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Changing Values: Attitudes about Intimate Partner Violence in Immigrants and Natives in Five Western Countries

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ABSTRACT

This article explores attitudes about Intimate Partner Violence Against Women (IPVAW) amongt immigrant (first and second generation) and native populations in five post-industrial societies (Germany, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and USA). Using the sixth wave of World Values Survey, we conclude that there are significant differences, after controlling for demographic factors, between all three sub-populations in attitudes about IPVAW, with first generation immigrants more supportive of IPVAW than either natives or second generation immigrants. We also show that, for the three sub-populations, interactions of attitudes regarding interpersonal violence, gender equality and sexual tolerance are good predictors of attitudes about IPVAW.

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Introduction

Attitudes about physical Intimate Partner Violence Against Women (IPVAW) refer to the social acceptability of any behavior within the relationship that causes physical harm to the woman (called "severe violence" by Straus [2011] or "intimate terrorism" by Johnson [2008, 2011]). In this article, we focus on responses to the question "is it justifiable for a man to beat his wife?" in the sixth wave of the World Values Survey. We consider the responses of natives, immigrants, and second generation immigrants from Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States. In our analysis, we examine the sociodemographic indicators and cultural values of respondents who are supportive of IPVAW in these populations. It has been theorized that the study of these kinds of attitudes facilitates the design of social policies likely to prevent and reduce the prevalence of IPVAW and take better care of victims (Flood and Pease 2009; Gracia 2014). Our hope is that our contribution here will lead to better social policies that are effective in eradicating social support for this kind of violence.

In this article, we consider the attitudes of both men and women, even though the attitudes we speak of concern intimate partner violence against women. This is because we are interested in the social acceptability of IPVAW. However, as noted by Schuman and Johnson (1976), attitudes are not conduct. Research on the prevalence of physical IPVAW in the immigrant and native sub-populations in developing countries tells us that there are little to no differences between the two groups when sociodemographic factors are accounted for (Rodriguez 2015). This observation corroborates the "immigrant paradox," namely that there is a "null or negative relationship between the composition of the foreign-born population in an area and crime rates" (Bersani 2014:317). As such, the immigrant paradox refers to conduct, and we will show that in the case of attitudes, the same relationship does not hold. As we will see in our analysis, there are significant differences in attitudes about IPVAW between natives and immigrants even after accounting for sociodemographic characteristics. Hence, in the case of IPVAW, it is necessary to differentiate between "behavioral

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acculturation" and "value acculturation." In this sense, acculturation is multidimensional with respect to the components that are assumed to change (Berry 1997; Schwartz et al. 2010).

This article compares attitudes about IPVAW in three distinct sub-populations (natives and first and second generation immigrants) in five Western countries (Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States).We expect, and previous research has shown, that the attitudes of the natives of these countries do not correspond with attitudes of the first generation of immigrants. This is because attitudes about IPVAW vary depending on the level of modernization of the country where the individual has been socialized, so that post-industrial societies show less support for IPVAW than industrial or traditional societies (Rodriguez and Khalil 2013). However, most immigrants to post-industrial countries do indeed come from industrial or agrarian societies and it is in those societies that they have been socialized. Hence, we expect immigrants to show higher levels of support of IPVAW than natives.

One of the ways that changes in immigrant attitudes and values (or the lack thereof) have been explained, is the acculturation framework (Berry 1997; Floyd 2003). In the process of acculturation, depending on the retention or rejection of an individual's minority or native culture, and the adoption or rejection of the dominant group or host culture, four strategies of acculturation emerge: assimilation (when individuals adopt the values and attitudes of the host culture over their own), separation (when they reject the values and attitudes of the dominant group and preserve their culture of origin), integration (when individuals adopt the cultural norm of the dominant group while maintaining their culture of origin), and marginalization (when individuals reject both their culture of origin and the dominant host culture). As Berry notes, the process of acculturation happens together with globalization and this leads to cultural and individual change (Berry 2008).

Many researchers have contributed to develop and expand the four strategies of acculturation described above and most conclude that this model of acculturation is too simplistic and general to have predictive validity (Ward 2008). However, there are some aspects that can be useful for our purposes. First, as the topic of our article belongs to the "hard core" of culture (because attitudes about IPVAW refer to family situations), these attitudes should be really slow to change even after an immigrant has spent years in a new society (Navas et al. 2005). Also, it is crucial to understand to whom acculturation applies. In this sense, it is necessary to investigate the context in which acculturation occurs. These contexts refer to if the immigrant lives in ethnic enclaves, if individuals have migrated as youth or as adults, and if acculturation is an issue for the second generation of immigrants (Schwartz et al. 2010). Recently, Kunst and Sam (2013) investigated the role that global identity may play in the positive sociocultural adaptation of those who score high on marginalization, emphasizing that for marginalized people, choosing to identify with the world community as a world citizen may provide a positive sense of self (Kunst and Sam 2013:12–13).

In fact, there are a few studies that explore differences in attitudes about IPVAW between immigrant and native populations and are based on representative samples. Of these, only one study reaches the conclusion that there are no differences between immigrant and native attitudes about IPVAW. This is the result of the study of ethnic and immigrant women in New Zealand (Fanslow et al. 2010). Other studies find significant differences in the attitudes about IPVAW between immigrant and natives. For example, in Spain, Gracia, Herrero, and Lila (2008) found significant differences in attitudes toward IPVAW between natives and Latin-American immigrants. Some researchers have also found a relationship between the processes of adjustment that immigrant populations experience when they come from one culture and interact with another culture with respect to attitudes about IPVAW. Wallach, Weingram, and Avitan (2010) find that Ethiopians who immigrated to Israel held attitudes more supportive of IPVAW than Israeli born Jews. However, those born in Israel to Ethiopian parents held attitudes closer to those of Israeli-born Jews who were not of Ethiopian origin.

Furthermore, some authors conclude that attitudes supporting IPVAW in the acculturation process are also related to attitudes about gender roles. Yoshihama et al., analyzing data from telephone interviews with a random sample of Gujarati men and women aged 18–64 in Metropolitan Detroit, show that "enculturation-values had a significant, positive association with

gender role attitudes (…) and, through this construct, a significant indirect effect on attitudes supportive of IPV" (Yoshihama, Blazevski, and Bybee 2014:254). Bhanot and Senn investigated attitudes about IPVAW in a total of 100 South Asian male University of Windsor students and concluded that acculturation and attitudes toward IPVAW are related through the mediation of attitudes about gender role. For them, "lower acculturation is only related to higher acceptance of wife assault because lower levels of acculturation are related to more restrictive and conservative beliefs about the roles of men and women" (Bhanot and Senn 2007:25).

The research strategy that we have choose to adopt in this article is to approach the study of attitudes about IPVAW from outside the *Berry boxes*. Instead of looking at which acculturation strategy (assimilation, separation, integration, or marginalization) immigrants adopt, we will look at which sociodemographic variables at the individual level correlate with support for IPVAW in natives, and first and second generation immigrants. In addition to socioeconomic indicators, we also look at which other value orientations correlate with opposition or support of IPVAW. It is in the discussion of our results that we come back to the acculturation debate and how our findings contribute to it. More importantly, we will also discuss our findings in the context of the design of social policies to combat physical IPVAW. Let us begin by fleshing out a general model to explain the interaction of how attitudes about IPVAW with other attitudes and with conduct.

Understanding attitudes about IPVAW

The social acceptability of physical IPVAW does not always correspond with prevalence. An integrated, ecological framework for violence against women (Heise 1998; Stith et al. 2004; Flood and Pease 2009) suggests that it is necessary to take into account a wide range of risk factors related to intimate partner physical abuse perpetration and victimization that demonstrate the complexity of the causes and correlates of domestic violence. This multifactor framework considers the prevalence of physical IPVAW as a result of the interaction between various individual characteristics and environmental factors. As explained by Stith et al. (2004), there are multiple levels of factors related to IPVAW: the macrosystem (general cultural values and beliefs), the exosystem (the offender's individual formal and informal social structures such as their friendship, work place, support groups, and legal institution), the microsystem (characteristics of the immediate setting in which abuse takes place), and the ontogentic level (the abuser's developmental history). Societal attitudes about IPVAW are located at the macrosystem level with variation at the individual level caused by other factors (e.g., those related to the exosystem).

In this article we focus on three sets of attitudes that can be connected to IPVAW at the macrosystem level: general attitudes about violence, attitudes about gender equality, and attitudes about sexual tolerance. These three sets of attitudes are based on the integrated, ecological framework developed by Heise (1998). As Heise stated, acceptance of interpersonal violence in a society is connected to IPVAW. In short, she argues that "Where interpersonal violence is tolerated in the society at large, women are at greater risk" (Heise 1998:282). She also notes that this relationship also operates at the individual level: acceptance of interpersonal violence is a characteristic of sexually aggressive men. For our purposes, it is important to connect attitudes about IPVAW with attitudes about interpersonal violence in a society. Violence in an intimate relationship is one method to deal with conflict. Hence it is related to how people would resolve conflicts with others.

Gender inequality is a factor that also influences IPVAW. The specific violence used by men when they beat their wives has long been regarded as one of the most important issues in feminist scholarship (Yllö 1988:28). Here, violence becomes not just a method of conflict resolution, but a method by which men control women. So, IPVAW has one of its root causes in the fact that we live in sexist societies. This model notes the importance of patriarchy in explaining IPVAW but does not limit itself to it (Heise 1998:277). Hence, "the more that people maintain egalitarian gender attitudes, the better are their attitudes toward violence against women" (Flood and Pease 2009:128).

A third factor that influences IPVAW is the attitude about sexual tolerance in a society. In Heise's model, she identifies a set of cultural values and beliefs about the rigid gender roles, which increase

the likelihood of violence against women (Heise 1998). Inglehart and Norris (2003) have proposed an index of sexual tolerance that combines attitudes about abortion, divorce, homosexuality, and prostitution that, from our point of view, captures the rigidity gender roles in a society quite well. These norms tell us about attitudes toward sexual freedom: people are able to decide when to procreate (abortion), break-up the family (divorce), have a homosexual relationship, and buy and sell sexuality (prostitution). The increase of sexual tolerance in a society combined with egalitarian gender values result in attitudes less favorable to IPVAW (Rodriguez and Khalil 2013).

Hence, in order to explain attitudes about IPVAW in individuals, we develop a model with three components. The first relates to the general acceptance of interpersonal violence, the second captures attitudes about gender equality and the third looks at the rigidity of gender roles. In the next section we specify our hypotheses and develop the instruments which capture this model but before that, we describe our sample of natives, immigrants, and second generation of immigrants from Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States.

Data

For this study we use the data from the sixth wave of the World Values Survey (2010–2014). This wave of the survey was carried out using nationally representative samples in 52 countries. In this analysis, we focus on five countries: Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States. We chose these countries as we wanted to carry out our analysis in post-industrial societies and it was only in these post-industrial countries that all the survey questions used in our analysis were asked. These countries give us a fairly large sample size of 5,990 natives, 1,086 immigrants, and 2,139 second generation immigrants.

We differentiated between immigrants and natives using a survey question that asked if the respondent was born in this country or was an immigrant. So, in our analysis, an immigrant is someone not born in the country where the survey was carried out. For second generation immigrants, we relied on two survey questions that asked if the respondent's mother and father were immigrants. Our sub-population of second generation immigrants consists only of those natives whose mother and father were both immigrants. In our sample, the sociodemographic characteristics of natives, immigrants, and second generation of immigrants differ significantly. Table 1 gives us mean values for sociodemographic variables for natives, immigrants, and second generation immigrants. An ANOVA analysis confirmed that the differences in the means are significant at the 5% confidence interval. In Table 1, we see that second generation immigrants lower educational levels and lower income levels than both natives and first generation immigrants. Finally, first generation immigrants attended religious services more than either natives or second generation immigrants.

Figure 1 shows us the proportions of natives, immigrants and second generation immigrants by sociodemographic variables. Here, we have added the variable religious denomination, which shows us that while more than 30% of all three groups do not identify with a religious denomination, a staggering 60% of second generation immigrants do not belong to any religious group. This is seen in the variable measuring attendance of religious services, which shows that more than 60% of second generation immigrants

Table 1. Mean values of sociodemographic indicators for natives, immigrants, and second generation immigrants.

	Native	Immigrants	Second generation immigrants
How often do you attend religious services (Higher means less religious attendance)	3.80	3.38	4.09
Education level (recoded) (Higher means better education level)	2.32	2.28	2.07
Income level (Higher means more income)	5.10	4.87	4.71
Family saving in the last year (Lower means greater savings)	1.77	1.89	1.75

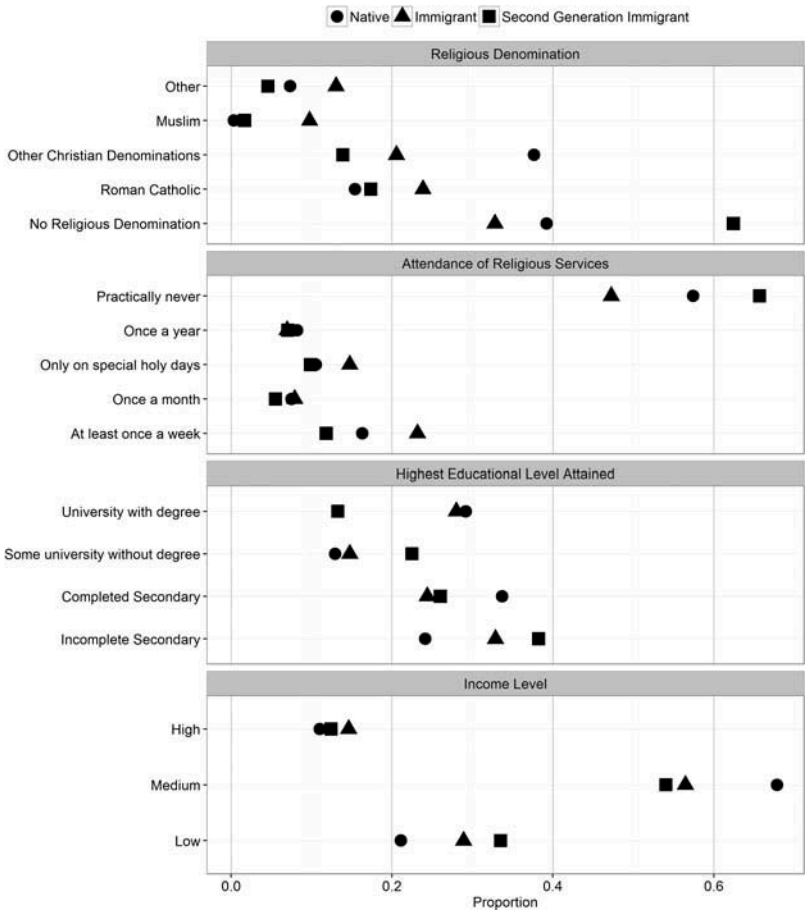

Figure 1. Proportions of natives, immigrants, and second generation immigrants by sociodemographic indicators.

practically ever attend such services. Also, we see that approximately 10% of immigrants are Muslim but very few (less than 0.1%) of natives and second generation immigrants are. Most of those surveyed are Christian, while there are some immigrants (13%) who are neither Muslim nor Christian (they belong to other religious traditions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, etc.). The socioeconomic indicators, of which we saw the means in Table 1, are broken down in Figure 1. We can see that second generation immigrants have the lowest educational level as a group, with 38% of them not completing secondary school. The corresponding figure for natives and immigrants is 24 and 33%, respectively. This translates into income levels as well because 33% of second generation immigrants earn at the lower income level as opposed to 21 and 29% of natives and immigrants, respectively.

Hypothesis

We have three sets of hypotheses: the first concern how our three different sub-populations justify IPVAW (or not), the second concern demographics and the third are about attitudes. Given the limitations of our data, we can only compare the justification of the different groups to IPVAW in a broad sense—we can check if there is a statistical difference in the rates of justification of IPVAW between natives, immigrants, and second-generation immigrants. As we are studying post-industrial societies, we assume that most of the immigrants to these countries come from developing countries. Previous research has shown that there are higher rates of justification of IPVAW in these countries (Rodriguez and Khalil 2013), hence we expect that

immigrants in our sample will have higher rates of justification of IPVAW as well. In other words, we expect immigrant to justify IPVAW to a greater extent than natives. Also, due to the process of acculturation, we expect that there will be no significant statistical difference between second generation immigrants and natives in rates of justification of IPVAW.

H1: There is a statistically significant difference in attitudes towards IPVAW between first generation immigrants and natives. This difference is not statistically significant between second generation immigrants and natives.

We also check if the sociodemographic indicators like age, educational level, marital status, and family savings can explain attitudes toward IPVAW. If they are indeed significant, we would expect them to explain attitudes in this way: young men, with a lower educational level, not married, and with low savings should have the highest probability of justifying IPVAW. Finally, these socio-demographic indicators should hold explanatory power for all three sub-populations with the expected direction.

H2a: After controlling for demographic factors, immigration status is a significant predictor of attitudes toward IPVAW.

H2b: The demographic factors hold explanatory power for natives, immigrants, and second generation immigrants in the expected direction.

The third group of hypotheses is concerned with how different sets of attitudes are related to attitudes about IPVAW. As we have stated before, attitudes about interpersonal violence, gender equality, and sexual tolerance should explain attitudes toward IPVAW. We expect that those who justify violence against others and with lower levels of gender equality and sexual tolerance will, with a high probability, justify IPVAW. Moreover, we expect there to be interaction effects between these sets of attitudes. Hence, it is not only one attitude in isolation, but a particular configuration of attitudes that leads to attitudes supportive of IPVAW. Concerning differences between immigrants, natives, and second generation immigrants, we expect there to be a different configuration in each.

H3: Attitudes about violence against others, gender equality and sexual tolerance explain attitudes towards IPVAW in natives, immigrants, and second generation immigrants.

H3a: Different configurations of attitudes about violence, gender equality and sexual tolerance will explain attitudes towards IPVAW in immigrants, natives, and second generation immigrants.

Variables

For the dependent variable in this analysis, we have used the following question about IPVAW: Is it justifiable for a man to beat his wife? The response was recoded into a dichotomous variable. The demographic variables we have chosen for this analysis are sex, age, marital status, education, and family savings in the last year. Age has been coded into three intervals: 15 to 29, 30 to 59, and 60 and above. The marital status has been coded into a dichotomous variable, differentiating between those who are married or living as married and those who are unmarried or divorced or widowed. The respondent's educational level has been included as a continuous variable, which is their age when their completed their formal education. This has been done as we are comparing educational levels between countries and between immigrants and natives. For this variable, a higher number means a greater number of years spent enrolled in formal education. The variable about family savings is a dichotomous variable and differentiates those who saved money the last year and those who did not.

The third hypothesis concerns attitudes about violence, gender equality, and sexual tolerance. Attitudes about interpersonal violence are captured by the survey question which asks if it is justifiable to use violence against others. We have recoded it into a dichotomous variable which is coded one if violence against others is never justifiable, and zero otherwise. In order to capture attitudes about gender equality and sexual tolerance, we constructed two indices based on three sets of questions. These indices are based on previous research by Inglehart and Norris (2003) and Rodriguez and Khalil (2013). The index of gender equality is constructed using responses to the following three questions: (a) if men make better business executives than women do, (b) if men make better political leaders than women do, and (c) if university is more important for a boy than a girl. Respondents answered these questions on a four point, agree/disagree, Likert-style scale with agree coded low. The responses to these three questions was added and standardized to 100 in order to get the gender equality scale. The index of sexual tolerance was constructed using responses to three issues: abortion, divorce, and homosexuality. The responses to these questions were on a ten-point scale with a lower value signifying less support for that particular issue. The responses to these questions were added and standardized to 100 to give the index of sexual tolerance.

Analysis

In order to test the first hypothesis, namely that there is a statistically significant difference between immigrants and natives in attitudes toward IPVAW, we present a cross-tabulation of those who justify IPVAW.

In Table 2, we see that 22.3% of all immigrants justify IPVAW while only 14.3% of natives do. The difference between immigrants and natives is statistically significant by the Chi-square test and Fischer's Exact Test. There is no statistically significant difference between the proportions of people who justify IPVAW between second generation immigrants and natives.

In order to check hypothesis two, we conducted logistic regressions with the attitudes about IPVAW as the dependent variable. In our first model we regressed attitudes about IPVAW against immigration status, while models two and three add demographic variables. In Table 3, we present the odds ratios along with the level of significance of the explanatory variables.

The first result we see is that across all three models, immigration status is a strong predictor of attitudes towards IPVAW. The results hold when all demographic indicators have been introduced and hence validates Hypothesis 2a. From Table 3, we can see that immigrants are more likely than natives to justify IPVAW. Similarly, men are more likely than women to do so. Age is a strong predictor of attitudes towards IPVAW with young people much more likely to justify it than older people. Education also plays a role with higher education decreasing the likelihood of attitudes favorably towards IPVAW. More financial resources (in the form of family savings) also decrease the likelihood of attitudes favorable towards IPVAW. In order to check Hypothesis 2b, we conducted separate logistic regressions for immigrants, second generation immigrants and natives. We expected the results seen in Table 3 to hold for all sub-populations. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 4.

Here, we see that while the demographic variables are significant in the expected direction for natives, they are not significant for immigrants. For natives, people with the following characteristics are likelier than others to justify IPVAW: men, younger people, those with lower education, those who are not married, and those who had no family savings in the last year. However, for immigrants,

Table 2. Percentage of those who justify IPVAW.

	Immigrant	Native
First generation Immigrant	21.5	14.4
Second generation Immigrant	14.2	14.4

Table 3. Odds ratios from logistic regression.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Immigration status (immigrant is reference)			
Native	0.582***	0.572***	0.597***
Sex (Female is reference)			
Male		1.812***	1.839***
Age (60 and above is reference)			
15 to 29 years			1.791***
30 to 59 years			1.196**
Marital status (Married or living as married is reference)			
Not married/Divorced/Widowed			1.137*
Age when completed education			0.985***
Family savings in past year (borrowed money is reference)			
Saved money			0.798***

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .1$

Table 4. Odds ratios for different sub-populations.

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Immigrants	Natives	Second generation immigrants	Immigrants	Natives	Second generation immigrants
Sex (Female is reference)						
Male	1.403**	1.676***	2.938***	1.322*	1.712***	3.177***
Age (60 and above is reference)						
15 to 29 years				1.797**	1.168***	2.373***
30 to 59 years				1.069	1.221*	1.340*
Marital status (Married or living as married is reference)						
Not married/Divorced/Widowed				0.9	1.291**	0.933
Age when completed education				0.987	0.986**	0.972*
Family savings in past year (borrowed money is reference)						
Saved money				0.872	0.818**	0.700**

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .1$

the only significant explanatory variables are sex and age and the effect of age is weak at best as it is significant at only 90% CI. From this we infer that while demographic variables can predict the social profile of those who justify IPVAW among natives, the same is not the case for immigrants. Besides age, demographics do not explain which immigrants are likelier to justify IPVAW. The picture is more nuanced for second generation immigrants. For this sub-population, marital status is not a significant predictor of support for IPVAW. However, sex, age, education, and family savings do explain support for IPVAW in the same direction as that for natives. Hence we conclude that demographic predictors of attitudes toward IPVAW hold explanatory power for natives and second generation immigrants but not for immigrants.

Moving on to the third hypothesis, we conducted logistic regression analysis with attitudes about violence against others, gender equality, and sexual tolerance as the dependent variables. The results of this regression are presented in Table 5 in the form of odds-ratios. One of the most striking

Table 5. Attitudes that explain justification of IPVAW.

	Immigrants	Natives	Second generation immigrants
Violence against others is justifiable	24.421***	21.191***	121.432***
Gender Equality Scale	0.966**	1.001	1.001
Index of Sexual Tolerance	0.992	1.055***	1.004
Violence * Gender Equality Scale	1.016	1.011	0.984
Violence * Sexual Tolerance	0.977**	0.982***	0.994
Gender Equality Scale * Sexual Tolerance	1.001	0.999***	1.001

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$

conclusions from this analysis is that for second generation immigrants, attitudes about gender equality and sexual tolerance do not play a role in explaining attitudes towards IPVAW. In fact, for this sub-population, only attitudes about violence in general are a significant predictor of attitudes about IPVAW. For immigrants, gender equality plays a large role in explaining attitudes about IPVAW, while for natives it is sexual tolerance. For all three sub-populations, attitudes about violence towards others strongly predict attitudes toward IPVAW.

Due to the interaction terms it is not easy to see the effect that attitudes about gender equality and sexual tolerance have. In order to aid interpretation, we present four graphs detailing the probability of justification of IPVAW for different values of the gender equality scale and index of sexual tolerance. In Figure 2 we see two graphs showing the probability for justification of IPVAW for natives. The first graph is for natives who justify violence against others and we see that for low levels of both gender equality and sexual tolerance, the probability of justification of IPVAW is around 40%. For this group, higher values of sexual tolerance at low levels of gender equality lead to a greater likelihood of justification of IPVAW. However, at higher levels of gender equality, higher levels of sexual tolerance predict a lower likelihood of justification of IPVAW. For natives who do not justify violence against others, the probability of justification of IPVAW is extremely low. It only rises for those who higher levels of sexual tolerance and lower levels of gender equality.

For immigrants, the graphs are shown in Figure 3. Here we see that for immigrants who justify violence against others, the likelihood that they justify IPVAW is fairly high. However, this probability decreases with an increase in both gender equality and sexual tolerance. For immigrants who do not justify violence against others, sexual tolerance does not play a role and the probability of justification of IPVAW depends only on levels of gender equality.

Discussion

Our results show that there is a significant difference between immigrants and natives in attitudes toward IPVAW. While 22.3% of immigrants justify IPVAW, the corresponding number for natives is 14.4%. However, this difference disappears in the second generation of immigrants and they have rates of justification of IPVAW roughly the same as natives (14.2%). Hence, the "immigrant paradox" does not apply to attitudes about IPVAW. Indeed, it seems that attitudes about IPVAW are formed due to socialization and do not change easily because even if the immigrants do not show any significant differences with natives in the prevalence of IPVAW, their attitudes about IPVAW differ significantly from both natives and second generation immigrants.

Our results corroborate those of Wallach, Weingram, and Avitan (2010) about Ethiopians who immigrate to Israel. In their case, they also show the significant differences in attitudes about IPVAW between immigrants and natives, but that difference decreases with second generation immigrants. We also corroborate the results of Gracia et al. who looked at native and immigrant attitudes in Spain. However, our results do not directly shed light on the process of acculturation. In order to do this, we would need data on immigrant attitudes when they came to their host country and data on those same attitudes after an interval of time. Since we do not have such data, we do not know whether or not their attitudes changed on their arrival in their host country.

Moving on to demographic factors, our results show that there are significant differences in the attitudes about IPVAW between immigrants and natives after controlling for demographic factors. For immigrants, sex and age are the only demographic factors that are significant predictors of support for IPVAW. However, for natives, sex, age, marital status, education, and family savings are all good predictors. Second generation immigrants show a result similar to natives, except that marital status is not a significant predictor for them.

The fact that most socioeconomic variables do not explain support for IPVAW in immigrants suggests the complexity and heterogeneity of this group. We analyze the sociodemographic variables

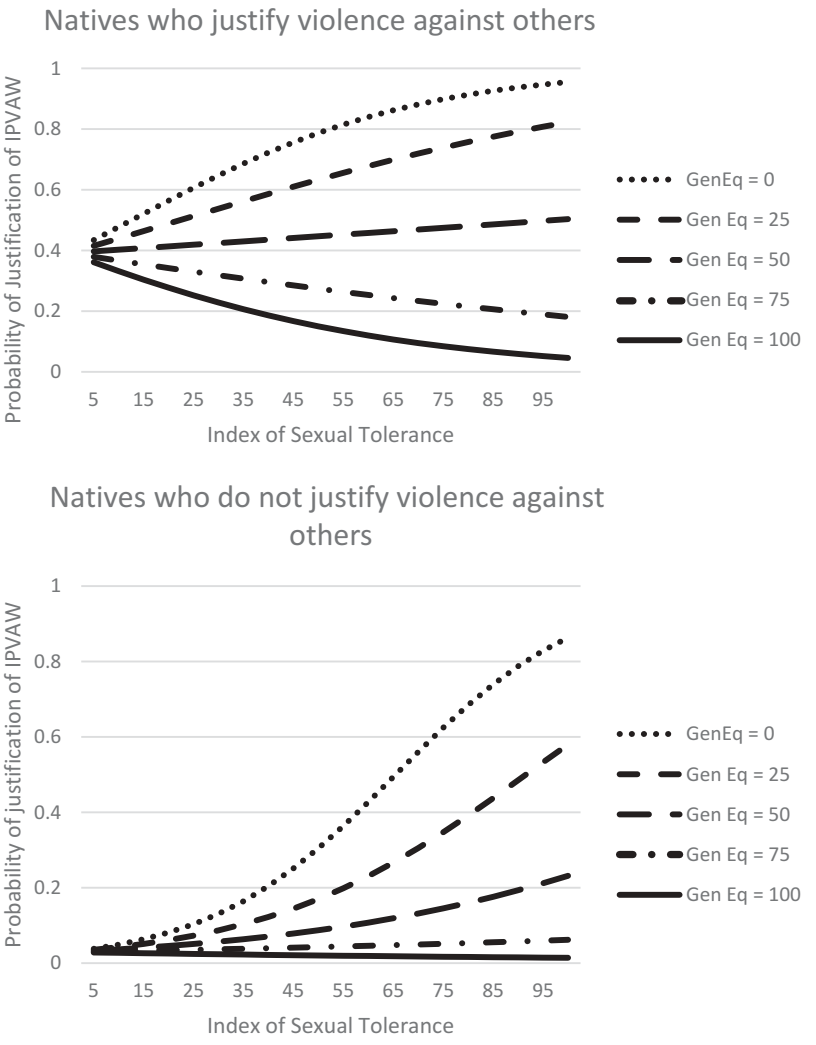

Figure 2. Graphs showing probability of justification of IPVAW for natives.

of immigrants in their host country without taking into account the country in which these immigrants have been socialized. This is not the case for second generation immigrants and we see that sociodemographic variables are significant predictors of support for IPVAW.

Perhaps the most interesting results obtained in this research are those related to attitudes about interpersonal violence, gender equality, and sexual tolerance. The rate of support for interpersonal violence is similar in the three sub-populations (30.7% in natives, 30.1% in immigrants, and 31.1 % in second generation immigrants), and this is the attitude that explains a lot of the variation in IPVAW in the three sub-populations. So, the justification of IPVAW is strongly connected to the justification of interpersonal violence. The ecological framework about IPVAW is right as it posits that the attitudes about IPVAW depend, first of all, on the general support for violence (Heise 1998). Gender equality or sexual tolerance do not explain support for IPVAW in second generation immigrants. For them, IPVAW is just an issue of interpersonal violence. This conclusion obviously has a consequence for the design of social policies: in order to change attitudes about IPVAW, especially in second generation immigrants, the focus should be on interpersonal violence.

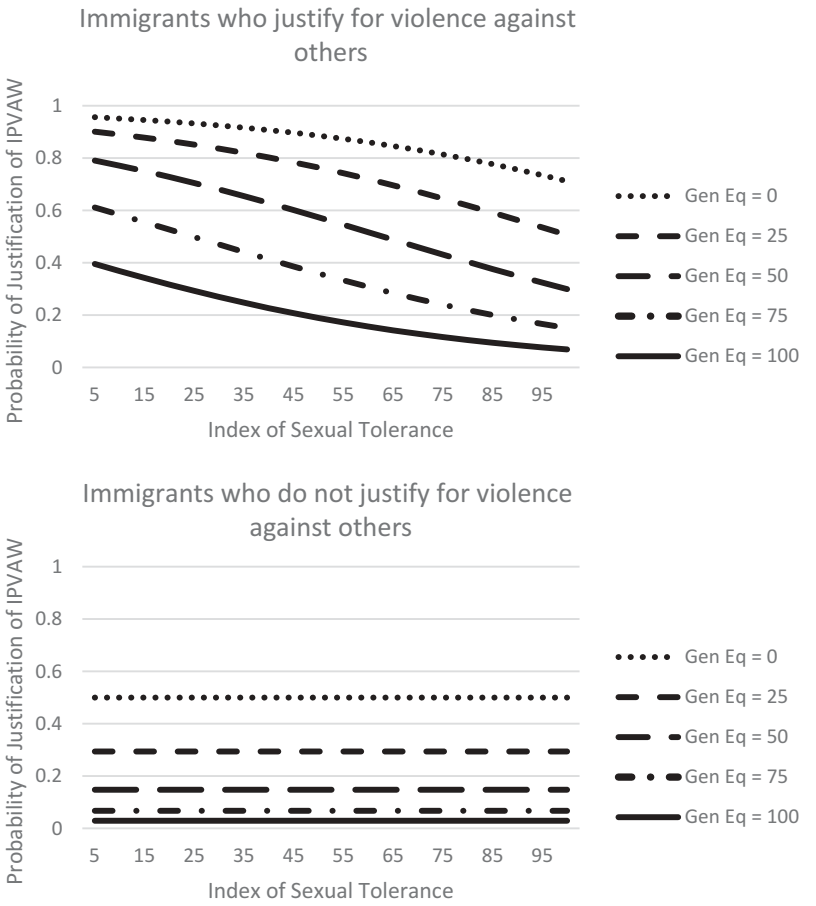

Figure 3. Graphs showing probability of justification of IPVAW for immigrants.

Moving on to attitudes about gender equality and sexual tolerance, we have the result that for natives it is both the attitudes gender equality and sexual tolerance and their interaction that predict attitudes about IPVAW. Attitudes about gender equality are shown to be good predictors of attitudes about IPVAW for immigrants. For the second generation of immigrants, neither attitudes about gender equality nor sexual tolerance are good predictors of attitudes about IPVAW. In fact, our study corroborates the conclusion of some authors related to gender role in the sense that more equality is related with less support to IPVAW (Bhanot and Senn 2007; Yoshihama et al. 2014) but only for natives and immigrants, not for second generation immigrants.

For natives, our results also corroborate some of the outcomes that Rodriguez and Khalil (2013) obtain for postindustrial societies. As they show, in postindustrial societies, the attitudes about IPVAW are related with gender equality and sexual tolerance in that higher levels of both lead to a decrease in the probability that an individual will support IPVAW. For immigrants, we see that gender equality is an important predictor of attitudes about IPVAW while sexual tolerance is not. Higher levels of gender equality are associated with lower levels of support for IPVAW, as should be expected.

The fact that sexual tolerance is not a good predictor of attitudes about IPVAW in immigrant compared to natives means that the values and attitudes of immigrants seem to be closer to their countries of origin than to the host society. Again, it looks like the process of acculturation did not change the combination of attitudes of first generation immigrants. This conclusion maybe corroborates the idea that attitudes about IPVAW belong to the "hard core" of culture and are difficult to

change even after years in the new society (Navas et al. 2005). However, for second generation immigrants, neither attitudes about gender equality nor sexual tolerance are significant predictors of support for IPVAW. Second generation immigrants show less support for IPVAW than immigrants and are roughly on par with natives. However, attitudes about gender equality and sexual tolerance do not predict their views of IPVAW.

Further research on this topic needs to focus on the attitudes of second generation immigrants, specifically as to why the value orientation of gender equality and sexual tolerance does not explain support for IPVAE in this sub-population. The explanation could lie in a new kind of social identity for this group. As far as social policies specifically focused on this sub-population, we have already suggested attention to attitudes about inter-personal violence. However, there may be other factors to consider (e.g., other views on gender and sexuality) that we could not due to the limitations of our dataset. We know that second generation immigrants have lower socioeconomic indicators than natives, yet this does not lead to less support for IPVAW. Further research is required in order to ascertain the cause of this difference.

Limitation of the study

There are some limitations of this study that have to do with our dataset. Even though the World Values Survey is the best large database about values and attitudes, it does not focus specifically on IPVAW and inter-personal violence. Also, the sampling methodology varies between countries. Some countries, such as New Zealand, do not include undocumented immigrants in their sample.

Also, with the World Values Survey database we cannot investigate the context in which acculturation occurs: if immigrants live in ethnic enclaves or not, if the immigrants arrived as youth or adult, the country of origin of the immigrants, or even the differences between the host countries. And, more importantly, we do not have the possibility to measure the change in the attitudes of immigrants over time due to the lack of time-series data.

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