RESEARCH PROPOSAL: The Impact of Covid-19 on Intimate Partner Violence in Urban Peru

NBER Researcher: Erica Field, Duke University

On March 6th, Peru confirmed its first case of coronavirus. A week later, the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a pandemic. On March 15th, the Peruvian Government implemented a strict lockdown throughout the country to stop the spread of the virus. Despite its rapid and strict response, Peru is now behind only Brazil in the number of cases of coronavirus in Latin America, leading the government to announce an extension of the confinement in April.[1] These events raise concerns that Peru may now face a parallel health epidemic in the form of escalating rates of intimate partner violence (IPV). This is particularly concerning in a setting with already high and rising rates of gender-based violence: more than one-third of Peruvian women report having experienced physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner during their lifetime.[2] In 2019, Peru experienced 164 feminicides, a 10 percent increase over the previous year.[3]

There are several reasons health experts worldwide fear an increase in IPV during the Covid-1 pandemic, including economic stress and higher levels of conflict due to physical proximity of family members. Declines in household income such as those experienced thus far in Peru and throughout the world are likely to increase the emotional stress levels of potential perpetrators and thereby increase rates of *expressive aggression* (also referred to as reactive, angry, emotional, hostile or impulsive aggression).[4] Moreover, while lock-down and shelter-in-place measures are prudent for slowing the spread of coronavirus, such measures put women and children at higher risk of domestic violence as they are confined with potential abusers and have limited access to support services, potentially increasing perpetrators ability and willingness to commit acts of violence (instrumental aggression).[5]

Anecdotal evidence from several settings have confirmed increases in police and hotline reports of IPV since the onset of the pandemic. In Peru, during the first week of the lockdown, *Linea 100*, a helpline dedicated to domestic violence, registered a 30 percent increase in calls. However, higher reporting of IPV episodes may be driven by changes in reporting behavior rather than incidence of violence. For instance, victims may simply feel more isolated, so have fewer opportunity to seek help from friends and family leading them to seek police or hotline help more often. Hence, the degree to which the worldwide covid-19 pandemic has been accompanied by significant increases in rates of IPV remains an important unanswered empirical question. Moreover, it is unclear which couples or individuals are at placed at highest risk of IPV as a result of pandemic-related restrictions and sudden isolation.

To address these questions, we propose to work with the Peruvian Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) to conduct two phone-based surveys of a large sample of urban women located in cities across the country and believed to be at heightened risk of IPV. The survey will collect direct and indirect survey data designed to measure the incidence of IPV at two points in time post-pandemic, and assess recent changes in both household resources and conflict. Our resulting analysis will use these data to assess the causal effect of pandemic-related restrictions in economic and social activity on surveys reports of IPV using geographic variation in the degree of restrictions put in place since the onset of the pandemic.

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[1] As of May 5, Peru has confirmed 47,372 cases and 1,344 deaths related to coronavirus.

[2] Proportion of ever-partnered women aged 15-49 years experiencing intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. Encuesta Demográfica y de Salud (ENDES), 2017, Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática.

[3] "Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in The Americas: Data and Action", Pan American Health Organization (PAHO),

[4] Thus far, approximately one-third of Peruvian workers have lost jobs as a result of pandemic-related economic losses (NYTimes, April 17, 2020).

[5] These two concepts are distinguished by their motivations for the perpetrator. With expressive violence, harm to a victim decreases serves as an emotional outlet to reduce an unpleasant internal feeling state in the aggressor, which is triggered by an altered emotional state. Clearly, instrumental (or "rational") violence may also rise when household resources become more constrained.

Specifically, we propose to conduct two rounds of phone-based surveys on a sample of approximately 1800 women in urban Peru to: (i) understand the impact of restrictions instituted to contain the spread of COVID-19 on IPV and intra-household conflict; and (ii) characterize couples at heightened risk as a result of these measures.

The goal of the study is to enhance our understanding of risk factors for IPV and inform the government's response to domestic violence by helping them target services to couples most in need. Our analysis will also contribute to the larger literature on domestic violence during crises and times of unrest, which have been linked to increased interpersonal violence, including incidence of violence against women and children (VAW/C). Although there is strong evidence of correlations between domestic violence and economic insecurity and poverty-related stress (Schneider et al., 2017; Bhaalotra et al., 2019), only a handful of empirical studies have shown a convincing causal association between negative economic shocks and increases in VAW/C during natural disasters or conflicts (Peterman et al., 2020; Annan et al., forthcoming). While rigorous studies estimating increases in domestic violence during or post-pandemic are scarce, media reports are widespread[6]. As of mid-May 2020, there have been numerous reports from China, Brazil, the United States, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, France, Peru and Argentina, denouncing a significant increase in IPV as a collateral damage of the measures taken to limit the spread of COVID-19. To our knowledge, there is to date no rigorous evidence of the covid-19 pandemic on domestic violence.

To determine the causal impact of the lockdown on domestic violence in Peru, we propose to perform a quasi-experimental analysis, exploiting spatial variations across districts in the degree of sheltering and restrictions of economic activities enforced by local governments, measured with satellite data on nighttime luminosity. Our proposed survey will leverage a long-standing partnership with the MIMP, Peru's government agency that aims to reduce discriminations against women and minorities, Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA), a research and policy nonprofit organization with a field-based team since 2003, and the Institute of Peruvian Studies, a think tank focused on understanding Peruvian social dynamics.

We will work with the MIMP to monitor post-pandemic violence by administering a short (30-minute) phone-based survey to women who have previously self-registered as at-risk of GBV at one of the 293 public Emergency Centers for Women (CEMs) located in urban areas throughout the country. Our survey sample will be drawn from the database of victim reports that have been filed over the previous year (2019) from a geographically diverse subset of ~100 of these CEMS, selected in order to maximize variation in pandemic responses based on our analysis of changes in economic activity over this period. In 2017 alone, these CEMs attended almost 43K unique victims reporting some form of physical or psychological GBV, the vast majority of whom were located in urban areas (15% are reported in rural areas). Of the universe of cases, 64% were those in which the victim approached the CEM, 3% were hotline reports, and 36% were cases based on police referrals. To maximize response rates, we will draw our sample from the first category only. Victims who file reports with the CEM have granted permission and contact information for CEM personnel to follow up on their cases, which will enable us to work with the Ministry to track potential increases in violence experienced by this at-risk population.

The MIMP database includes information of 42,297 women above 18 years old in 293 CEMs. The average number of new registration cases by each CEM in that year was 146. For each case report on file, MIMP collects a limited amount of in-take information on victims' and perpetrators' background-characteristics including age, number of children, civil status, work occupation, education level, ethnicity, spatial location, relationship between the two, among others. Regarding violent situations, the MIMP's dataset includes risk factors for violence within the household; specific acts of violence, which includes physiological, physical, or sexual types; an index of risks of GBV (made by MIMP); and controlling behaviors from the perpetrator, all at the time of the initial report (2019). These background data on individuals and households at risk will allow us to measure changes in incidence of violence and risk factors for IPV over the course of the pandemic and relate these to variation in pandemic-related

[6] "A New-Covid-19 Crisis: Domestic Abuse Rises Worldwide", Amanda Taub, The New York Times, April 6, 2020. "Lockdowns around the world bring rise in domestic violence" Emma Graam-Harrison, Angela Giuffrida, Helena Smith, and Liz Ford. The Guardian, March 28, 2020.

economic and social activity. Finally, the data contain information on actions that could be taken by the victim at the time of reporting, including the decision to legally report the violent action and willingness to accept social help, legal support, or psychological sessions, which will allow us to characterize households in the sample according to the degree of supportive services available to them prior to the pandemic.

We propose to work with the MIMP to administer two rounds of phone surveys (in June and in September 2020) to women in this sample to gauge the change in the incidence of domestic violence that is attributable to the emergency measures that were put into place in March 2020, including severe mobility restrictions and a dramatic reduction in economic activities. Because the baseline data were collected specifically to measure vulnerability to IPV, they are precisely the data needed to gain statistical traction on a non-experimental investigation of COVID-19-related increases in IPV among those households most at risk. The two new rounds of survey would collect data on spousal relationships and conflict, along with data on changes in economic circumstances resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. With these surveys, we aim to obtain a measure of recent incidence of IPV that, in conjunction with baseline reports on IPV incidence in 2019, will enable us to assess changes in IPV and conflict over the course of the pandemic.

At baseline, 48.5 percent of women reporting to the CEM suffered from regular physical or sexual violence. We expect this rate to increase significantly with social distancing measures, confinement at home and resulting economic downturn. In order to assess the causal impact of the lock-down measures on domestic violence, we will implement a quasi-experimental method by making use of spatial variations across districts in our sample in the degree of sheltering and restrictions of economic activities that were enforced by local governments. We will obtain measures of contraction of economic activities through direct survey questions, as well as by using satellite data on nighttime luminosity. Satellite images of nightlights are an increasingly common measure of social and economic activity (Donaldson and Storeygard, 2016). For example, Ch et al. (2020) uses nighttime luminosity to estimate the size and growth of metropolitan areas around the world; Burges et al. (2012) used satellite data to measure deforestation in Indonesia; Jayachandran (2009) uses daily satellite measures of smoke and dust to measure air pollution. Several studies have used light density at night as a proxy for economic activities (Henderson et al., 2012; Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2013; Hodler and Raschky, 2014; Jean et al., 2016; Alesina et al., 2016). Hence, we will gather data on nighttime luminosity over the pandemic period to measure variations in social and economic activities. Data will be pre-processed to eliminate noise caused by cloud cover, and converted into monthly sums of daily images over each month from January – September 2020. We will convert each pixel into a digital number (DN) that represents the intensity of the lights using GIS mapping software.

Results from this study will be among the first to document a causal effect of pandemic-related changes in social and economic activity, including an unprecedented level of household isolation, on domestic violence. More generally, it will contribute to our understanding of predictors of IPV and risk factors for intra-household conflict by shedding light on how aggressive behavior might be exacerbated by high-stress circumstances such as strict confinement and negative economic shocks. Dr. Field will lead the project design, oversight, and analysis, in addition to writing a scientific paper to be presented at a meeting of the NBER Study Group on Women in the Economy in 2021. She will work together on this study with Dr. Ursula Aldana, a Ph.D. economist and researcher at IEP, who has substantial experience in primary data collection on gender-related topics in Peru, including survey measurement of IPV.

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TOTAL PROJECT BUDGET

Principal Investigator and affiliation	Erica Field
Title of Fund proposal	The Impact of Covid-19 on Intimate Partner Violence in Urban Peru
Start Date	1-Jun-20
End Date	31-May-21

Budget Line Items		Year 1		Total Cost	NOTES
Project costs	**$**	**16,416.12**	**$**	**16,416.12**	
Personnel (salary, benefits, computers)					
Research Associate	$	5,680.00			5,680/2 = $ 2,840 month inclusive of taxes and fringe. RA will be: - recruiting and training enumerators and developing the logistics for the call center survey - programming surveys on CAI, cleaning data, all other activities PI requests
Research Manager	$	1,159.62			1,159.62/2.2 = $527.12/day inclusive of taxes and fringe. RM will be: - - supervising and providing technical support to the RA in organizing field work and research activities.
In-country administrative and finance staff	$	914.50			Accountant and administrative and operations staff: 2 people-2 months/$ 914.5. Include local fringe 42%. Tasks: - running administrative operations, - make contracts to enumerators, - prepare and execute payment to enumerators and RA, - substantiates financial transactions by auditing documents, - maintains accounting controls, - comply with national and global offices procedures, - complying with administrative tasks such as ensuring office supplies being provided.
Survey Costs					
Phone survey	$	8,262.00			1800 households*$4.59/household = $8,262 total for phone survey. This includes all costs over a 1-month period for surveyor training, piloting instruments, phone survey period and monitoring activities.
Materials, hardware and other inputs (cost of develop, print and distribute letters, flipcharts, etc)					
Other field costs					
SCTO fees (2 months)	$	400.00			
Total Direct Costs	$	16,416.12	$	16,416.12	
Indirect Charges:	$	3,562.30	$	3,562.30	
Total Budget	**$**	**19,978.42**	**$**	**19,978.42**	

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2015 –	Professor of Economics and Global Health, Duke University
2011 – 2015	Associate Professor of Economics and Global Health, Duke University
2010 – 2011	John L. Loeb Associate Professor of Social Science (Economics), Harvard University
2005 – 2009	Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Harvard University
2009 – 2010	National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
2006 – 2007	Visiting Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ
2006 – 2007	Visiting Faculty, Center for Health and Wellbeing, Princeton University
2003 – 2004	Post-doctoral Research Fellow, RWJ Scholars in Health Policy Research, Harvard

FIELDS OF INTEREST: Development Economics, Economic Demography, Health

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Co-director, DevLab@Duke
Faculty Research Fellow (Development), National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER)
Fellow, Bureau for Research in Economic Analysis of Development (BREAD)
Member, Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL)

EDUCATION

2003	Ph.D, MA	Department of Economics, Princeton University
1996	BA	Vassar College

REFEREED PUBLICATIONS

"Loss in the Time of Cholera: Long-run Impact of a Disease Epidemic on the Urban Landscape" (with Attila Ambrus and Robert Gonzalez). *American Economic Review*, February 2020, 110(2):1-52.

"Household Matters: Revisiting the Returns to Capital among Female Micro-entrepreneurs" (with Arielle Bernhardt, Rohini Pande, and Natalia Rigol). *American Economic Review: Insights*, September 2019, 1(2): 141–160.

"Do dehydroepiandrosterone, progesterone, and testosterone influence women's depression and anxiety levels? Evidence from hair-based hormonal measures of 2105 rural Indian women." (with Andreas Walther, Carolyn Tsao, Rohini Pande, Clements Kirschbaum, and Lisa Berkman) *Psychoneuroendocrinology, 109,* July 2019.

"Moving to Opportunity or Isolation? Network Effects of a Slum Relocation Program in India" (with Sharon Barnhardt and Rohini Pande). *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, January 2017, 9(1):1-32.

"Iron Deficiency and Schooling Attainment in Peru" (with Alberto Chong, Isabelle Cohen, Eduardo Nakasone and Maximo Torero). *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, October 2016, 8(4): 222-255.

"Gender Gaps in Completed Fertility" (with Vera Molitor, Alice Schoonbroodt, and Michèle Tertilt). *Journal of Demographic Economics*, June 2016, 82(2):167-206.

"Friendship at Work: Can Peer Effects Catalyze Female Entrepreneurship?" (with Seema Jayachandran, Rohini Pande, and Natalia Rigol). *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, May 2016, 8(2):125-53.

"Do Group Dynamics Influence Social Capital and Female Empowerment? Experimental Evidence from Microfinance" (with Benjamin Feigenberg, Rohini Pande, Natalia Rigol, and Shayak Sarkar). *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management,* August 2014, 33(4): 932-949.

"Household Bargaining and Excess Fertility: An Experimental Study in Zambia" (with Nava Ashraf and Jean Lee). *American Economic Review*, July 2014, 104(7): 2210-37.

"Does the Classic Microfinance Model Discourage Entrepreneurship among the Poor? Experimental Evidence from India" (with Rohini Pande, John Papp and Natalia Rigol). *American Economic Review*, October 2013, 103(6): 2196-2226.

"The Economic Returns to Social Interaction: Experimental Evidence from Microfinance" (with Rohini Pande and Benjamin Feigenberg). *Review of Economic Studies*, October 2013, 80(4): 1459-1483.

"Repayment Flexibility Can Reduce Financial Stress: A Randomized Control Trial with Microfinance Clients in India" (with Rohini Pande, John Papp, and Y. Jeanette Park). *PLoS One*, September 2012, 7(9): e45679.

"Muslim family law, prenuptial agreements and the emergence of dowry in Bangladesh" (with Attila Ambrus and Maximo Torero). *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 2010, 125(3):1349–97.

"Health Insurance in Nicaragua: Enrollment, Retention, and Outcomes from a Randomized Experiment" (with Rebecca Thornton, Laurel Hyatt, and Mursaleena Islam). September 2010, *Health Economics* 19(S1): 181–206.

"Iodine Deficiency and Schooling Attainment in Tanzania" (with Omar Robles and Maximo Torero). *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, October 2009, 1(4):140-169.

"Educational Debt Burden and Career Choice: Evidence from a Financial Aid Experiment at NYU Law School." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, January 2009, 1(1): 1-21.

"Early Marriage, Age of Menarche and Female Schooling Attainment in Bangladesh" (with Attila Ambrus). *Journal of Political Economy*, October 2008, 116(5): 881-930.

"Entitled to Work: Urban Tenure Security and Labor Supply in Peru." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November 2007, 4(122): 1561-1602.

WORKING PAPERS

"The Importance for Nutrition of Pairing Cash Transfers with Behavioral Change Interventions" (with Federica Esu and Elisa Maffiola). Working paper, October 2019. Under review.

"Does Vocational Education Work? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mongolia" (with Leigh Linden, Ofer Malamud, Daniel Rubenson, and Shing-Yi Wang). NBER Working Paper No. 26092, July 2019.

"On Her Own Account: Can Strengthening Women's Financial Control Boost Female Labor Supply?" (with Rohini Pande, Natalia Rigol, Simone Schaner, Charity Troyer Moore), August 2019. NBER Working Papers 26294, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.

"Throwing the Baby out with the Drinking Water: Unintended Consequences of a National Arsenic Mitigation Campaign in Bangladesh" (with Nina Buchmann, Reshma Hussam and Rachel Glennerster). April 2019. NBER Working Papers 25729, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.

"Maternal Mortality and the Gender Gap in the Demand for Children in Zambia" (with Nava Ashraf and Alessandra Voena). Working paper, July 2019.

"A Signal to End Child Marriage: Theory and Experimental Evidence from Bangladesh" (with Nina Buchmann, Rachel Glennerster, Shahana Nazneen, and Xiao Yu Wang). October 2019. Duke University.

"The Marriage Market Value of Bride Age and Education: A Vignette Approach to Decomposing to Marriage Transfers in Rural Bangladesh" (with Nina Buchmann and Rachel Glennerster). October 2019. Duke University.

"The Psycho-Social Benefits of Access to Contraception: Experimental Evidence from Zambia" (with Nava Ashraf, Marric Buessing and Jessica Leight). October 2013. Duke University.

"Does Improving Access to Contraception Lower Excess Fertility? Experimental Evidence from Zambia" (with Nava Ashraf and Jessica Leight). November 2012. Duke University.

"Does the arrival of a formal financial institution alter community networks? Experimental evidence from India (with Christine Binzel, Rohini Pande, and Louise Paul-Delvaux). October 2019.

"Market Integration, Other-Regarding Preferences, and Trust: Evidence from a Randomized Bank Branch Rollout in India" (with Christine Binzel and Rohini Pande). November 2019.

"A Ballot Approach to measuring domestic violence" (with Jorge Aguero, Ursula Aldana, Javier Romero, and Veronica Frischano). World Bank, IDB

ONGOING RESEARCH

"Female financial inclusion in India" (with Girogia Barboni, Charity Moore, Natalia Rigol, Rohini Pande and Simone Schaner) Gates
"Intergenerational impacts of early marriage in Bangladesh" (with Nina Buchmann, Rachel Glennerster and Shahana Nazneen) NIH
"The Long-run impacts of community-driven development in Myanmar" (with Sudhanshu and Luke Fesko) IGC
"Training local leaders to prevent and reduce gender-based violence in Peru" (with Ursula Aldana, Javier Romero, and Livia Schubiger) Wellspring, British Council, IPA
"Women's access to public transport and labor force participation" (with Katherine Vyborny)
"Labor market impacts of a formal job search platform" (with Robert Garlick and Katherine Vyborny)
"Institutional reforms and demographic change in Pakistan" (with Katherine Vyborny and Sabrin Beg)
"Drivers of change: Empowerment impacts of women's right to drive in Saudi" (with Katherine Vyborny)
"Building transparency and trust in the financial system with voice notifications" (with Rohini Pande, Natalia Rigol, Simone Schaner, and Charity Troyer Moore)
"Iodine deficiency and gender attitudes in Tanzania" (with Giuditta Rusconi and Maximo Torero) NIH

SELECTED RESEARCH GRANTS

2018-2023	National Institutes of Health (with Rachel Glennerster and Shahana Nazneen)
2018-2020	Institute for the Study of Labor GLM-LIC (with Katherine Vyborny)
2017-2020	Asian Development Bank (with Katherine Vyborny)
2017-2020	National Science Foundation (with Katherine Vyborny)
2018-2019	J-PAL Crime and Violence Initiative
2017-2019	Gates Foundation (with Rohini Pande)
2016-2019	International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (with Katherine Vyborny)
2012-2018	National Institute of Health (with Rohini Pande and Lisa Berkman)
2014-2018	Institute for the Study of Labor GLM-LIC (with Katherine Vyborny)
2015-2017	National Institutes of Health (with Maximo Torero)
2015-2017	International Growth Centre (with Katherine Vyborny)
2014-2017	IDRC Growth and Economic Opportunities for Women (GrOW) (with Rachel Glennerster)
2014-2016	Templeton Foundation (with Nava Ashraf and Alessandra Voena)
2013-2015	Innovations for Poverty Action SME Grant (with Rohini Pande and Natalia Rigol)
2013-2014	Department for International Development PEDL Grant (with Rohini Pande and Natalia Rigol)
2013	Behavioral Economics Reproductive Health Initiative (with Nava Ashraf and Alessandra Voena)
2012-2015	Gates Foundation (with Rohini Pande)
2012-2014	National Science Foundation (with Rachel Glennerster)
2012-2014	Templeton Foundation (with Rohini Pande)
2011-2017	International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie) Project Award (with Rohini Pande)
2011-2016	National Institutes of Health (with Rohini Pande and Lisa Berkman)
2011-2014	International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie) Project Award (with Nava Ashraf)
2011-2012	National Department of Labor Research Award (with Rohini Pande and Sharon Barnhardt)
2011-2014	National Science Foundation SES Grant (with Rohini Pande)
2011-2014	Agricultural Technology Adoption Initiative (ATAI) (with Rohini Pande)
2010-2011	National Department of Labor Research Award (with Rohini Pande)
2010-2015	National Institute of Health P01 Project Award (with Rachel Glennerster)
2010-2012	Science of Generosity Research Award (with Rohini Pande)
2009-2014	Sloan Foundation
2009-2014	IFMR Trust (with Rohini Pande)
2009-2014	International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie) Project Award (with Rachel Glennerster)

PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

2017-	Committee on Editorial Appointments, American Economic Association
2016-2019	Executive Committee, American Economic Association
2009-	Associate Editor, *Journal of Development Economics*
2012-2019	Associate Editor, *Review of Economics and Statistics*
2014-2018	Associate Editor, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*