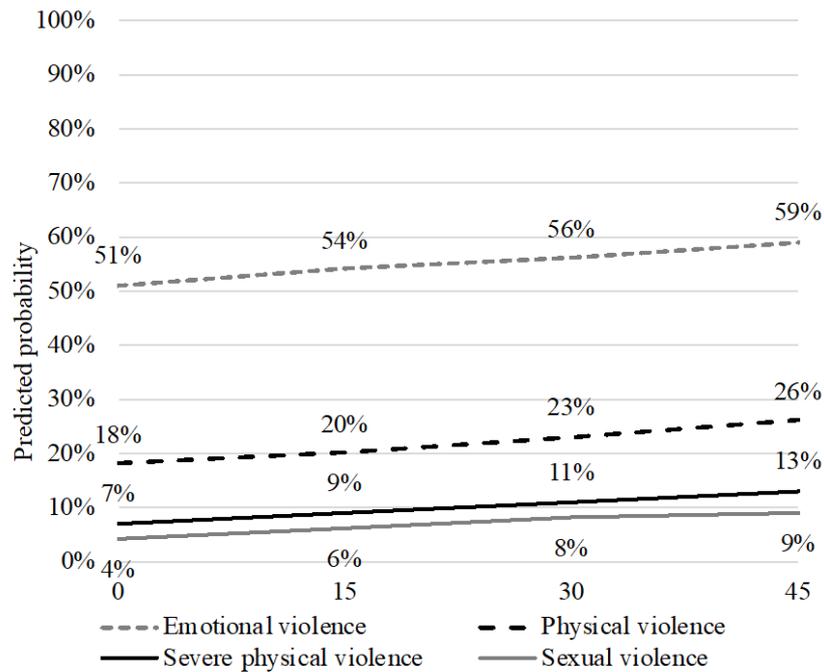


Figure 5. Predicted probabilities of IPV according to conflict events in past year

Since the form of GBV analyzed here is perpetrated by women’s current or former partners, a closer analysis of whether women are more likely to stay in abusive relationships because of conflict is useful to understand their risk of victimization. Among women who experienced emotional, physical and severe physical IPV in the past year, local conflict was associated with a higher probability of being partnered at interview, as displayed in Table III. Women who reported sexual violence were not more likely to be partnered at interview due to conflict. Findings are adjusted for survey round, age, history of family violence, education, and residence. When exploring the same relationship among women who did not report IPV, for a counterfactual check, no such pattern presented itself. For them, some of the linear conflict measures associated negatively with the probability of being in a relationship at interview, but most relationship statuses were not statistically significant (available upon request). Possible interpretations of these findings will be discussed below.

Table 3. Department-fixed effects linear probabilities (and t-values) of being partnered at interview in relation to local conflict violence in Colombia, among women who reported four forms of IPV in the past year

	Emotional violence	Physical violence	Severe violence	Sexual violence
MODEL 1				
Conflict events in past year	0.0017*** (3.65)	0.0032*** (3.91)	0.0035*** (3.79)	0.0028 (1.66)
Constant	0.3059*** (20.28)	0.3153*** (12.56)	0.4382*** (12.17)	0.3583*** (4.90)
R-squared overall	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.05
N	39,722	14,182	5,954	4,022

p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, adjusted for survey round, age, family violence, education, and residence. □

Discussion

This article showed that exposure to events of armed conflict generally linked to a slightly elevated risk for women of experiencing physical and sexual violence perpetrated by their intimate partners. The association with emotional violence was, however, negligible. Since even small increases in IPV represent many more women facing experiences that are extremely harmful to their well-being, the social significance of these results cannot be minimized. Given that violent conflict and experiences of IPV are both likely underreported, it is probable that the reported estimates represent a floor – not a true – effect.

The results confirm those from previous studies on IPV at the population level in armed conflict (Rieckmann 2014; Østby 2016; La Mattina 2017; Østby, Leiby, and Nordås 2019), while using temporally fine-grained measures of conflict and disentangling different forms of IPV. As evidenced here, violence at the meso and micro levels are indeed interconnected: exposure to violence in the local context constitutes a risk factor of IPV for individual women. This confirms previous scholarship on how gender and violence are connected on a continuum from the international to the personal (Cockburn 2004). According to this study, the associations were strongest for the graver forms of violence, which could suggest that the normalization of violence in all its forms intensifies with conflict. The short-term impact of conflict was stronger than the long-term.

Like La Mattina (2017), there was no evidence that conflict is linked to women’s increased acceptance of IPV. However, those items were only available in the two latest survey rounds and had little variation (only 4 percent of women reported accepting attitudes). The null-results in relation to conflict could stem from low statistical power rather than a true zero effect. Scholars have raised concerns that it is unclear whether the DHS items measuring acceptance of IPV reflect the respondent’s own belief, or a perception of the social norm in their setting (Perrin et al. 2019; Schuler, Lenzi, and Yount 2011; Tsai et al. 2017).

The article also contributes with novel analyses of women’s relationships, by showing a positive relationship between conflict and the probability of being partnered at interview among victimized women. This could potentially reflect a normalization of violence that makes women stay in abusive relationships, possibly driven by changes in collective norms.

If women are under the impression that IPV is a legitimate behavior or they have themselves to blame, they may not end a violent relationship (Stanko 1997). It could also reflect a reluctance among women to leave those relationships because of increased insecurity, need for protection, and worse economic prospects due to war.

Both results could be true, if women are no more normatively accepting of IPV but remain in violent partnerships because they accept victimization and are less harm-avoiding because of trauma (Mead, Beauchaine, and Shannon 2010) or perceive they are unable to leave because of heightened insecurity. Given the limitations of the composite acceptance measure, it is difficult to conclusively say how these contrasting findings harmonize. But regardless of why women stay in abusive relationships, it is highly troubling if conflict cements their victimization. These findings could suggest that armed conflict is not only indirectly extremely harmful to women by increasing their risk of multiple forms of IPV, but also exacerbates the vulnerability of women who are already victimized.

The key policy implication from this article is that the focus in the Havana Peace Accord from 2017 on sexual violence was not enough to address all forms of GBV in the Colombian armed conflict. The increased attention to women's war-time experiences, not least of sexual violence, constitutes a big victory for the Colombian women's rights movement and sets the standard for peace and reconciliation processes to come. Still, a sole focus on 'public' violence overlooks the hidden casualties from war in the private sphere. The classic feminist notion 'the personal is political' is useful to explain how violence committed in the 'public sphere' (i.e., when it has political underpinnings or when the perpetrator is a stranger) is more readily acknowledged. The connections between women's experiences of violence in 'private' and larger socio-political structures are made invisible, even if that violence is more frequent and sometimes more traumatic because of its intimate connotations (Skjelsbæk 2006). Relying on dichotomies of violence – such as battle front/home front, extraordinary/everyday, or public/private – risks leading to simplistic understandings with limited capacity to improve the lives of people living in war zones (Kirby 2015; Gray 2016b; 2019; Browne et al. 2019). If the goal of peace initiatives is a positive peace, without any forms of physical and structural violence that could potentially be causes of future conflict (Cockburn 2004; Galtung 1969), violence in intimate partnerships must be addressed alongside sexualized aggressions perpetrated by armed groups. These insights into IPV during war as a human security issue beyond armed groups can inform prevention programs and transitional justice interventions.

The upheavals inherent in civil war and its reparations can open opportunities for change, such as gains in women's political representation (Anderson and Swiss 2014; Webster, Chen, and Beardsley 2019) and new gender relations that replace traditional norms (R. W. Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). In Colombia, sexual violence against women and the feminization of internal displacement have provided a space for women's agency and new social roles (Cadena-Camargo et al. 2019; Kreft 2019; Meertens 2001a; Osorio Pérez 2008). Colombia is now at a watershed moment of societal transformation with an ongoing peace process uniquely focused on gender equality. Although much work remains to be done, this represents an unprecedented opportunity for addressing GBV in all its forms, including IPV.

Recommendations for policy

It is imperative that the government and international development cooperation in Colombia introduce comprehensive GBV primary prevention programs to facilitate change by

addressing the underlying root causes of violence. These bodies must also develop careful survivor response systems to address the consequences of GBV and avoid re-traumatization: specialized health services including but not limited to trauma counselling and sexual and reproductive care, legal support for victims, as well as training and capacity-building for professionals in the health system and law enforcement. Involving women-led civil society organizations on the ground and listening to women and girls is essential. Since conditions vary significantly throughout Colombia, community-level engagement allows for discussions with key stakeholders and tailoring culturally sensitive and effective programs for the specific setting, without compromising on human rights. Finally, this endeavor demands fully implementing the Havana Peace Accords, above all with respect to its gender provisions.

References

- Ackerson, Leland K, and S.V. Subramanian. 2008. 'State Gender Inequality, Socioeconomic Status and Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in India: A Multilevel Analysis'. *The Australian Journal of Social Issues* 43 (1): 81–102.
- Alsaba, Khuloud, and Anuj Kapilashrami. 2016. 'Understanding Women's Experience of Violence and the Political Economy of Gender in Conflict: The Case of Syria'. *Reproductive Health Matters* 24 (47): 5–17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rhm.2016.05.002>.
- Anderson, Miriam J., and Liam Swiss. 2014. 'Peace Accords and the Adoption of Electoral Quotas for Women in the Developing World, 1990–2006'. *Politics & Gender* 10 (01): 33–61. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X13000536>.
- Angrist, Joshua D., and Jörn-Steffen Pischke. 2009. *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400829828>.
- Annan, Jeannie, and Moriah Brier. 2010. 'The Risk of Return: Intimate Partner Violence in Northern Uganda's Armed Conflict'. *Social Science & Medicine* 70 (1): 152–59. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.09.027>.
- Bergquist, Charles, Ricardo Peñaranda, and Gonzalo Sánchez G. 2001. *Violence in Colombia, 1990-2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace*. Latin American Silhouettes. Wilmington: SR Books.
- Bibbings, Lois S. 2012. 'Men Refusing to Be Violent: Manliness and Military Conscientious Objection, 1914 to the Present Day'. In *Gender and Conflict since 1914: Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Ana Carden-Coyne, 41–54. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Browne, Amanda, Cyril Bennouna, Khudejha Asghar, Catalina Correa, Arturo Harker-Roa, and Lindsay Stark. 2019. 'Risk and Refuge: Adolescent Boys' Experiences of Violence in "Post-Conflict" Colombia'. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, August, 088626051986715. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519867150>.
- Brownmiller, Susan. 1976. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Burazeri, Genc, Enver Roshi, Rachel Jewkes, Susanne Jordan, Vesna Bjegovic, and Ulrich Laaser. 2005. 'Factors Associated With Spousal Physical Violence In Albania: Cross Sectional Study'. *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 331 (7510): 197–201.
- Cadena-Camargo, Yazmin, Anja Krumeich, Maria Claudia Duque-Páramo, and Klasien Horstman. 2019. "'We Just Been Forced to Do It': Exploring Victimization and Agency among Internally Displaced Young Mothers in Bogotá'. *Conflict and Health* 13 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-019-0205-1>.
- Carlton-Ford, Steve, Morten G. Ender, and Ahoo Tabatabai. 2008. 'Iraqi Adolescents: Self-Regard, Self-Derogation, and Perceived Threat in War'. *Journal of Adolescence* 31 (1): 53–75. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2007.04.006>.
- Clark, Robert A. 1946. 'Aggressiveness and Military Training'. *American Journal of Sociology* 51 (5): 423–32. <https://doi.org/10.1086/219853>.
- Cockburn, Cynthia. 2004. 'Gender Perspective on War and Peace'. In *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, edited by Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, 24–44. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cockburn, Cynthia, and Dubravka Zarkov. 2002. *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping: Bosnia and the Netherlands*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2017. 'The Ties That Bind: How Armed Groups Use Violence to Socialize Fighters'. *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (5): 701–14.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343317713559>.
- Connell, R. W. 2002a. *Masculinities*. Second edition. University of California Press.
- . 2002b. 'Masculinities, the Reduction of Violence and the Pursuit of Peace'. In *Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping: Bosnia and the Netherlands*, edited by Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, 33–40. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Connell, R. W., and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. *Gender and Society* 19 (6): 829–59.
- Connell, Robert W. 2000. 'Arms and the Man: Using the New Research on Masculinity to Understand Violence and Promote Peace in the Contemporary World'. In *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: A Culture of Peace Perspective*, edited by Ingeborg Breines, Robert W. Connell, and Ingrid Eide, 21–33. Paris: Unesco Pub.
- Cools, Sara, and Andreas Kotsadam. 2017. 'Resources and Intimate Partner Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *World Development* 95: 211–30.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.02.027>.
- Croicu, Mihai, and Ralph Sundberg. 2018. 'UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset Codebook Version 18.1'. Uppsala University: Department of Peace and Conflict Research.
- Devries, K. M., J. Y. T. Mak, C. Garcia-Moreno, M. Petzold, J. C. Child, G. Falder, S. Lim, et al. 2013. 'The Global Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women'. *Science* 340 (6140): 1527–28. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1240937>.
- Devries, Karen, Charlotte Watts, Mieko Yoshihama, Ligia Kiss, Lilia Blima Schraiber, Negussie Deyessa, Lori Heise, et al. 2011. 'Violence against Women Is Strongly Associated with Suicide Attempts: Evidence from the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women'. *Social Science & Medicine* 73 (1): 79–86. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.05.006>.
- DHS. 2005. 'Colombia Salud Sexual y Reproductiva'. Bogotá: Profamilia.
<http://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-FR172-DHS-Final-Reports.cfm>.
- . 2011. 'Colombia Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud 2010'. Bogotá: Profamilia. <http://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-FR246-DHS-Final-Reports.cfm>.
- . 2017. 'Colombia Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud 2015'. Bogotá: Profamilia. <http://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-FR334-DHS-Final-Reports.cfm>.
- Ellsberg, Mary, and Lori Heise. 2005. 'Researching Violence against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists'. Washington DC, US: World Health Organization, Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH).
- Ellsberg, Mary, Henrica AFM Jansen, Lori Heise, Charlotte H Watts, and Claudia Garcia-Moreno. 2008. 'Intimate Partner Violence and Women's Physical and Mental Health in the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence: An Observational Study'. *The Lancet* 371 (9619): 1165–72.
- Enloe, Cynthia. 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press.
- . 2002. 'Demilitarization – or More of the Same? Feminist Questions to Ask in the Postwar Moment'. In *Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping: Bosnia and the Netherlands*, edited by Cynthia Cockburn and Dubravka Zarkov, 22–32. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

- Franco, Saúl, Clara Mercedes Suarez, Claudia Beatriz Naranjo, Liliana Carolina Báez, and Patricia Roza. 2006. 'The Effects of the Armed Conflict on the Life and Health in Colombia'. *Ciência & Saúde Coletiva* 11 (2): 349–61.
- Friedemann-Sanchez, Greta, and Rodrigo Lovaton. 2012. 'Intimate Partner Violence in Colombia: Who Is at Risk?' *Social Forces* 91 (2): 663–88. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sos131>.
- Galtung, Johan. 1969. 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research'. *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3): 167–191.
- Garfield, Richard, and Claudia Patricia Llantén Morales. 2004. 'The Public Health Context of Violence in Colombia'. *Revista Panamericana de Salud Pública* 16 (4): 266–71.
- Gindele, Rebecca, Madhav Joshi, Louise Olsson, Jason Quinn, Elise Ditta, and Rebecca Méndez. 2018. 'Implementing the Final Colombian Peace Agreement, 2016-2018'. PRIO Policy Brief. Oslo: PRIO.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. 2001. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gomez, Anu Manchikanti. 2011. 'Sexual Violence as a Predictor of Unintended Pregnancy, Contraceptive Use, and Unmet Need Among Female Youth in Colombia'. *Journal of Women's Health* 20 (9): 1349–56.
- Goode, William J. 1971. 'Force and Violence in the Family'. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 33 (4): 624–36. <https://doi.org/10.2307/349435>.
- Gray, Harriet. 2016a. 'The Geopolitics of Intimacy and the Intimacies of Geopolitics: Combat Deployment, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, and Domestic Abuse in the British Military'. *Feminist Studies* 42 (1): 138–65. <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.42.1.138>.
- . 2016b. 'Domestic Abuse and the Public/Private Divide in the British Military'. *Gender, Place & Culture* 23 (6): 912–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2015.1034247>.
- . 2019. 'The "War"/"Not-War" Divide: Domestic Violence in the Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 21 (1): 189–206. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148118802470>.
- Gupta, Jhumka, Dolores Acevedo-Garcia, David Hemenway, Michele R. Decker, Anita Raj, and Jay G. Silverman. 2009. 'Premigration Exposure to Political Violence and Perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence Among Immigrant Men in Boston'. *American Journal of Public Health* 99 (3): 462–69. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2007.120634>.
- Heise, Lori L. 1994. 'Gender-Based Violence and Women's Reproductive Health'. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics* 46 (2): 221–229.
- . 1998. 'Violence Against Women: An Integrated, Ecological Framework'. *Violence Against Women* 4 (3): 262–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801298004003002>.
- Heise, Lori L, and Andreas Kotsadam. 2015. 'Cross-National and Multilevel Correlates of Partner Violence: An Analysis of Data from Population-Based Surveys'. *The Lancet Global Health* 3 (6): e332–40. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X\(15\)00013-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(15)00013-3).
- Henry, Nicola. 2016. 'Theorizing Wartime Rape: Deconstructing Gender, Sexuality, and Violence'. *Gender & Society* 30 (1): 44–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243215608780>.
- Hindin, Michelle J, and Linda S Adair. 2002. 'Who's at Risk? Factors Associated with Intimate Partner Violence in the Philippines'. *Social Science & Medicine* 55 (8): 1385–99. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536\(01\)00273-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(01)00273-8).

- Hindin, Michelle J, Sunita Kishor, and Donna L Ansara. 2008. 'Intimate Partner Violence among Couples in 10 DHS Countries: Predictors and Health Outcomes'. DHS Analytical Studies No. 18. Calverton, MD USA: Macro International Inc.
- Jansson, Oscar. 2008. *The Cursed Leaf: An Anthropology of the Political Economy of Cocaine Production in Southern Colombia*. Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University.
- Jones, Adam. 2006. 'Straight as a Rule: Heteronormativity, Gendercide, and the Noncombatant Male'. *Men and Masculinities* 8 (4): 451–69. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X04268797>.
- Jones, James Holland, and Brodie Ferguson. 2006. 'The Marriage Squeeze in Colombia, 1973–2005: The Role of Excess Male Death'. *Biodemography and Social Biology* 53 (3–4): 140–51.
- . 2009. 'Demographic and Social Predictors of Intimate Partner Violence in Colombia: A Dyadic Power Perspective'. *Human Nature* 20 (2): 184–203. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-009-9064-6>.
- Kirby, Paul. 2015. 'Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict: The Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and Its Critics'. *International Affairs* 91 (3): 457–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12283>.
- Kishor, Sunita, and Kiersten Johnson. 2004. *Profiling Domestic Violence: A Multi-Country Study*. Calverton, Maryland: ORC Macro.
- Koenig, Michael A., Saifuddin Ahmed, Mian Bazle Hossain, and A. B. M. Khorshed Alam Mozumder. 2003. 'Women's Status and Domestic Violence in Rural Bangladesh: Individual- and Community-Level Effects'. *Demography* 40 (2): 269–88.
- Koenig, Michael A., Tom Lutalo, Feng Zhao, Fred Nalugoda, Fred Wabwire-Mangen, Noah Kiwanuka, Jennifer Wagman, David Serwadda, Maria Wawer, and Ron Gray. 2003. 'Domestic Violence in Rural Uganda: Evidence from a Community-Based Study'. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 81 (1): 53–60.
- Koenig, Michael A., Rob Stephenson, Saifuddin Ahmed, Shireen J. Jejeebhoy, and Jacquelyn Campbell. 2006. 'Individual and Contextual Determinants of Domestic Violence in North India'. *American Journal of Public Health* 96 (1): 132–38. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2004.050872>.
- Kreft, Anne-Kathrin. 2019. 'Responding to Sexual Violence: Women's Mobilization in War'. *Journal of Peace Research* 56 (2): 220–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318800361>.
- . 2020. 'Civil Society Perspectives on Sexual Violence in Conflict: Patriarchy and War Strategy in Colombia'. *International Affairs* 96 (2): 457–478. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz257>.
- La Mattina, Giulia. 2017. 'Civil Conflict, Domestic Violence and Intra-Household Bargaining in Post-Genocide Rwanda'. *Journal of Development Economics* 124: 168–98. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2016.08.001>.
- McQuestion, Michael J. 2003. 'Endogenous Social Effects on Intimate Partner Violence in Colombia'. *Social Science Research* 32 (2): 335–45. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X\(02\)00062-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X(02)00062-5).
- Mead, Hilary K., Theodore P. Beauchaine, and Katherine E. Shannon. 2010. 'Neurobiological Adaptations to Violence across Development'. *Development and Psychopathology* 22 (1): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579409990228>.
- Meertens, Donny. 1995. 'Mujer y violencia en los conflictos rurales'. *Análisis Político* 24: 36–50.
- . 2001a. 'Facing Destruction, Rebuilding Life: Gender and the Internally Displaced in Colombia'. *Latin American Perspectives* 28 (1): 132–48.

- . 2001b. 'Victims and Survivors of War in Colombia: Three Views on Gender Relations'. In *Violence in Colombia, 1990-2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace*, edited by Charles Bergquist, Ricardo Peñaranda, and Gonzalo Sánchez G., 151–69. Latin American Silhouettes. Wilmington: SR Books.
- Meertens, Donny, and Nora Segura-Escobar. 1996. 'Uprooted Lives: Gender, Violence and Displacement in Colombia'. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 17 (2): 165–78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9493.1996.tb00091.x>.
- Miedema, Stephanie Spaid, San Shwe, and Aye Thiri Kyaw. 2016. 'Social Inequalities, Empowerment, and Women's Transitions into Abusive Marriages: A Case Study from Myanmar'. *Gender & Society* 30 (4): 670–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243216642394>.
- Milillo, Diana. 2006. 'Rape as a Tactic of War: Social and Psychological Perspectives'. *Affilia* 21 (2): 196–205.
- Montes, Veronica. 2013. 'The Role of Emotions in the Construction of Masculinity: Guatemalan Migrant Men, Transnational Migration, and Family Relations'. *Gender & Society* 27 (4): 469–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243212470491>.
- Mootz, Jennifer J., Florence Kyoheirwe Muhanguzi, Pavel Panko, Patrick Onyango Mangen, Milton L. Wainberg, Ilana Pinsky, and Kaveh Khoshnood. 2018. 'Armed Conflict, Alcohol Misuse, Decision-Making, and Intimate Partner Violence among Women in Northeastern Uganda: A Population Level Study'. *Conflict and Health* 12 (37). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-018-0173-x>.
- Mootz, Jennifer J., Lindsay Stark, Elizabeth Meyer, Khudejha Asghar, Arturo Harker Roa, Alina Potts, Catherine Poulton, Mendy Marsh, Amy Ritterbusch, and Cyril Bennouna. 2019. 'Examining Intersections between Violence against Women and Violence against Children: Perspectives of Adolescents and Adults in Displaced Colombian Communities'. *Conflict and Health* 13 (25). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-019-0200-6>.
- Müller, Catherine, and Jean-Pierre Tranchant. 2019. 'Domestic Violence and Humanitarian Crises: Evidence from the 2014 Israeli Military Operation in Gaza'. *Violence Against Women* 25 (12): 1391–1416. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218818377>.
- Ng-Mak, Daisy S., Suzanne Salzinger, Richard S. Feldman, and C. Ann Stueve. 2004. 'Pathologic Adaptation to Community Violence Among Inner-City Youth.' *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 74 (2): 196–208. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.74.2.196>.
- Osorio Pérez, Flor Edilma. 2008. 'Forced Displacement among Rural Women in Colombia'. *Latin American Perspectives* 35 (6): 29–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X08326021>.
- Østby, Gudrun. 2016. 'Violence Begets Violence: Armed Conflict and Domestic Sexual Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa'. HiCN Working Paper 233. <http://www.hicn.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/HiCN-WP-233.pdf>.
- Østby, Gudrun, Michele Leiby, and Ragnhild Nordås. 2019. 'The Legacy of Wartime Violence on Intimate-Partner Abuse: Microlevel Evidence from Peru, 1980–2009'. *International Studies Quarterly* 63 (1): 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqy043>.
- Pallitto, Christina C., Claudia García-Moreno, Henrica A.F.M. Jansen, Lori Heise, Mary Ellsberg, and Charlotte Watts. 2013. 'Intimate Partner Violence, Abortion, and Unintended Pregnancy: Results from the WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence'. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics* 120 (1): 3–9.
- Pallitto, Christina C., and Patricia O'Campo. 2005. 'Community Level Effects of Gender Inequality on Intimate Partner Violence and Unintended Pregnancy in Colombia:

- Testing the Feminist Perspective'. *Social Science & Medicine* 60 (10): 2205–16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.10.017>.
- Parpart, Jane, and Kevin Partridge. 2014. 'Soldiering on: Pushing Militarized Masculinities into New Territory'. In *The SAGE Handbook of Feminist Theory*, 550–65. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473909502>.
- Perrin, Nancy, Mendy Marsh, Amber Clough, Amelie Desgropes, Clement Yope Phanel, Ali Abdi, Francesco Kaburu, et al. 2019. 'Social Norms and Beliefs about Gender Based Violence Scale: A Measure for Use with Gender Based Violence Prevention Programs in Low-Resource and Humanitarian Settings'. *Conflict and Health* 13 (6). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-019-0189-x>.
- Pollak, Robert A. 2004. 'An Intergenerational Model of Domestic Violence'. *Journal of Population Economics* 17 (2): 311–29.
- Rajasingham-Senanayake, Darini. 2004. 'Between Reality and Representation: Women's Agency in War and Post-Conflict Sri Lanka'. *Cultural Dynamics* 16 (2–3): 141–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374004047741>.
- Rieckmann, Johannes. 2014. 'Violent Conflicts Increase the Risk of Domestic Violence in Colombia'. *DIW Economic Bulletin* 12: 23–26.
- Rones, Nina, and Kari Fasting. 2017. 'Theorizing Military Masculinities and National Identities: The Norwegian Experience'. In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Gender and the Military*, edited by Rachel Woodward and Claire Duncanson, 145–162. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Salvesen, Hilde, and Dag Nylander. 2017. 'Towards an Inclusive Peace: Women and the Gender Approach in the Colombian Peace Process'. NOREF Norwegian Center for Conflict Resolution. <https://noref.no/Publications/Regions/Colombia/Towards-an-inclusive-peace-women-and-the-gender-approach-in-the-Colombian-peace-process>.
- Schuler, Sidney Ruth, Rachel Lenzi, and Kathryn M. Yount. 2011. 'Justification of Intimate Partner Violence in Rural Bangladesh: What Survey Questions Fail to Capture'. *Studies in Family Planning* 42 (1): 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4465.2011.00261.x>.
- Schwab-Stone, Mary E., Tim S. Ayers, Wesley Kaspro, Charlene Voyce, Charles Barone, Timothy Shriver, and Roger P. Weissberg. 1995. 'No Safe Haven: A Study of Violence Exposure in an Urban Community'. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 34 (10): 1343–52. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00004583-199510000-00020>.
- Sengupta, Anasuya, and Muriel Calo. 2016. 'Shifting Gender Roles: An Analysis of Violence against Women in Post-Conflict Uganda'. *Development in Practice* 26 (3): 285–97.
- Skjelsbæk, Inger. 2006. 'Therapeutic Work With Victims of Sexual Violence in War and Postwar: A Discourse Analysis of Bosnian Experiences.' *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 12 (2): 93–118. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327949pac1202_1.
- Stanko, Elizabeth A. 1997. 'Safety Talk: Conceptualizing Women's Risk Assessment as a 'Technology of the Soul''. *Theoretical Criminology* 1 (4): 479–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480697001004004>.
- Stark, Lindsay, and Alastair Ager. 2011. 'A Systematic Review of Prevalence Studies of Gender-Based Violence in Complex Emergencies'. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 12 (3): 127–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838011404252>.
- Stock, James H, and Mark W Watson. 2008. 'Heteroskedasticity-Robust Standard Errors for Fixed Effects Panel Data Regression'. *Econometrica* 76 (1): 155–74.
- Sundberg, Ralph, and Erik Melander. 2013. 'Introducing the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset'. *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (4): 523–32.

- Svallfors, Signe, and Sunnee Billingsley. 2019. 'Conflict and Contraception in Colombia'. *Studies in Family Planning* 50 (2): 87–112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/sifp.12087>.
- Tamayo-Agudelo, William, and Vaughan Bell. 2019. 'Armed Conflict and Mental Health in Colombia'. *BJPsych International* 16 (02): 40–42. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bji.2018.4>.
- Tenkorang, Eric Y. 2018. 'Women's Autonomy and Intimate Partner Violence in Ghana'. *International Perspectives on Sexual & Reproductive Health* 44 (2): 51–61. <https://doi.org/10.1363/44e6118>.
- Theidon, Kimberly. 2009. 'Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia'. *Human Rights Quarterly* 31 (1): 1–34.
- Tsai, Alexander C., Bernard Kakuhikire, Jessica M. Perkins, Dagmar Vořechovská, Amy Q. McDonough, Elizabeth L. Ogburn, Jordan M. Downey, and David R. Bangsberg. 2017. 'Measuring Personal Beliefs and Perceived Norms about Intimate Partner Violence: Population-Based Survey Experiment in Rural Uganda'. Edited by Rachel Jewkes. *PLOS Medicine* 14 (5). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002303>.
- Vyas, Seema, and Lori Heise. 2016. 'How Do Area-Level Socioeconomic Status and Gender Norms Affect Partner Violence against Women? Evidence from Tanzania'. *International Journal of Public Health* 61 (8): 971–80. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00038-016-0876-y>.
- Wadham, Ben. 2017. 'Violence in the Military and Relations Among Men: Military Masculinities and "Rape Prone Cultures"'. In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Gender and the Military*, edited by Rachel Woodward and Claire Duncanson, 241–256. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Webster, Kaitlyn, Chong Chen, and Kyle Beardsley. 2019. 'Conflict, Peace, and the Evolution of Women's Empowerment'. *International Organization* 73 (02): 255–89. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818319000055>.
- Wirtz, Andrea L, Kiemanh Pham, Nancy Glass, Saskia Loochkartt, Teemar Kidane, Decssy Cuspoca, Leonard S Rubenstein, Sonal Singh, and Alexander Vu. 2014. 'Gender-Based Violence in Conflict and Displacement: Qualitative Findings from Displaced Women in Colombia'. *Conflict and Health* 8 (10).
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2014. 'Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and the Policy Implications of Recent Research'. *International Review of the Red Cross* 96 (894): 457–78. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383115000077>.
- Yodanis, Carrie L. 2004. 'Gender Inequality, Violence Against Women, and Fear: A Cross-National Test of the Feminist Theory of Violence Against Women'. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 19 (6): 655–75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260504263868>.
- Yount, Kathryn M. 2005. 'Resources, Family Organization, and Domestic Violence Against Married Women in Minya, Egypt'. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67 (3): 579–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00155.x>.
- Yu, Rongqin, Alejo J. Nevado-Holgado, Yasmina Molero, Brian M. D'Onofrio, Henrik Larsson, Louise M. Howard, and Seena Fazel. 2019. 'Mental Disorders and Intimate Partner Violence Perpetrated by Men towards Women: A Swedish Population-Based Longitudinal Study'. Edited by Phillipa J. Hay. *PLOS Medicine* 16 (12). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002995>.

NOTES

ⁱ For a systematic review of non-randomized service-based and refugee camp studies, see Stark and Ager (2011).

ⁱⁱ One of the dependent variables (acceptance of IPV) was only available in survey rounds 2010 and 2015. In those models, the sample size is 66,760 or 46,634 observations respectively.

ⁱⁱⁱ The DHS field workers are instructed to skip the IPV questions if anonymity cannot be guaranteed for the safety of the respondents (Ellsberg and Heise 2005). Thus, 1,550 respondents with missing values on all IPV indicators and 851 respondents with non-response to all items of attitudes to IPV were removed from analysis.

^{iv} Conflict measures at municipality level were not used as the DHS aren't representative at that level, municipality divisions have changed across the period, and department-level indicators are more likely to compensate for local migration.

^v AIC tests showed that a categorical measure of age added more to model fit than a linear.

^{vi} Household wealth and whether respondent was working at time of interview that are known socioeconomic determinants of IPV were excluded since these are more likely to be affected by conflict in the past year or past five years. Thus they should be regarded as mediators, not confounders, and consequently not be controlled for (Angrist and Pischke 2009). Sensitivity analyses revealed that the results were almost exclusively robust to including these measures, except for when regressing conflict on acceptance of IPV. However, these changed results were minor and not statistically significant.