

The effectiveness of documentary films to reduce violence against women: Experimental evidence from Tanzania*

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Abstract

We conduct an experiment to investigate the effectiveness of documentary films to reduce domestic violence. We use a short documentary film produced and broadcasted by the national government in Tanzania in 2009. We evaluate the documentary's effects in terms of attitudes towards violence against women (for both women and men), and in terms of reporting having experienced violence (for women). Our results suggest that the documentary does not have an effect on attitudes towards violence, and that it tends to exacerbate underreporting of own experiences of violence among women. The results are similar when we use a documentary on violence against albinos as an alternative treatment. This suggests that specific information on violence against women was not sufficient to change attitudes, and that the severity of the specific content in these documentaries is what had the strongest impact. Our findings contrast with existing literature on the effects of non-documentary films and media on changing similarly harmful and maladaptive attitudes and behavior, and point towards the importance of the form in which information about violence against women is broadcasted.

Keywords: Violence against women, social norms, culture, media, surveys.

JEL Classifications: J16, L82, Z13.

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1. Introduction

Domestic violence against women is a widespread global problem, affecting almost one in every third adult women in the world (WHO 2013). Given its strong relation with the overall level of development, it is more prevalent in certain parts of Africa and Asia than in other parts of the world.

Governments and non-governmental organizations around the world are active in finding solutions to eradicate this problem with a wide range of different actions and interventions. The use of documentary films is a concrete example of informational campaigns implemented in different parts of the world. Documentary films on domestic violence usually aim to disseminate information in order to attain several goals. They aim to make violence against women a public issue, to change the attitude of perpetrators, and to empower victims by showing that their experience is shared by many – which in practice is expected to encourage them to reporting and taking other forms of actions against perpetrators. This type of documentary films also typically share information about the legal consequences of violent behavior towards women, with the aim of discouraging perpetrators. (See e.g. Donovan and Vlasis 2005.)

Non-documentary audiovisual material has the potential to change attitudes and domestic behavior (La Ferrara and Chong 2009), and in particular to affect also harmful and maladaptive domestic behavior (Vogt 2018; Banerjee, La Ferrara and Orozco 2020); but the effectiveness of documentary material for changing deeply ingrained harmful beliefs and practices, such as domestic violence against women, has so far not been researched empirically. In this paper we present a first attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of documentary films to eradicate violence against women.

We exploit the fact that the Tanzanian Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children produced and broadcasted in 2009 three documentary films showing severe cases of violence against women, albinos and children, as part of a national campaign. The overall goal of showing these film was to increase awareness of the implications of violence for different groups of society, to reduce attitudes tolerating violent behavior, and to motivate victims to speak out and seek support. We used the Ministry's documentary film on violence against women as an experimental treatment, and measured the effectiveness in terms of rates of reporting own experiences, and also in terms of attitudes towards domestic violence, for both men and women.¹

¹ The problem is notably pervasive in Tanzania, where survey-based research shows that 30 to 40 percent of all women have experienced physical or sexual violence at some point in their life (WHO 2005). The incidence of violence against women in Tanzania can also be severe. Half of women who had ever been injured by a partner reported that they needed health care for the injury (Ellsberg et al. 2008). The prevailing social norms in the country do not show harsh judgement of the acts of male violence against women, and occasionally even justify it (Laisser et al. 2011).

To carry out our evaluation, we randomized our intervention in a sample of 480 women and men participants in rural Tanzania. We compared rates of justification and own experiences of domestic violence among women, between participants who watched the documentary on violence against women, and those who watched the documentary on violence against albinos (as an alternative treatment to disentangle the specific informational content of the documentary from the severity of the form in which the message is broadcasted), or did not watch any documentary.

Our results show an insignificant effect on attitudes towards domestic violence, and a tendency for women to underreport the experience of domestic violence among those who watched the documentary on violence against women. The effects are similar for the documentary on violence against albinos. This suggests specific information on violence against women is not sufficient to change attitudes, and in particular that the severity of the specific content in these documentaries is what had the strongest impact. Our findings contrast with existing literature on the effects of non-documentary films and media on changing similarly harmful and maladaptive attitudes and behavior, and point towards the importance of the form in which information about violence against women is broadcasted.²

Overall, our results can help improve our understanding of the potential of media contents to influence social norms. They contribute to a recent and growing literature on the design of interventions aimed at mitigating cultural conflict in a way that is not intrusive or requires radical abandonment of traditions, values, or beliefs. For example, Vogt et al. (2016) showed that entertaining movies can be used to successfully challenge social norms of female genital mutilation in culturally diverse societies. Our results also complement a series of studies that show a potential of education-entertainment programs to affect behavior and change attitudes towards harmful social norms (Banerjee et al. 2020; Green et al. 2019; Arias 2019). More broadly, our results contribute to the literature related to studies of different types of television programs and their effects on improving the status of women (Jensen and Oster 2009; La Ferrara and Chong 2009; Kearney and Levine 2015), studies that estimate the effectiveness of aspirational films in inducing behavioral changes in poor countries (Lubega et al. 2017; Bernard et al. 2015; Riley 2017; Banerjee et al. 2015) and studies that use entertaining film material to inform about public policies (Ravallion et al. 2015; Banerjee et al. 2015; Berg and Zia 2017). Finally, they are also related to literature in sociology about the adoption of new norms and adherence to them (Bandura 1986; DellaVigna and Gentzkow 2010), coordination on social norms through the creation of common knowledge (Mackie 1996; Chwe 2013).

² They also suggest that documentary films may not be a successful way of changing attitudes towards violence against women in environments where attitudes and the practice of domestic violence against women are deeply ingrained. Such environments may require different ways of approaching the issue – for instance, a more active socialization of the adverse consequences of violence against women.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a literature review. Section 3 describes the data and method used in the intervention. In Section 4, we present the results, and in Section 5 our conclusions.

2. Literature

Domestic violence has not been studied extensively in economics. The available studies mainly focus on the relationship between the economic status of women and their exposure to domestic violence (Aizer 2010; Anderson 1999; Tur-Prats 2015; Farmer and Tiefenthaler 1997; Heath 2014). A few studies investigate the effects of public policy on domestic violence, for example, the case of mandatory arrest laws (Iyengar 2009) and prosecution policies in the US (Aizer and Dal Bó 2009). A few studies focus on male motives for violence. Emotional shocks, such as losses by the home football team, lead to a significant increase in police reports of intimate partner violence in the US (Card and Dahl 2011). In India, husbands resort to violence against their wives to extract more transfers from the wife's family, especially if the wife comes from a wealthy family (Bloch and Rao 2002). Sekhri and Storeygard (2014) find that violence against women arises from incentives to smooth consumption.

A closely related body of literature uses observational data to investigate the impact of media on a range of female empowerment outcomes. Jensen and Oster (2009) study the effect of the introduction of cable television on women's status in rural India. They find that the introduction of cable television is associated with significant decreases in the acceptance of domestic violence toward women, decreases in fertility and son preference, as well as increases in women's autonomy. La Ferrara et al. (2012) estimate the effect of soap operas on fertility in Brazil. Women exposed to the soap operas that portray small families have significantly lower fertility, which in particular holds for women of lower socioeconomic status. Using the same set-up, Chong and La Ferrara (2009) find that the share of women who are separated or divorced increases significantly after getting access to the TV network that had a monopoly on showing soap operas in Brazil.

Yet another body of literature investigates how visual material can be used to change harmful social norms. In this regard, a special focus is placed on the potential of education-entertainment (so-called edutainment) programs to affect behavior and change attitudes towards harmful social norms (Banerjee et al. 2019; Green et al. 2019; Arias 2019). Vogt et al. (2016) have used entertaining movies as interventional treatments in a study on the ways to measure attitudes about female genital cutting in Sudan. The movies have produced significant increases in positive attitudes about uncut girls, which shows that entertainment can serve as a tool for applied cultural evolution. Banerjee et al. (2019) have evaluated the potential of the edutainment TV series MTV Shuga to change attitudes towards domestic violence among individuals aged 18-25 in Nigeria. They found that the exposure to the TV series has led to the improvement in men's attitudes towards women and that it has reduced the number of

instances in which gender-based violence was considered justifiable, specifically forcing one's partner to have sex or beating. Green et al. (2019) have launched a randomized intervention in Uganda centered on an education-entertainment film campaign designed to convince viewers that violence against women is unacceptable and to encourage victims and witnesses to speak out and report instances of violence to formal or informal authorities. While the film intervention did not have a statistically significant effect on general attitudes about violence against women, the results reveal an increase in willingness to report acts of violence to local authorities and family members. Arias (2019) has used an audio soap-opera in an experimental setting to investigate whether the change in harmful social norms arises through individual mechanism based on persuasion and a social mechanism based on higher-order beliefs and coordination. His results show that the influence of media on social norms arises from social, rather than individual persuasion effects.

Visual cues have also been used in studies that investigate how they can increase truthfulness of the responses given to sensitive questions such as experience of intimate partner violence. In the US, Slead et al. (2002) have conducted a comparison of written and film vignettes in eliciting responses about date rape. Johnson (2000) has used film-delivered simulations of child maltreatment to study children's personal safety knowledge. The film treatment has also been used in a study on assessing attitudes toward adolescent dating and sibling violence in the US (Reese-Weber 2008).

Documentary material broadcasted through radio or television has been used in promoting the public interest since the beginning of the 20th century. The initial use for informal learning or entertainment has been gradually replaced by the objective to mold public opinion, shape policy and build activist networks (Whiteman 2007). Wilson (1948) found that broadcast documentaries were effective in creating audience attitude shifts, although audience engagement was not easily measured. Documentaries with political information have the potential to strongly influence public opinion (LaMarre and Landreville 2009), and shape debates over social issues and policy questions (Nisbet and Aufderheide 2009). In the domain of environment and climate change, documentaries are found to shift opinions and perceptions of risk, behavioral and voting intentions, and policy priorities (Leiserowitz 2004). The evidence also shows that thematic documentaries make audience better informed about, for example, the causes of global warming and increase concern among viewers about the environment and willingness to reduce greenhouse gases (Nolan 2010; Jacobsen 2011). The increased levels of concern and motivation to act, however, are found not to persist over the long term (Howell 2014; Jacobsen 2011).

A large body of research is focused on the contribution of media violence to aggressive attitudes and behaviors, especially among children and youth (Murray 2008). Depending on how media productions are constructed, they can both provoke aggression and convey positive influence, such as promote antiviolence attitudes and healthier ways of interpersonal conflict resolution (Cantor and Wilson 2003).

Unlike in the case of general media, evidence dealing directly with the impact of documentaries on attitudes towards violence and behavioral change is scarce. Linz et al. (1990) investigated the effectiveness of a rape education film to change misconceptions about relationships and sexual violence. They found that men exposed to the intervention express less endorsement of rape myths and reported fewer sexually coercive behaviors. Pham (2015) investigated the potential of social media and documentary films to initiate more open public discourse about sexual violence in Vietnam. While such interventions have a potential to achieve this goal, they are hampered by prejudice and discrimination and a lack of support services for victims of violence.

3. Data and methods

The data for our study come from a randomized intervention in the field and a participant survey. The intervention took place over two weeks in January and February 2018 in six villages in rural Tanzania, three of which located in Mwanza Region by Lake Victoria and three in Pwani Region on the Indian Ocean coast. The location of the research areas is shown in Figure 1.

[Figure 1]

Our main intention with showing the film on violence against women was the same as in the original (2009) government intervention, namely to motivate the viewers to sympathize or recall own experiences of domestic violence, and therefore eventually increase their reporting rates. Our intention with showing the film on violence against albinos was to control for the experience of watching a film on violence against any other human being.

3.1. The intervention

The intervention consisted of showing two s to separate randomly chosen groups of men and women. The first film docvideouments the case of a victim of domestic violence, and her efforts to overcome such situation, while the second film documents the cases of violence against albinos. The first film is 13 minutes long and the second film is nine minutes long. Both were extracted from the 45-minute movie titled “Kataa Ukatili Dhidi ya Wanawake, Watoto na Mauaji ya Albino,” which means “Stop Violence Against Women, Children and Killings of Albinos”. This movie was produced by the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, with technical support from the Hanns Seidel Foundation. It was broadcasted in cinemas and mobile cinema vans between 2009 and 2011, and it was also shortly and sporadically broadcasted on television during the same period.

We recruited 240 women and 240 men to participate in the intervention.³ One half was from three villages in the coastal region, while the other half was from three villages in the lake region. In each village, 40 women and 40 men were invited to come to the local extension services office to participate in the study. In the first village in each region, 13 men and 13 women were randomly selected for the violence against women film treatment and the same number of women and men were selected to watch the violence against albinos film. In each village, seven men and seven women have not watched any film, so they comprise a control group. In total, 156 participants (78 women and 78 men) watched the violence against women film and the same number watched the violence against albinos film, while 168 men and women comprise the absolute control group, not having watched any film. The film was shown separately to women and men.

Participants were invited through community leaders to participate in the study and were told that they could earn at least a participation fee of 5,000 Tanzanian shillings (TZS).⁴ Only adult men and women (those 15 years or older) were permitted to participate.⁵ The participants in the control group were surveyed immediately, while the participants in the two treatment groups were surveyed after watching the film.

Violent depictions appear in almost all media campaigns countering violence against women (Green et al. 2019) and interventions addressing this topic may pose a risk of (re)traumatizing participants. In our case, the domestic violence film shows a testimony of a woman severely harmed by her husband. The acts of violence are not shown but the scars on her body and her emotions while recounting the story are. The film on violence against albinos also shows consequences rather than the actual acts of violence. Even though the film excerpts we used did not show actual acts of violence, they still may have provoked a strong negative emotional response among participants. To minimize the risk of (re)traumatizing participants, the experimenters have clearly stated that the films shown to the participants will contain strong emotional content, that the participation was voluntary and that it was permitted to leave the screening at any time.

3.2. The survey

We administered a short questionnaire with basic demographic questions and a module on violence that follows the Tanzanian Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). The violence module contains nine

³ Participants have participated at the same time in a behavioral experiment comprising a dictator and an ultimatum game. More details about the experimental design is available in the Appendix.

⁴ As some of the participants took part in the behavioral experiment with the dictator and ultimatum game, they could also take home the winnings from the games.

⁵ This is in line with other initiatives that investigate intimate partner violence, such as Demographic and Health Survey.

indicator variables for violence, taking value one if the spouse has ever pushed, shaken or thrown something at the respondent; slapped; punched with fist or something harmful; kicked or dragged; tried to strangle or burn; physically forced sex when not wanted; physically forced other sexual acts when not wanted; twisted woman's arm or pulled her hair or threatened her with any weapon. The violence module was slightly different for women and men. In contrast to women who were asked about nine different violent situations, men have only been asked whether they have ever hit, slapped, kicked, or physically hurt their wife.

The questionnaire also contains questions about the attitudes towards violence, namely whether violence is justified in some situations, such as wife going out without telling the husband about it, wife neglecting the children, wife arguing with the husband, wife refusing to have sex with the husband or burning the food. These questions were included in both the questionnaire for men and women.

The survey was administered in person, assuring privacy, so other participants could not see or hear respondent's answers. Literate participants filled-in the questionnaire themselves with clarifications from the survey team on a needs basis. Illiterate participants were interviewed face-to-face by qualified enumerators who recorded their replies.⁶ These conditions are in general supportive of reducing the social desirability bias and they were not different for the participants in the film treatment and the participants in the control group.

As noted by Ellsberg (2001), participating in studies related to domestic violence carries specific risks. For example, respondents may face a risk of retaliation by a partner who feels compromised by the respondent's answers to questions about domestic violence. We made sure to minimize such risk by reminding participants that they are not obliged to answer any questions they are not comfortable with. In addition, we used the same sequence of questions as in the DHS, which was carefully developed by experts with regard for respondents' wellbeing.

The initial sample comprised 80 participants in each of the six locations. As not all questions were answered, the final sample in the analysis comprises complete responses of 171 women and 187 men.

3.3. Summary statistics

Table 1 shows the main characteristics of the sample. About two-thirds of the respondents have been exposed to the film treatment. One third has watched the film about violence against women, while another third of the respondents has watched the film about violence against albinos. The proportions are the same for women and men.

⁶ The enumerators are employed as researchers at University of Dar es Salaam and have experience with face-to-face interviews.

We can observe that the average respondent age is 36, with a range from 16 to 80. Male participants are slightly older than women. Almost all respondents (90%) have attended school at some level. They live in households with five persons on average. Around 60% of participants are currently married or live with a partner. Around 60% of the respondents are married, either formally with a certificate (35%) or informally (23%). Around 75% of participants have worked in the previous week, receiving either cash or in-kind remuneration. While 88% of men reported having some kind of employment, a significantly lower proportion of women (only 60%) reported the same. The sample is proportionally distributed between coastal and lake areas, with three villages in each area.

[Table 1]

Table 2 shows the prevalence of women's experience of intimate partner violence and men's reports of committing violence against their spouses or cohabiting partners. Alongside showing the prevalence of different types of violence, we have also created a dummy variable *Any violence*, which takes value one if the woman has experienced any form of violence. We have also grouped nine indicators to form the *Violence index*, with higher scores indicating higher exposure to violence.

The table also shows both male and female attitudes towards violence. The attitude towards violence is measured by the agreement with statements describing different situations that could justify violence. The questionnaire asked about five such situations, so we have grouped these to obtain a *Violence justification index*, with higher scores indicating more acceptance of violence. This approach is similar to Reese-Webber (2008) and Cauffmann et al. (2000) who created an overall acceptance of dating violence score by summing the ratings across a range of justifications.⁷ We have also created a dummy variable *Any justification* that takes value one if we observe that a respondent justifies any situation leading to domestic violence.

In the women's sample, we found evidence of all nine types of domestic violence we asked about. The prevalence of any type of violence in our survey was reported at 46%, which is higher than the national average of 36.7% from the Tanzania Demographic Health Survey (DHS) from 2010 (National Bureau of Statistics and ICF Macro 2010). This difference is not entirely surprising due to very high variation in violence rates between regions in Tanzania, where, for example, Zanzibar has low levels of violence, comparable with more developed economies (around 10%) and Dodoma and Mara have very high levels of violence, 71% and 66%, respectively.

⁷ Reese-Webber (2008) and Cauffmann et al. (2000) use responses to 19 different justifications toward dating violence.

Among different types of violence we asked about, the most frequent is being slapped, followed by being kicked or slapped. The average value of the *Violence index* is almost two, indicating that women on average experience more than one type of violence at the same time.

The rates of justification of violence are even higher than the experience of violence. As many as 67% of female respondents believe violence against women can be justified under specific circumstances. Women appear most accepting of violence if the reason to justify it is neglecting the children. This holds for 53% of respondents. Arguing with the husband and going out without telling him is a valid reason for violence to 45% of female respondents. The average value of the *Violence justification index* is two, indicating that female respondents attribute violence to a multitude of causes.

In the male sample, only 13% have reported committing violence against their wife. This could be because they were not asked this question in the same way as women, but it could also be that they did not feel comfortable disclosing this kind of information to others. The latter is more likely as 12.5% of male respondents have not replied to this question at all. Other studies also confirm that it is not unusual to find disagreement in violence reporting among men and women (Halim et al. 2018; Caetano et al. 2009). In terms of attitudes towards violence, men appear to be less inclined to justify it than women. Still, almost one-half of them justifies violence, primarily when children get neglected.

The lake and the coastal regions show significant differences when it comes to both experiences of violence and its justifications. While every third woman in the coastal region has had some experience of violence, every second woman in the lake region testifies to the same. Women from the two regions, however, hold similar attitudes towards violence. Male respondents from the lake and the coastal region do not have different rates of reporting to have committed any act of domestic violence, but men from the coastal area find fewer reasons to justify it.

[Table 2]

Table 3 compares the prevalence of and the attitudes towards violence against women by film treatment. Comparing the female respondents who have watched the film on violence against women and the female respondents who have not watched any film, the prevalence of violence among the women in the treatment group is statistically different from the prevalence of violence in the control group, both when it comes to the *Any violence* indicator variable and the *Violence index*. The t-test values in column (4) indicate, however, that the difference is in favor of women from the control group, who appear to be more likely to report violence experiences compared to the treatment group that has been exposed to the film. At the disaggregated level, this holds in particular for women reporting to have been slapped, punched, kicked or dragged, choked or burnt and forced to perform unwanted sexual acts. We take this as an indication that the film treatment may have discouraged female respondents from reporting their own experience of domestic violence.

In terms of justification of violence, there are no significant differences between women in the treatment and the control group. Pooling all indicators into a dummy variable *Any violence is justified* shows that there are no significant differences between the treatment and the control group and the same holds for the *Violence justification index*. Moreover, between-group difference is not statistically significant for any individual indicator of justification of violence. We take this as an indication that the film treatment has not motivated female respondents to increase the rate of disclosure of their attitudes towards violence.

In the comparison between female respondents exposed to the film on violence against albinos and those exposed to no film (column (5)), the prevalence of violence among the women in the treatment group is statistically lower than in the control group when evaluated against the *Any violence* dummy. The difference is, however, not significant for the *Violence index*, the dummy variable *Any violence is justified*, and for the *Violence justification index*, which is in light with our expectations. This result could indicate that the film on violence against albinos could indeed be accepted as a placebo treatment when investigating intimate partner violence, most likely because the type of violence it shows is not committed between marital partners.

Column 6 shows the results on the comparison between female respondents who have watched the film on violence against albinos and those who have watched the film on violence against women. As t-test values show, the prevalence of violence among the women in the first film group is almost never statistically different from the prevalence of violence in the second group, with the exception of women being kicked or dragged and choked or burnt. In aggregate, no statistically significant difference emerges between the two groups, neither in terms of violence reporting, nor in terms of justification of violence against women.

[Table 3]

Table 4 shows differences in key variables, such as age, education and marriage, between participants in the treated and the control groups. As indicated by the values of t-statistics, no significant differences between the groups can be observed, apart in terms of age and employment when comparing film 1 and film 2 groups, so we conclude that, overall, we have good balance in key responded characteristics between film and control groups, but nevertheless control for these characteristics in regressions.

[Table 4]

The descriptive analysis in this section has revealed significant differences in the rates of violence reporting for the respondents who have watched one of the films and the control group. Yet, this comparison does not take into account possible influence of personal characteristics of respondents, so we compare the reporting rates in a linear regression framework.

4. Results

Our main objective is to investigate whether watching films that show experiences of different types of violence can change the perceived social acceptance of a harmful norm of violence against women. We measure the potential for a norm shifting through reporting of attitudes and experience of violence among survey respondents. In particular, to test the effect of the domestic violence film treatment, we compare the answers of respondents exposed to it with the answers of respondents exposed to the film on violence against albinos and to the answers of those that have not watched any film.

Table 5 shows the relationship between watching different films and violence reporting.⁸ The first row shows the comparison between the group that has watched the film on violence against women and the group that has not watched any film. Column (1) shows a negative and statistically significant effect of the film treatment on reporting to have experienced at least one type of domestic violence. The size of the coefficient implies a 20 percentage points lower chance of reporting own experience of violence after being exposed to the film treatment. A parallel result is observed for the aggregate measure of experiences of violence in column (2). The magnitude of the coefficient suggests that watching others' experiences of violence decreases the value of the own violence index by 0.9. Given that the average score is 1.74, this is a meaningful effect. In column (3), we look at the effect of the film treatment on violence index for those who have had at least one violent incident and obtain a negative, but not statistically significant coefficient. In column (4), we look at the same relationship for those who have at least one reason to justify violence. The relationship is again negative and statistically significant.

Columns (5)-(8) show the results of estimating the relationship between the film treatment and violence justification. In column (5), we look at the relationship between watching any film and violence justification dummy, which represents the extensive margin. The relationship is negative and not statistically significant. Column (6) shows the results for violence justification index, which sums all accounts of justification of violence. The resulting coefficient is negative and not significant. In column (7), the results show a positive but not significant relationship between the film treatment and violence justification index for those who justify violence in at least one way. Finally, column (8) results show a negative relationship between the film treatment and violence justification index for those who have experienced at least one kind of violence. In sum, the film treatment has not had any effect on the level of expressing justifying attitudes towards violence against women.

The second row shows the comparison between the group that has watched the film on violence against albinos and the group that has not watched any film. The result in column (1) shows that watching this

⁸ Table 5 shows the results for the key variables. Estimates with all controls are shown in Tables A1-A6 in the Appendix.

film leads to decreased reporting of own experiences of intimate partner violence, while the same cannot be said for the intensive margin or the reporting of violence-justifying attitudes.

The third row shows the comparison between the group of women that have watched the film on domestic violence and the group of women that have watched the film on violence against albinos. The results indicate that there is no different effect on violence reporting between the two films.

The final three rows show the impact of different film treatments on the reporting of acts of and attitudes towards violence among men. Apart from a negative effect of watching the film with domestic violence on the indicator for justifying violence, there are no significant effects of different film treatments on violence reporting among men.

A potential explanation for our findings is that the contents of the two films were too severe, so that personal experience of the respondent was judged inferior and not worth reporting. The finding that none of the films has significantly influenced the reporting of attitudes towards violence supports this conclusion, as attitudes form in a complicated interaction of personal experiences, expectations and learning, and usually change slowly over time.⁹

[Table 5]

The effect of the film showing violence against women is negative and statistically significant for three out of nine indicators of violence, as shown in Table 6. Female respondents felt discouraged from reporting own experience of being slapped, kicked or dragged and strangled or burnt after watching this film compared to not watching any. After watching the film on violence against albinos, female respondents were less likely to report personal experience of being slapped, punched and strangled or burnt. Comparing the two films, there is again no evidence that one leads to different reporting of personal experiences with violence. Taken together, these results indicate that severity of the film, not whether you identify with the victim of violence affect violence reporting.

[Table 6]

In terms of separate indicators of violence justification, showing the two films to female respondents has not led to differences in reporting, as shown in Table 7. Watching the film on violence against women, however, has led male respondents to underreport justifying violence when the woman goes out without telling the husband or when she neglects the children.

[Table 7]

⁹ Rydell et al. (2007) show that implicit attitudes have a slow, linear change trajectory when presented with counterattitudinal information.

Due to heterogeneity in violence experiences in lake- and sea-fishing areas, in particular, due to the higher violence levels in the lake- compared to the sea-fishing areas documented in (Leyaro et al. 2017) and Table 2, we estimate the impact of different film treatments on violence reporting in the two areas. The results for both female and the male sample are shown in Table 8. We do not find that the film interventions have affected differently the rates of violence reporting for female and male respondents in different regions. Neither film has affected the willingness of female and male respondents to share their reasons for justifying violence. Consequently, we cannot claim different efficiency of the film intervention in different regions.

[Table 8]

5. Conclusion

Documentary films are common among public policy tools to reduce social acceptance of harmful norms, such as violence against women. The contents of such documentaries are designed to affect personal and broader social attitudes and increase reporting. We investigated the extent to which documentary film material can affect a change in the perceived social acceptance of violence against women. In particular, we measured whether women and men may change the reporting of their attitudes and experience of violence in a randomized experiment in Tanzania, in which we administered a short questionnaire after showing a film about a severe case of domestic violence. As a counterfactual, we showed a film about violence against albinos and compared the responses from the film treatments and the responses from the control group.

We found no effect of the domestic violence film on the acceptance of violence and, perhaps surprisingly, a negative effect on reports of experiencing violence among the female respondents, both at the extensive and the intensive margins. The results for men do not show any evidence that the film intervention affected reporting of own acts and attitudes towards domestic violence. Using a film on violence against albinos as a placebo to disentangle the effect of the film contents from the experience of watching the film, we did not find any significant difference in the likelihood of reporting violence.

Taken together, the results suggest that documentary films showing severe physical harm of victims of violence may be an ineffective way of attempting to change attitudes and, consequently, social norms on violence against women in an environment with deeply rooted negative gender norms. In the worst case, they may even exacerbate the problem of violence underreporting. As such, the results can be informative for Tanzanian and other governments attempting to change harmful social norms using visual media approach. While documentary films alone cannot address problems of violence against women, they can and should be part of broader, systemic change.

One explanation for our findings could be that the contents of the documentary videos we used were not adequate or perhaps too severe, so that personal experience of the respondent was judged inferior and not worth disclosing in a survey. Another explanation could be that visual cues may not be an appropriate method of attempting to initiate a social change in environments where attitudes and the practice of domestic violence against women are deeply ingrained. Such environments may require different ways of approaching the issue – for instance more active socialization of the negative effects and externalities of violence against women. This interpretation is consistent with findings from other contexts that the reaction to television or movie violence is greatly dependent on situational conditions (Berkowitz 1986).

Our results stand in contrast to the evidence from a series of studies that show a potential education-entertainment programs to affect behavior and change attitudes towards harmful social norms (Banerjee et al. 2020; Green et al. 2019; Arias 2019). A likely explanation for the difference in the results could be the difference in the contents of the documentary video material compared to education-entertainment videos. Even though trying to educate, entertaining videos are believed to have persuasive influence because audiences tend to identify with the main characters and let down their guard when encountering new viewpoints (Slater and Rouner 2002). Findings from health interventions suggest that the combination of entertainment and education is powerful as it enables engagement by means of entertainment and later on, education through a positive identification with role models (Renes et al. 2012).

Our results contribute to a recent and growing literature on the design of interventions aimed at mitigating cultural conflict (e.g., Vogt et al. 2016). They also contribute to the literature investigating different types of television programs and their effects on improving the status of women (Jensen and Oster 2009; La Ferrara et al. 2012; Kearney and Levine 2015). In general, they also contribute to policy design, by illustrating the degree to which the effect of policy interventions is dependent on local cultural characteristics.

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FIGURES



Figure 1. Field setting

TABLES

Table 1. Summary of the key variables

	All					Men					Women				
	Share	SD	Min	Max	Obs.	Share	SD	Min	Max	Obs.	Share	SD	Min	Max	Obs.
Film 1 (women)	0.33	0.47	0	1	480	0.33	0.47	0	1	240	0.33	0.47	0	1	240
Film 2 (albino)	0.33	0.47	0	1	480	0.33	0.47	0	1	240	0.33	0.47	0	1	240
Any video	0.65	0.48	0	1	480	0.65	0.48	0	1	240	0.65	0.48	0	1	240
Control	0.35	0.48	0	1	480	0.35	0.48	0	1	240	0.35	0.48	0	1	240
Age	36.36	11.54	16	80	440	37.56	11.87	18	68	224	35.12	11.07	16	80	216
Schooling (0/1)	0.90	0.31	0	1	480	0.91	0.28	0	1	240	0.88	0.33	0	1	240
Household size	5.45	2.81	1	21	461	5.46	3.09	1	21	226	5.44	2.50	1	13	235
Married	0.59	0.49	0	1	480	0.63	0.49	0	1	240	0.55	0.50	0	1	240
Employment (1/0)	0.74	0.44	0	1	480	0.88	0.32	0	1	240	0.60	0.49	0	1	240

Note: Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. Employment is measured as doing any kind of work, which could be remunerated in cash or in kind. The variable was created from the question: Aside from your own housework, have you done any work in the last seven days?

Table 2. Summary of violence indicators

	Share	SD	Min	Max	Obs.	Sea	Lake	t-value
Women Experience:								
<i>Spouse ever:</i>								
pushed, shook or threw something	0.23	0.42	0	1	223	0.14	0.32	-3.23***
slapped	0.35	0.48	0	1	224	0.21	0.48	-4.38***
twisted arm or pulled hair	0.20	0.40	0	1	221	0.12	0.27	-2.84***
punched with fist or something harmful	0.22	0.41	0	1	221	0.10	0.32	-4.05***
kicked or dragged	0.24	0.43	0	1	221	0.15	0.33	-3.16***
tried to choke or burn	0.06	0.25	0	1	217	0.08	0.05	0.68
threatened or attacked with any weapon	0.08	0.27	0	1	221	0.08	0.08	-0.08
physically forced you to have sexual intercourse	0.20	0.40	0	1	217	0.17	0.23	-0.97
forced to perform any sexual acts you did not want to	0.16	0.37	0	1	220	0.12	0.20	-1.53*
<i>Violence ever</i>	0.46	0.50	0	1	223	0.36	0.56	-3.10***
<i>Violence index (0/9)</i>	1.74	2.41	0	9	223	1.20	2.25	-3.33***
Justification of violence:								
<i>Wife beating justified if wife:</i>								
goes out without telling	0.45	0.50	0	1	234	0.44	0.47	-0.40
neglects the children	0.53	0.50	0	1	228	0.52	0.54	-0.22
argues with the husband	0.45	0.50	0	1	226	0.49	0.42	1.14
refuses to have sex	0.37	0.48	0	1	229	0.31	0.43	-1.91**
burns the food	0.21	0.41	0	1	229	0.17	0.25	-1.59*
<i>Any violence is justified</i>	0.67	0.47	0	1	226	0.68	0.66	0.24
<i>Violence justification index</i>	2.01	1.85	0	5	226	1.94	2.08	-0.54
Men Committed violence*	0.13	0.34	0	1	210	0.14	0.13	0.22
Justification of violence:								
<i>Wife beating justified if wife:</i>								
goes out without telling	0.27	0.45	0	1	235	0.24	0.31	-1.13
neglects the children	0.43	0.50	0	1	232	0.39	0.46	-1.15
argues with the husband	0.28	0.45	0	1	229	0.24	0.31	-1.16
refuses to have sex	0.15	0.36	0	1	224	0.13	0.18	-1.12
burns the food	0.10	0.30	0	1	228	0.11	0.09	0.66
<i>Any violence is justified</i>	0.49	0.50	0	1	224	0.43	0.55	-1.88**
<i>Violence justification index</i>	1.18	1.52	0	5	224	1.05	1.30	-1.23

*: Committed violence variable was created from responses to the question *Have you ever hit, slapped, kicked, or physically hurt your wife?*

Table 3. Experience of violence by video treatment: violence on women video vs. no video

Types of violence	(1) Film 1	(2) Film 2	(3) No film	(4) t-value No film – Film 1	(5) t-value No film – Film 2	(6) t-value Film 2 – Film 1
Women						
Spouse ever:						
pushed, shook or threw something	0.222	0.242	0.238	0.21	-0.05	0.26
slapped	0.290	0.328	0.476	2.16**	1.69**	0.45
twisted arm or pulled hair	0.180	0.131	0.274	1.24	1.99**	-0.74
punched	0.161	0.237	0.286	1.67**	0.60	1.04
kicked or dragged	0.129	0.237	0.349	2.96***	1.35*	1.55*
tried to choke or burn	0.016	0.102	0.066	1.39*	-0.71	2.03**
threatened or attacked with any weapon	0.032	0.067	0.081	1.16	0.29	0.87
physically forced to have sexual intercourse	0.183	0.233	0.183	0.00	-0.67	0.67
forced to perform any sexual acts you did not want to	0.115	0.148	0.233	1.73**	1.20	0.53
Any violence	0.381	0.452	0.571	2.16**	1.34*	0.80
Violence index	1.302	1.774	2.159	2.12**	0.87	1.15
Wife beating justified if wife:						
goes out without telling	0.429	0.450	0.444	0.18	-0.06	0.24
neglects the children	0.492	0.567	0.492	0.00	-0.82	0.82
argues with the husband	0.393	0.424	0.475	0.91	0.56	0.33
refuses to have sex	0.333	0.426	0.306	-0.32	-1.38*	1.06
burns the food	0.222	0.177	0.190	-0.44	0.19	-0.62
Any violence is justified	0.607	0.678	0.656	0.56	-0.26	0.81
Violence justification index	1.902	2.034	1.918	0.05	-0.35	0.39
Men						
Committed violence	0.111	0.104	0.183	1.21	1.31*	-0.13
Wife beating justified if wife:						
goes out without telling	0.234	0.227	0.349	1.61*	1.70**	-0.10
neglects the children	0.360	0.432	0.482	1.55*	0.62	0.90
argues with the husband	0.270	0.247	0.305	0.47	0.81	-0.33
refuses to have sex	0.183	0.153	0.123	-1.02	-0.52	-0.48
burns the food	0.135	0.056	0.108	-0.51	1.16	-1.61*
Any violence is justified	0.437	0.472	0.556	1.46*	1.03	0.42
Violence justification index	1.127	1.083	1.309	0.72	0.92	-0.17

Note: Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. Observations: 126 women in film 1 comparisons, 125 women in film 2 comparisons, 161 men in film 1 comparisons, and 155 men in film 2 comparisons. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table 4. Differences in key participant characteristics by treatment

	(1) Film 1	(2) Film 2	(3) No film	(4) t-value No film – Film 1	(5) t-value Film 2 – Film 1	(6) t-value No film – Film 2
Age	37.68	35.11	36.34	-1.02	-1.83*	0.93
Schooling	0.88	0.90	0.90	0.77	0.73	0.03
Household size	5.45	5.50	5.41	-0.12	0.15	-0.28
Married	0.62	0.57	0.57	-0.15	-0.24	0.09
Employment	0.74	0.74	0.74	0.01	-0.13	0.14
Men						
Age	38.42	36.89	37.41	-0.53	-0.77	0.26
Schooling	0.91	0.92	0.90	-0.12	0.29	-0.41
Household size	5.36	5.73	5.31	-0.09	0.70	-0.87
Married	0.68	0.62	0.58	-1.26	-0.83	-0.41
Employment	0.83	0.92	0.89	1.10	1.72**	-0.66
Women						
Age	36.91	33.25	35.22	-0.94	-1.86**	1.12
Schooling	0.85	0.88	0.90	1.13	0.70	0.42
Household size	5.53	5.27	5.50	-0.08	-0.68	0.57
Married	0.56	0.53	0.55	-0.21	-0.48	0.28
Employment	0.65	0.55	0.60	-0.77	-1.31*	0.56

Note: Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. Both male and female participants. Observations: 324 for film 1 comparisons and 312 for film 2 comparisons.

Significance levels: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 5. Different documentary film treatments and violence reporting

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Dep var:	Any violence	Violence index	Violence index (Any violence=1)	Violence index (Any violence is justified=1)	Any violence is justified	Violence justification index	Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)	Violence justification index (Any violence=1)
Women	Film 1 vs. No film	-0.20** (0.09)	-0.90** (0.41)	-0.20 (0.61)	-1.12** (0.56)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.35)	0.18 (0.36)	-0.24 (0.56)
	Film 2 vs. No film	-0.16* (0.09)	-0.58 (0.43)	0.51 (0.57)	-0.59 (0.61)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.05 (0.34)	0.09 (0.34)	0.10 (0.49)
	Film 1 vs. Film 2	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.26 (0.41)	0.10 (0.60)	-0.51 (0.54)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.27 (0.35)	-0.01 (0.33)	-0.63 (0.59)
Men	Film 1 vs. No film	-0.06 (0.07)				-0.19** (0.09)	-0.46 (0.29)	-0.04 (0.44)	
	Film 2 vs. No film	-0.08 (0.06)				-0.14* (0.09)	-0.33 (0.28)	0.01 (0.37)	
	Film 1 vs. Film 2	0.06 (0.06)				-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.28)	0.36 (0.50)	

Note: Separate OLS estimations for each type of video. Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. In case of men, *Any violence* indicates committing, as opposed to being a victim of violence. The variable was created from responses to the question *Have you ever hit, slapped, kicked, or physically hurt your wife?* Control variables include: age, age squared, schooling, marital status, household size, employment status and village fixed effects. Detailed estimations are in Tables A1-A3 in the Appendix. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table 6. Documentary film treatments and disaggregated indicators of violence

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Spouse ever:	pushed, shook or threw something	slapped	punched with fist or something harmful	kicked or dragged	tried to strangle or burn	twisted her arm or pull her hair	threatened or attacked with knife/gun or other weapon	physically force you to have sexual intercourse	force you to perform any sexual acts you did not want to
Film 1 vs. No film	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.20** (0.08)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.14* (0.07)	-0.22*** (0.08)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)
Film 2 vs. No film	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.19** (0.09)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.17** (0.08)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.07 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
Film 1 vs. Film 2	0.02 (0.08)	0.02 (0.08)	0.08 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.06)

Note: Separate OLS estimations for each type of video. Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. Control variables include: age, age squared, schooling, marital status, household size, employment status and village fixed effects. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table 7. Video treatments and disaggregated indicators of violence justification

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Wife beating justified if wife:		Goes out without telling the husband	Neglects the children	Argues with the husband	Refuses to have sex with the husband	Burns the food
Women	Film 1 vs. No film	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.00 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)
	Film 2 vs. No film	-0.04 (0.09)	0.05 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.08)
	Film 1 vs. Film 2	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)
Men	Film 1 vs. No film	-0.16* (0.08)	-0.18* (0.09)	-0.13 (0.08)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)
	Film 2 vs. No film	-0.15* (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.08)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)
	Film 1 vs. Film 2	0.01 (0.08)	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.06 (0.06)

Note: Separate OLS estimations for each type of video. Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. Control variables include: age, age squared, schooling, marital status, household size, employment status and village fixed effects. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table 8. Violence reporting in the marine and lake fishing regions

Dep var:		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Any violence	Violence index	Any violence is justified	Violence justification index
Women	Film 1 vs. No film	-0.20*	-0.74	0.01	-0.02
		(0.12)	(0.61)	(0.12)	(0.47)
	Sea	-0.13	-0.36	-0.10	-0.09
		(0.17)	(0.78)	(0.19)	(0.69)
	Film 1 * Sea	-0.00	-0.37	-0.18	-0.18
		(0.18)	(0.80)	(0.19)	(0.76)
	Film 2 vs. No film	-0.13	-0.42	0.07	0.37
		(0.12)	(0.58)	(0.11)	(0.45)
	Sea	0.12	0.58	-0.11	-0.87
		(0.18)	(0.80)	(0.19)	(0.73)
	Film 2 * Sea	-0.06	-0.37	-0.17	-0.73
		(0.18)	(0.90)	(0.18)	(0.71)
Men	Film 1 vs. Film 2	-0.05	-0.10	-0.10	-0.47
		(0.14)	(0.62)	(0.13)	(0.49)
	Sea	-0.14	-0.64	-0.22	-1.08
		(0.20)	(0.88)	(0.18)	(0.74)
	Video * Sea	-0.00	-0.33	0.02	0.43
		(0.18)	(0.77)	(0.19)	(0.74)
	Film 1 vs. No film	-0.09		-0.28**	-0.67
		(0.10)		(0.12)	(0.41)
	Sea	0.08		-0.12	-0.05
		(0.12)		(0.16)	(0.49)
	Film 1 * Sea	0.07		0.21	0.51
		(0.13)		(0.19)	(0.55)
Film 2 vs. No film	-0.15*		-0.20*	-0.59	
	(0.08)		(0.12)	(0.39)	
Sea	0.08		-0.22	-0.22	
	(0.11)		(0.16)	(0.51)	
Film 2 * Sea	0.15		0.11	0.55	
	(0.12)		(0.17)	(0.58)	
Film 1 vs. Film 2	0.07		-0.10	-0.09	
	(0.07)		(0.13)	(0.38)	
Sea	0.02		0.05	0.34	
	(0.10)		(0.19)	(0.61)	
Video * Sea	-0.02		0.11	0.06	
	(0.11)		(0.18)	(0.56)	

Note: Separate OLS estimations for each type of video. Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos. In case of men, *Any violence* indicates committing, as opposed to being a victim of violence. The variable was created from responses to the question *Have you ever hit, slapped, kicked, or physically hurt your wife?* Control variables include: age, age squared, schooling, marital status, household size, employment status and village fixed effects. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

APPENDIX

Experimental design

The experiment comprised a video screening and two behavioral games (dictator and ultimatum). Both interventions were approved by an advisory board at the Universities of Copenhagen and Dar es Salaam.

Figure A1 shows the relationships and the number of participants in the intervention by village. In each village, we had 80 participants, out of which 60 were randomly chosen to participate in the two games with different roles (sender or receiver) and 20 were controls, receiving a participation fee after completing the questionnaire. The assignment into video treatment took place after the randomization into the roles in the two games, such that the first three players in each role watched the video on violence against women and the next three players in each role watched the video on violence against albinos. The first two players in the control group watched the video on violence against women and the next two players in the control group watched the video on violence against albinos. There is also a strict control group consisting of participants that neither have participated in the two games nor have watched any video.

In total, 72 participants that have taken the role of the sender in the dictator and the ultimatum game have watched one or the other video, 144 participants that have taken the role of the receiver in the games have watched the video and 48 participants that have not participated in the games have watched one or the other video. Finally, 24 participants comprise a strict control group as they have neither watched the video nor participated in the games.

For ease of implementation, videos were shown after the games and were followed by the survey. Men and women were physically separated during the experiment. Depending on circumstances at the location, they were either in separate buildings, courtyards or separate rooms at different sides of the same building. Two experimenters and two assistants were assigned to both male and female participant group.

The protocol was tested with 40 participants in one village in the coastal region in Tanzania.

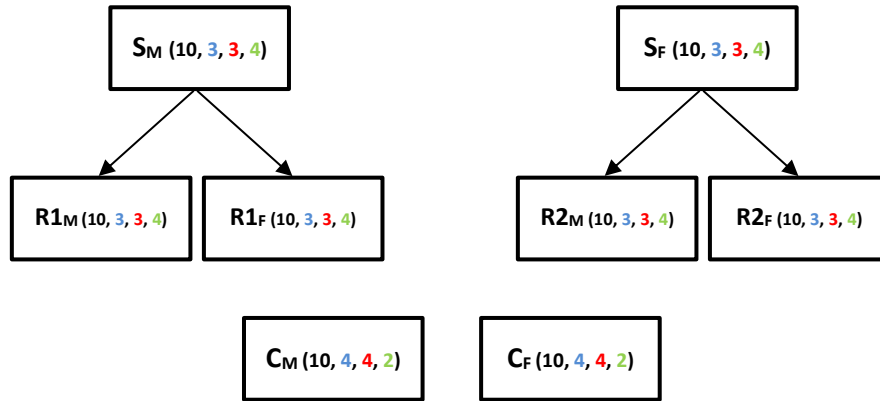


Figure A1. Relationship between participants and their number in each village

Note: S denotes sender and R denotes recipient in the dictator and the ultimatum game. C denotes the control group, that is, those not participating in any game. M denotes male, while F denotes female participants. The first number in parentheses is the total number of participants in each category. The second number is the number of participants who have watched film 1. The third number is the number of participants who have watched film 2. The fourth number is the number of participants who have not watched any video. Film 1 is the video on violence against women and film 2 is the video on violence against albinos.

Appendix Tables

Table A1. The effect of domestic violence video on violence reporting for women

Dep var:	(1) Any violence	(2) Violence index	(3) Violence index (Any violence=1)	(4) Violence index (Any violence is justified=1)	(5) Any violence is justified	(6) Violence justification index	(7) Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)	(8) Violence justification index (Any violence=1)
Film 1	-0.20** (0.09)	-0.90** (0.41)	-0.20 (0.61)	-1.12** (0.56)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.35)	0.18 (0.36)	-0.24 (0.56)
Age	0.03* (0.02)	0.19** (0.08)	0.24 (0.18)	0.16 (0.10)	0.01 (0.02)	0.08 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.19)
Age squared	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Any schooling	0.12 (0.15)	0.39 (0.70)	-0.08 (1.04)	1.13 (0.82)	-0.20* (0.12)	-0.30 (0.53)	0.45 (0.54)	0.44 (0.83)
Household size	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.17* (0.10)	-0.10 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.12)
Married	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.71 (0.48)	-0.38 (0.64)	-0.74 (0.67)	-0.14 (0.10)	-0.33 (0.42)	0.20 (0.45)	-0.68 (0.58)
Working	0.18* (0.09)	1.15*** (0.42)	1.09* (0.63)	1.48** (0.59)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.21 (0.36)	-0.08 (0.38)	-0.21 (0.57)
Constant	0.17 (0.40)	-1.14 (2.02)	-1.55 (3.40)	-1.77 (2.54)	0.81** (0.39)	0.90 (1.48)	0.72 (1.41)	3.04 (3.13)
Village FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	121	121	59	76	121	121	76	59
R ²	0.20	0.21	0.15	0.28	0.11	0.08	0.08	0.11

Note: OLS estimations. Comparison with respect to the group that has not watched any video. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table A2. The effect of violence against albinos video on violence reporting for women

Dep var:	(1) Any violence	(2) Violence index	(3) Violence index (Any violence=1)	(4) Violence index (Any violence is justified=1)	(5) Any violence is justified	(6) Violence justification index	(7) Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)	(8) Violence justification index (Any violence=1)
Film 2	-0.16* (0.09)	-0.58 (0.43)	0.51 (0.57)	-0.59 (0.61)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.05 (0.34)	0.09 (0.34)	0.10 (0.49)
Age	-0.01 (0.02)	0.13 (0.11)	0.37*** (0.12)	0.19 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)	0.12 (0.10)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Any schooling	-0.03 (0.15)	-0.46 (0.91)	-0.50 (0.80)	-0.08 (1.11)	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.74 (0.55)	-0.15 (0.48)	-0.78 (0.62)
Household size	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.17 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)
Married	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.66 (0.47)	-1.13** (0.53)	-0.15 (0.72)	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.80** (0.37)	-0.62 (0.40)	-1.04** (0.50)
Working	0.17* (0.09)	1.00** (0.43)	0.72 (0.59)	0.88 (0.61)	-0.01 (0.10)	0.00 (0.37)	0.05 (0.38)	-0.46 (0.51)
Constant	0.80* (0.43)	0.05 (2.33)	-3.29 (2.72)	-2.11 (2.98)	1.24*** (0.43)	3.75** (1.68)	2.98* (1.52)	1.82 (2.14)
Village FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	117	117	61	77	117	117	77	61
R ²	0.17	0.17	0.24	0.19	0.11	0.13	0.08	0.22

Note: OLS estimations. Comparison with respect to the group that has not watched any video. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table A3. Comparison of violence against women and violence against albinos film treatments for women

Dep var:	(1) Any violence	(2) Violence index	(3) Violence index (Any violence=1)	(4) Violence index (Any violence is justified=1)	(5) Any violence is justified	(6) Violence justification index	(7) Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)	(8) Violence justification index (Any violence=1)
Film 1 vs. Film 2	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.26 (0.41)	0.10 (0.60)	-0.51 (0.54)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.27 (0.35)	-0.01 (0.33)	-0.63 (0.59)
Age	0.00 (0.02)	0.10 (0.09)	0.10 (0.13)	0.12 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.06 (0.07)	0.12** (0.06)	0.18 (0.14)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Any schooling	0.06 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.66)	-1.32 (0.95)	0.30 (0.84)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.36 (0.49)	-0.01 (0.40)	0.73 (0.96)
Household size	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.06)	0.00 (0.09)
Married	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.34 (0.48)	0.19 (0.60)	-0.28 (0.75)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.40)	0.17 (0.43)	-0.57 (0.65)
Working	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.40)	-0.01 (0.66)	0.02 (0.58)	0.06 (0.10)	0.23 (0.37)	0.01 (0.39)	0.47 (0.65)
Constant	0.57 (0.45)	0.74 (2.04)	3.65 (2.89)	-0.08 (2.77)	1.00** (0.42)	1.68 (1.69)	1.13 (1.48)	-1.94 (3.10)
Village FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	118	118	48	75	118	118	75	48
R ²	0.10	0.13	0.26	0.17	0.08	0.08	0.10	0.12

Note: OLS estimations. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table A4. The effect of domestic violence video on violence reporting for men

Dep var:	(1) Committed violence	(2) Any violence is justified	(3) Violence justification index	(4) Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)
Film 1	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.19** (0.09)	-0.46 (0.29)	-0.04 (0.44)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.07 (0.06)	0.08 (0.08)
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Any schooling	0.06 (0.09)	0.05 (0.18)	0.15 (0.59)	-0.27 (0.69)
Household size	0.02* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.06 (0.09)
Married	-0.14** (0.07)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.27 (0.31)	-0.28 (0.46)
Working	0.08 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.15)	0.03 (0.45)	0.13 (0.69)
Constant	-0.30 (0.30)	0.47 (0.47)	0.18 (1.41)	0.46 (1.72)
Village FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	125	125	125	61
R ²	0.12	0.13	0.09	0.12

Note: OLS estimations. Comparison with respect to the group that has not watched any video. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table A5. The effect of violence against albinos video on violence reporting for men

Dep var:	(1) Committed violence	(2) Any violence is justified	(3) Violence justification index	(4) Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)
Film 2	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.14* (0.09)	-0.33 (0.28)	0.01 (0.37)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.09 (0.08)
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Any schooling	-0.13 (0.13)	0.21 (0.17)	0.75 (0.48)	0.63* (0.36)
Household size	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.06)
Married	-0.12** (0.06)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.29 (0.31)	-0.52 (0.41)
Working	-0.01 (0.15)	0.24 (0.17)	0.30 (0.63)	-0.80 (0.87)
Constant	0.02 (0.31)	0.87** (0.43)	1.55 (1.20)	0.74 (1.49)
Village FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	125	125	125	64
R ²	0.16	0.18	0.16	0.27

Note: OLS estimations. Comparison with respect to the group that has not watched any video. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.

Table A6. Comparison of violence against women and violence against albinos film treatments for men

Dep var:	(1) Committed violence	(2) Any violence is justified	(3) Violence justification index	(4) Violence justification index (Any violence is justified=1)
Film 1 vs. Film 2	0.06 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.28)	0.36 (0.50)
Age	0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.09)
Age squared	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Any schooling	-0.03 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.18)	-0.76 (0.60)	-1.04* (0.55)
Household size	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.05)	0.07 (0.11)
Married	-0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.10)	0.03 (0.30)	0.17 (0.58)
Working	0.17*** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.15)	0.34 (0.38)	1.26** (0.61)
Constant	-0.43* (0.25)	0.81 (0.52)	2.32 (1.46)	2.41 (1.65)
Village FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	124	124	124	51
R ²	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.19

Note: OLS estimations. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01.