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Position Paper

Women intimate partner violence revictimization during protection orders in Montevideo, Uruguay. Risk factors and policy implications

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ABSTRACT

This study explores risk factors for Protection Order (PO) violation in intimate partner violence (IPV) cases in Montevideo, Uruguay, a topic not yet investigated in Latin America. Using a sample of 1057 police-reported IPV cases, logistic regression compares literature-supported risk factors with those used in public policy to predict women's IPV revictimization. Results show that 26% of offenders violate POs, mainly through harassment (82%) and psychological violence (46%), and police monitoring reduces risk of offenders' recidivism by 48.5%. Additionally, they highlight that IPV trajectories of both victims (OR = 1.85) and offenders (OR = 1.89) are the strongest predictors of reabuse. These findings suggest that Uruguayan policymakers should rethink police intervention and public action on IPV by focusing on two key actions: increasing investment in data collection and analysis to improve PO monitoring and police response, and developing strategies beyond criminal sanctions to address offender treatment and victim support to prevent IPV reabuse.

1. Introduction

In the past two decades, IPV[1] against women has received a great deal of attention in Latin American countries, as gender inequalities have become more widely recognized. IPV is a serious public health and human rights issue across the region, especially in South America (Bott et al., 2019). Global estimates on physical and sexual IPV indicate that it affects between one-third and one-fourth of women sometime during their lifetime. Although estimates for Latin America and the Caribbean generally align with this pattern, South America has the highest prevalence of ever experienced sexual and/or physical IPV violence within the region. Approximately 38% of ever-partnered South American women have been physically or sexually abused by a current or former partner, compared to 21–24% in the rest of Latin American countries (Sardinha et al., 2022).

Uruguay is a country located in Latin America that at first glance may seem barely affected by IPV towards women. However, a different scenario unfolds when more comprehensive evidence is considered. While reported prevalence of physical and/or sexual IPV affects about one in seven ever-partnered Uruguayan women, estimates rise to nearly one in two when it comes down to psychological violence. Half the female population fifteen years or older has experienced IPV sometime in their life, and one in five has experienced it

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[1] Intimate partner violence.

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during the past year (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Inmujeres, 2020). Additionally, domestic violence is the second most reported crime, and its prevalence has remained steady since 2015 according to police sources (Ministerio del Interior, 2024; Ministerio del Interior MIN, Dirección Nacional de Políticas de Género, 2018). All these things considered, IPV represents a serious problem for the Uruguayan population, who highly demands the criminal justice system to take action on it.

In Latin America, criminal justice systems have taken greater responsibility for women's security by recognizing domestic violence as a criminal behavior and acknowledging victims' rights to protection and adequate treatment (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2022). One of the most common ways to protect victims of IPV is through POs,[2] which are legal tools designed to prevent repeated violent incidents or revictimizations by restricting contact between victims and offenders (Dowling et al., 2018). Uruguay has taken significant steps to address IPV against women. In 2018, the country passed a law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women (Uruguay, 2018) that has bolstered the inclusion of IPV in the security agenda. Among other promising transformations, this law made POs mandatory in every domestic violence case.

Despite these promising changes, there is still a lack of understanding in Latin America regarding the impact of POs on women's safety. Furthermore, it remains unclear how public resources can be utilized to improve their effectiveness. Current research is extremely scarce, and mainly focused on either reporting women revictimization rates while POs were in place (Gambetta and Russo, 2022; Comisión sobre temáticas de Género de la Defensoría General de la Nación, 2015 , 2018) or assessing electronic bracelets' performance (Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto, 2017). In Uruguay, there is a need to examine how police allocate resources to monitor women's safety during POs and ensure that they are aligned with risk factor principles for the efficient prevention of women's IPV.

This article examines the potential clash between theoretically driven policies to address women's IPV revictimization in Uruguay and actual public policy implementation. Based on a more extensive research on protection orders (POs) in Montevideo (Fonseca et al., 2020), the article compares two sets of factors using logistic regression models: those currently used by the police to monitor victims' security during POs, and those recommended by the literature to address IPV revictimization risk. This study aims to design a data-driven security policy that allocates policing resources more effectively, focusing on cases with a higher risk of revictimization during the issuance of POs. Regionally, this research is the first to study IPV revictimization during POs from a risk factor perspective. Nationally, it aims to inform policymakers on more efficient resource allocation, considering the current lack of budget for the adequate enforcement of the law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women.

2. Literature review

a. The Foundations of Protection Orders

To ensure the safety of victims, it is crucial to deter interpersonal offenders. POs are legal tools oriented to restrict contact between victims and offenders to prevent repeated violent incidents, also referred to as revictimizations. POs are considered a civil rights measure and a preliminary step to criminal sanctions, a practice common to Uruguay and other countries in the South Cone region (Gambetta et al., 2021).

According to Dowling et al. (2018), POs issuance rests on three possible mechanisms for revictimization reduction. First, they operate as a deterrence element, as they increase the risk of arrest and punishment. For offenders, POs would be a tangible indicator that police are aware of their infraction and are prepared to respond to future domestic violence incidents in a quicker, tougher, and more consistent way. Research indicates that police are more willing to arrest (Holmes, 1993; Phillips and Sobol, 2010; Weisz et al., 1998) and present charges[3] (Phillips and Varano, 2008) against domestic violence perpetrators when a pre-existing PO has been issued against them. In addition, victims protected by POs report a sense of empowerment and see the police as trustworthy to contact (Fischer and Rose, 1995; Lewis et al., 2000). This deterrence effect can be magnified through the electronic monitoring of offender movements in real time using GPS devices (Carter and Grommon, 2016) such as electronic bracelets, and the provision of panic buttons and mobile alert systems that allow victims to report new incidents more immediately (Lloyd et al., 1997; Natarajan, 2016).

Second, POs would increase the efforts required to recidivate. The conditions imposed by these measures state that offenders must avoid contact with victims. This could operate as an indirect form of "target removal" (Cornish and Clarke, 2003), as it makes it difficult for offenders to gain access to victims and, thus, their involvement in future violent incidents. In fact, research indicates that POs are more effective when victims and authors have interrupted cohabitation and parental responsibilities towards mutual children are not at stake (Logan and Walker, 2009).

Finally, POs would reduce revictimization by imposing clear rules that state how victims and offenders should relate. The conditions commonly specified in POs (like avoiding verbal aggressions or ordering rehabilitation due to alcohol and substance abuse) would mitigate situational precipitators' effects on domestic violence (such as heated arguments). At the same time, this mitigation can counterbalance the naturalization and minimization of violence severity by offenders, while also encouraging victims to report future incidents to the police, as they feel more protected and their victimization experience is taken seriously (Dowling et al., 2018).

Globally, POs are the legal instrument most commonly used to prevent IPV against women (Herrera and Amor, 2017). Nonetheless,

[2] Protection Orders.

[3] While it is relatively common for police in Global North countries, particularly in the United States, to have the authority to press charges against perpetrators, this practice is uncommon in Latin American countries. In Uruguay, this authority exclusively belongs to the General Prosecution Office.

their enforcement from a gender approach is relatively recent in Latin America, since it is closely related to a gradual change in sensitivity towards gender inequalities. This transformation has led, among other things, to the conceptualization of violence against women as a social problem that demands attention and public intervention (Gambetta and Russo, 2022).

b. Uruguayan Law on Violence Against Women and Protection Orders

Within Uruguayan Law, POs are named *precautionary measures*.[4] They are civil rights instruments used as a preliminary measure to criminal sanctions. Although they address multiple purposes, they are generally issued in cases regarding domestic violence and gender violence towards women. Beyond the preservation of court proceedings' effectiveness, precautionary measures protect people: they preserve victim integrity, liberty, and security, and are framed in the right to life as a constitutional right (Pacheco Carve, 2013).

In Uruguay, the legal framework for addressing gender-based violence against women began in 1995, when domestic violence was included in the Criminal Code under the Citizen Security Law (Uruguay, 1995). A significant milestone was the 2002 law on The Eradication of Domestic Violence (Uruguay, 2002), which recognized domestic violence as a social issue requiring public intervention for detection, prevention, and combat. This law also led to the approval of The First National Plan on Domestic Violence Combat in 2003 (Consejo Nacional Consultivo de Lucha contra la Violencia Doméstica, 2003). The 2002 law expanded the definition of domestic violence to include violence by former intimate partners, shifting from a materialistic to a metaphorical understanding of domesticity. This broader perspective includes relationships involving shared ideas, decisions, and life projects, affecting individuals who may not cohabitate (Tommasino, 2012). Consequently, the law expanded the scope of precautionary measures and established a comprehensive set of applicable situations.

The recent enactment of the Law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women (Uruguay, 2018) represents a major advance in women's human rights. It guarantees women and girls' right to a life free from violence, beyond their victimization status. This is also a comprehensive law, since it incorporates victim rights to protection and reparation. Regarding precautionary measures, the law expands its repertoire even more so and creates the Sheriff figure, to whom entrusts its compliance. At present, the Law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women unfortunately does not count with enough budget for its adequate enforcement.[5] As a result, precautionary measures follow-up is being temporarily carried out by the police based on risk factor standards defined by the MIN[6] (Ministerio del Interior, 2011), as the law does not contain any guidelines on this subject.

Under the current law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women, receiving at least a restraining order is mandatory for any woman who reports intimate partner violence. This precautionary measure prohibits the offender from making any contact or getting close to the victim within a certain range of proximity. In Uruguay, domestic violence cases go under the action of Family Juries, which have the prerogative of precautionary measures issuance. In this sense, precautionary measures neither impose criminal or economic sanctions on offenders nor are they recorded in their criminal history. For the case to go under criminal investigation, the offender has to commit repeated aggressions or aggravated assaults toward the victim while POs are in place (Gambetta and Russo, 2022). But in these situations, the General Prosecution Office presents charges for disobedience to authority. Although possible, it is rare to prosecute offenders for domestic violence first hand, which only happens when the reported incidents involve acute violence. Since these cases are sanctioned with imprisonment, precautionary measures are no longer needed to guarantee the victim's safety.

In sum, Uruguayan Law grants the state the authority to decide when to arrest, prosecute, and punish IPV offenders, making POs a top-down policy. Unlike other legislations like the United States', Uruguayan Law does not distinguish between civil and criminal POs. Nevertheless, as precautionary measures are used before criminal sanctions, the following review focuses on empirical studies that research on women revictimization during civil POs exclusively.

c. Risk Factors for Intimate Partner Revictimization During civil Protection Orders

Several factors play a role in influencing the risk of intimate partner revictimization during civil POs, among which offender attributes are highlighted as the most relevant. The *stake in conformity* hypothesis (Sherman et al., 1992) states that the deterrent effects of arrest vary substantially between offenders with different degrees of social integration.[7] According to this idea, Bennett-Cattaneo and Goodman (2005) propose that POs would be a more adequate strategy for discouraging offenders with higher education, employed, married to the victims, and not acquainted with criminal activities, but would encourage violent reactions in those who are less integrated to society. Although there are mixed findings to support this hypothesis, the authors find in their synthesis that the negative effects of other risk factors are enhanced when offenders show a low degree of social integration.

Adhikari et al. (1993) found that protection orders can effectively prevent the recidivism of offenders who have not been previously arrested and have limited contact with the criminal justice system. Later research has confirmed this finding (Bench et al., 2022;

[4] Strict translation for *medidas cautelares*.

[5] In 2018, the Judiciary reported that approximately $23.5 million would be needed annually to adequately implement the Law on Gender-Based Violence against Women (Poder Judicial, 2018). However, a 2023 analysis by the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDA W) emphasized that this necessary budget had still not been fully allocated (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - CEDAW, 2023).

[6] Uruguayan Home Office.

[7] The study carried out by Sherman et al. (1992) focused on the effects of different police responses on intimate partner recidivism, among which POs were not included.

Caballé-Pérez et al., 2020; Jordan et al., 2010; Logan et al., 2007; Logan and Walker, 2009, 2010; McCormick et al., 2011). However, studies have also shown that the probability of women being revictimized during POs increases considerably when offenders have a history of harassment, criminal or domestic violence infractions, violation of prior POs, and mental health problems. Evidence also suggests that these factors compromise the potential of POs to prevent revictimization even more seriously when offenders have low socioeconomic status (Carlson et al., 1999).

In this context, risk factors identified by scales predicting Intimate Partner Homicide (IPH) for IPV victims are also significant. The Danger Assessment (Campbell et al., 2009), for example, lists similar risk factors to those seen in studies on Protection Order violations: prior IPV, firearm possession, recent separation, the aggressor's unemployment, past threats or homicide attempts, and presence of children. It also underscores behaviors linked to coercive control, jealousy, and possessiveness, such as the aggressor monitoring the victim's daily activities, constant jealousy, and suicide threats.

As for the victims, research indicates that POs are an adequate means to prevent the revictimization of employed women and those with a higher socioeconomic status. However, victim education would not be a good predictor (Burgess-Proctor, 2003; Carlson et al., 1999; Logan and Walker, 2009, 2010). Other elements like black ethnicity and rural residency would also increase the probability of violent incidents during POs (Benítez et al., 2010; Hawkins, 2010). According to Logan and colleagues (2005), rural and remote communities generally have fewer victim services available that support women to remain separated from offenders and strengthen their independence. In addition, victims with criminal records and substance abuse histories are more prone to be revictimized during POs, as well as those that have previously suffered IPV by the perpetrator or any other couple. Additionally, the withdrawal of allegations against the offender also represents a risk factor for revictimization during POs (Benítez et al., 2010; Caballé-Pérez et al., 2020).

In their meta-analysis of risk factors for reabuse in IPV, Bennett-Cattaneo and Goodman (2005) call attention to a series of findings that deserve further exploration. This evidence suggests several victim-related elements that may affect the likelihood of future violence during POs: (i) the victim's level of resources (broadly defined); (ii) her perception of how much help can get from the police; and (iii) the ability to evaluate her own risk of revictimization. Regarding the latter, further research suggests that victims can evaluate their risk with high sensitivity, especially concerning future violent incidents (Caballé-Pérez et al., 2020; López-Ossorio et al., 2017).

The severity and extension of the violence inflicted on the victim are also highlighted as risk factors for revictimization during POs, as several studies criticize its capacity for protecting those women who experienced physical and sexual assaults by an intimate partner (Maddoux et al., 2015; Meloy et al., 1997). Evidence also suggests that POs are inadequate at preventing the revictimization of women with a long history of partner abuse (Davis and Smith, 1995), especially when it concerns physical violence (Harrell and Smith, 1996). Similarly, restraining orders, which are a specific type of PO that bans physical contact or verbal communication with the victim, would only be effective in cases with low and medium risk of future violence but would not protect women at a greater risk (Strand, 2012).

At the interpersonal level, evidence shows that interrupting cohabitation or ending the relationship with the perpetrator has protective effects on women's risk of future violence. The findings of Logan et al. (2008) indicate that POs violation was 20% higher among non-separated couples, for which the risk of sexual violence, physical violence and injury towards women was also higher. The existence of mutual children is also highlighted as a risk factor for POs violation (Carlson et al., 1999), although its quantity appears irrelevant (Burgess-Proctor, 2003; Logan and Walker, 2009). Finally, the spatial and temporal distance between the victim and offender constitutes a protective factor, as PO violation risk increases with residential proximity between both (Bench et al., 2022).

A thorough examination of POs' effects on women revictimization also requires considering the series of actions performed to assure law enforcement effectiveness. Research findings indicate that the likelihood of POs violation decreases considerably when the offenders are arrested at the time of the incident (Benítez et al., 2010; Rigakos, 1997). Nonetheless, Belfrage et al. (2012) conclude that when POs are accompanied by a high level of intervention by the criminal justice system, they may generate undesired effects on women's security. According to their findings, actions like staying in contact with the prosecution office, preparing a security plan for the victim, protecting her identity, or improving her housing security have a positive effect on offender deterrence when the risk of future violence is high, but have the opposite impact for low-risk cases.

Despite the evidence presented above, little is currently known about the risk factors that affect the well-being of Latin American women during the implementation of POs. This is an important issue to consider, given the limitations of applying research conducted in Global North countries to Global South contexts, where local cultural, social, and economic factors may significantly impact the effectiveness of policies and programs (Bourdillon et al., 2017; Hardee et al., 2014; Tumwine et al., 2018). In the case of Uruguay, although some studies have examined revictimization rates among women with POs (Gambetta and Russo, 2022) and the performance of electronic bracelets (Oficina de Planeamiento y Presupuesto, 2017), no research has yet explored the risk factors associated with IPV revictimization during POs.

3. Current study

The purpose of this article is to identify a set of risk factors for PO violation in cases of IPV towards women that occurred in Montevideo, the capital city of Uruguay. On the one hand, this study seeks to examine how the main factors highlighted by the literature behave in a Latin American country, as the vast majority of research on the subject is grounded in contexts in Global North countries. In this sense, the Uruguayan case brings an opportunity to analyse differences and continuities between hemispheres. On the other hand, although there is a lack of knowledge about the Uruguayan context, some assumptions have been made by authorities regarding risk factors for PO violation. This is in light of the implementation of a PO follow-up policy aimed at safeguarding women at a higher risk of revictimization. However, it is worth noting that this policy is defined based on police criteria that may not align with the

international literature (Ministerio del Interior, 2011).

Given the perpetrator characteristics are highlighted by the literature as the most important risk factors to address PO violation, our main hypothesis is that those offenders with no relationship with the labour market, lower socioeconomic status and prior contacts with the criminal justice system are the most prone to violate POs. Nevertheless, other risk factors relevant in past research would also be explored. Moreover, the lack of knowledge regarding the origins of the current PO follow-up policy guidelines leads us to hypothesize that decisions made to protect women's safety, with the resources available, may be based on inaccurate or unreliable information.

4. Methods

a. Design, Data and Sample Characteristics

In this article, we report the results of a broader investigation conducted with other colleagues in 2019 in Montevideo, Uruguay (Fonseca et al., 2020). The original study aimed at providing public safety authorities with valuable information for the improvement of police performance regarding the prevention of IPV repeated aggressions towards women.

To examine risk factors for women revictimization during POs, we conducted a retrospective cohort study. Therefore, no experimental manipulations were conducted. We used a closed cohort approach, which meant the observation of a static population that remained constant over time. Our cohort of interest were all domestic violence cases towards a female partner within heterosexual couples that occurred in 2018 in the city of Montevideo and obtained a restraining order as a result.

We observed the same cases during a 6-month exposure period while POs were in place, considering the time of the incident reported to the police that led to the issuance of POs (initial incident) as the starting point. We set this duration for two reasons: (i) Uruguayan legislation states that the minimum duration for restraining orders is 180 days; (ii) there is evidence to support that women's risk of revictimization drops dramatically between the third and sixth month after PO issuance, so shorter periods of exposure would not allow to capture a considerable proportion of reabuse (Benítez et al., 2010; Logan and Walker, 2010; Maddoux et al., 2015).

Using the police data system, we built a sampling frame of 2483 reports that met the criteria for our cohort of interest. Considering a 95% level of confidence, a 3% sampling error, and assuming maximum variance, we extracted a simple random sample of 1057 cases with replacement. To avoid both model bias and loss of statistical power, we conducted multiple imputation on some of the variables with missing values that gathered information on theoretical constructs highlighted by the literature (see Section 4.d).

Table 1 presents the characteristics of the subsample, including the absolute frequencies of each variable category. The mean age of victims and offenders was approximately 33 and 36 years old, respectively, indicating little age difference between them. About two-thirds of both victims and offenders had low socioeconomic status (which represented only one fourth of the Uruguayan population in 2017, according to Perera, 2018), with middle classes being underrepresented in both populations. Among victims, only 66% were employed at the time of the initial incident, and 4.4% had a criminal record, while 16.1% had previous IPV victimizations by other partners. Among offenders, 79.4% were employed, 22.3% had a criminal record, and approximately one in four had previous POs issued against them due to violent incidents towards women. In the context of the initial incident, 14.6% of the offenders had access to firearms, and 25.3% showed signs of alcohol and/or substance abuse. The majority of the subsample comprised cases in which the victim and the offender were separated, although 38.5% of cases involved ongoing relationships. Cohabitation was present in approximately 90% of the cases, with the vast majority not being married. Common children were also a predominant feature, comprising 58.5% of the cases.

b. Data Collection

Overall, information on about 80 variables was collected, capturing characteristics of the victim, her offender, the relationship between them, the circumstances of the initial incident and subsequent reabuses while POs were in place. Data was collected from two official sources. We began by searching electronic police records kept by the MIN. These records provide individualized information on the initial and subsequent events reported to the police; together with interviews with victims, offenders and witnesses, other evidence resulting from police investigation, as well as detailed court sentences. At a further stage, individual case information was cross-referenced with court files. Our sources gather information for bureaucratic purposes, which implies a series of limitations for criminological research. On the one hand, provided this information is not theory-driven, several constructs highlighted by previous research could not be measured. On the other hand, the information lacked systematicity and could not always be found in detail. As a result, most risk factors were operationalized dichotomically.

After operationalizing the different types of violence against women and examining different instruments used for its measurement in intimate partner relationships (Herrera and Amor, 2017; Marshall, 1992; Sheridan, 1998; Tjaden and Thoennes, 2000; Uruguay, 2018; World Health Organization, 2005), a codification protocol was designed for the variables physical violence, harassment, sexual violence, economic-patrimonial violence, and substance and alcohol abuse.[8] Modifications were made to the instrument's protocol after coding the first 100 sample cases to suit the Uruguayan context.

Data collection took place between April and October 2019 at the Information Systems Division Office, at the MIN headquarters,

[8] Available under request.

Table 1
Sample characteristics.

Variable	N	%
Victim		
Age (mean/SD)	1057	(33.30/11.1)
Socio-economic status		
Low	645	61.60
Medium	319	30.50
High	83	7.90
Employment situation		
Employed	567	66.01
Does not work	292	33.99
Criminal record		
Yes	46	4.37
No	1006	95.63
Victim of IPV by other spouses		
Yes	168	16.06
No	878	83.94
Offender		
Age (mean/SD)	1043	(36.26/11.90)
Socio-economic status		
Low	655	65.83
Medium	284	28.54
High	56	5.63
Employment situation		
Employed	625	79.42
Does not work	162	20.58
Criminal record		
Yes	231	22.28
No	806	77.72
Previous POs towards women		
Yes	284	27.28
No	757	72.72
Variable	N	%
Offender (continuation)		
Previous IPV towards the victim (dichotomous)		
Yes	779	75.12
No	258	24.88
Previous IPV towards the victim (continuous, mean/SD)	1037	(1.32/0.98)
Previous IPV towards other spouses		
Yes	152	14.63
No	887	85.37
Access to firearms		
Yes	150	14.59
No	878	85.41
Problematic alcohol and substance use		
Yes	267	25.28
No	789	74.72
Relational		
Marital status		
Married	128	12.97
Common-law	748	75.79
Girlfriend-boyfriend	106	10.74
Sexual partners	5	0.51
Relationship state		
Together	403	38.49
Separated	644	61.51
Mutual children		
Yes	607	58.53
No	430	41.47

Note. N = 1057.

and at the Specialized Family Juries of Montevideo. To gain access to this information, all members of the research team signed a confidentiality contract with the MIN, to reassure our commitment with identity and sensitive data preservation. As police records also contain confidential information, the Ministry created a system user for each researcher, which also allowed it to audit our activity for safety purposes. Access to court files was granted after a petition to the Supreme Court of Justice.

c. Dependent Variable and Covariates

We use the terms *initial incident* to refer to the one that led to the issuance of the PO, and *following incidents* to refer to new abuses

that happened while the PO was in place. The dependent variable, *Revictimization during POs*, was a dichotomous measure that gauged whether the victim reported at least one additional incident to the police while POs were in place, anytime during the subsequent 6 months. The absence/presence of different kinds of IPV was registered according to the aforementioned coding protocol using dummy variables to identify five types: *Psychological*, *Physical*, *Sexual*, *Economic-patrimonial*, and *Harassment*. Although authors like Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) classify harassment as a type of psychological violence, it was measured separately to make it more visible.

Several variables were elaborated to illustrate theoretical constructs regarding victim and offender characteristics by the time of the initial incident (age, socio-economic status SES,[9] and employment situation), as well as relational elements between the two (marital status, relationship state, mutual children under the age of 18).

To operationalize the stake in conformity thesis (Sherman et al., 1992), we used the *Offender SES* and *Offender employment situation* along with a set of variables that gauged offender's previous contacts with the criminal justice system: *Offender criminal record* was a dichotomous variable, that gauged whether he had been previously convicted by the time of the initial incident. We also constructed the variable *Offender previous POs towards women,* which is also dichotomous and gauges whether the perpetrator had had another POs against him in the past for harming a woman, no matter the relationship with her. This variable served as a measure for offender prior contacts with the criminal justice system regarding violence against women incidents, that resulted in conviction but were not registered in his criminal record[10]

To measure offender's IPV previous infractions, we used two variables. *Offender history of IPV against the Victim* indicates whether the victim reported previous violent incidents in any of her statements, and/or through previous police reports. This attribute was measured using both a dichotomous variable to indicate presence/absence, and a continuous one that is a simple quantity index that reflects how many types of previous violence occurred (physical, psychological, harassment, economic-patrimonial, sexual). *Offender history of IPV against other women*, is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether the perpetrator was previously reported for domestic violence by another spouse. An additional dummy variable, *Victim of IPV by other spouses,* was created to measure whether the victim had a history of previous abuses by other partners that were informed to the police by statement and/or official report.

To test the set of risk factors currently used by the Uruguayan police to prioritize POs follow up (Ministerio del Interior, 2011), we included the following measures. *Offender access to firearms* is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether the perpetrator owned a firearm or had access to one at the time of the initial incident, due to its occupation as a police agent, military, or a private security guard. *Offender problematic alcohol and substance use* is a dummy variable that reflects whether the perpetrator showed any sign of drug or alcohol abuse in the context of the initial incident.[11] The remaining risk factors used by the police coincide with some of the variables used to measure theoretical constructs: *Physical violence* at the initial incident, *Offender history of IPV against other women*, *Offender criminal record* and *Mutual children.*

Two additional variables were included to measure law enforcement interventions. *Police Follow-Up* is a dichotomous variable that gauges whether the case was effectively followed by police agencies while POs were in place. Police follow-up actions focus on the victim. The police contact her by telephone during the first thirty days of the POs, in which they seek to establish a communication channel to be maintained throughout its entire duration. In that first contact, she is asked if the measure is being respected, and self-care recommendations are transmitted. If contact with the victim is not possible, a police unit is sent to her home to meet her in person (Fonseca et al., 2020). For this study, this variable indicates if the case had at least one successful follow-up action where the police could effectively reach the victim.

Finally, the variables *Victim criminal record* and *Victim problematic alcohol and substance use* were measured using the same criteria defined for the offenders.

d. Analysis

To examine risk factors for women's revictimization during protection orders, we conducted binary logistic regression. Initial analysis revealed that three key variables had missing values exceeding 10%: Offender SES, Offender Employment Situation, and Victim Employment Situation. To assess whether the data was missing at random, we conducted t-tests to compare the mean differences between complete cases and cases with missing data (Diggle et al., 2002; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2012). We found no significant differences between the two groups, indicating that the data was missing at random. To avoid bias in parameter estimates and unnecessary data loss of statistical power, we performed multiple imputation using chained equations (Austin et al., 2021; White et al., 2011) to impute missing values on the key variables mentioned.

The prevalence of revictimization during POs among the final subsample (n = 1057) was examined by tabulating frequencies and percentages. Risk factors for women's revictimization during POs were examined using three multivariate binary logistic regression models with adjusted odds ratios (OR) and 95% confidence intervals (CIs). To assess non nested models' goodness-of-fit, McFadden's R2 was used. The final model's performance in predicting women's revictimization was measured using the area under the curve (AUC) of the receiver operating characteristic (ROC) curve (Liu, 2012). Logistic regression analysis was also conducted with non-imputed data to assess the model's robustness (see Appendix).

[9] Socio-economic status (SES) (1 = Low, 2 = Medium, and 3 = High) was an ordinal variable constructed based on the neighbourhood of residence punctuation according to the reduced version of the socioeconomic level index (Perera, 2018).

[10] Since in the Uruguayan law POs are not criminal sanctions but a measure before them, they are not registered in criminal records.

[11] To compute this variable, we used an adaptation of the Drug Abuse Screening Test (DAST-10; Skinner, 1982; Yudko et al., 2007) together with a set of items that indicated if the offender got involved in interpersonal violent incidents after alcohol or substance consumption.

Finally, to address the policy implications of the final model, 95% CI revictimization probabilities were estimated for three case scenarios that illustrate different risk profiles. All analyses were conducted using IBM Stata version 17.

5. Results

The results for overall women revictimization during POs are presented in Table 2. They indicate that in Montevideo, POs were violated in 25.9% of cases, predominantly through harassment (82.2%) and psychological violence episodes (46.5%). Physical violence was reported in one in six revictimizations (17.5%), economical-patrimonial violence was rarely involved (7%), and episodes of sexual violence were exceptionally reported (0.8%). Not to be overlooked, only one in two cases were followed up by the police (52.5%).

a. Multivariate Analysis

Table 3 presents three models for IPV revictimization during the first 6 months the POs were in place: the one used by the police (Model 1), the literature based (Model 2), and one that combines the results of the previous two with police follow-up intervention (Model 3).

In Model 1, few variables attain statistical significance. The measure for offender history of IPV against the victim shows the higher effect and significance, given it duplicates the odds of PO violation. The multivariate analysis also indicates that the offender's criminal record is influential and significant. Evidence of convictions by the time of the initial incident increases the risk of revictimization by 68%. Finally, the fact that the offender had access to firearms at the time of the initial incident is also a significant factor that increases the risk of PO violation by 57%. Besides the above-mentioned, none of the remaining variables in the model attains significance. According to these results, the model currently used by the police to monitor victim security during POs is based on procedural assumptions that do not completely translate into risk factors. Thus, although police actions prove to have a positive impact on women's security, it is yet necessary to explore other elements that maximize this effect.

Model 2 includes a set of attributes that trigger POs violation according to the literature. This allows a more comprehensive analysis that includes variables to contrast the stake in conformity hypothesis, along with victim characteristics. The element with the highest effect on the dependent variable is the offender's history of IPV against the victim, which is highly significant and doubles the odds of a PO violation. The victim's history of IPV by other spouses comes second, since its effect increases the odds of PO violation by 85%. As in Model 1, the criminal record of the perpetrator is highly influential and shows a similar size effect, increasing the odds of PO violation by 70%. Finally, the fact that the offender had previous POs towards any woman is also a significant element, as it increases the risk of PO violation by 50%. Compared to the previous one, Model 2 shows a better fit and a higher proportion of explained variance. This proves the fact that Model 2 captures a wider scope of elements that enables a better understanding of the behaviour of the POs violation data.

Despite their theoretical interest, the remaining variables do not attain significance in Model 2. Neither the fact that the offender was employed nor his abuse of alcohol and substances have impacts on IPV recidivism during POs. Similarly, the existence of mutual children with the victim and the perpetration of physical violence at the initial incident play no role in the explanation of PO violation. Finally, neither the victim's nor the offender's socioeconomic status have effects on the dependent variable, along with the fact that the victim was employed at the time of the initial incident. According to these findings, an empirically driven security policy cannot be solely literature-based, as several of the constructs highlighted by the current state of the art on PO violation would not be useful to address the matter accurately.

Model 3 combines the significant factors from Model 1 and Model 2, and introduces an additional variable to contrast the effect of police intervention. The fact that the police successfully established at least one contact with the victim to monitor her security while POs were in place is the most influential factor. It has a protective and highly significant effect, as it decreases the risk of revictimization by 58%. Again, chronicity of IPV proves to play a substantive role, as the risk factors with the highest effects and significance

Table 2
Prevalence of women revictimization during POs.

Variable	N	%
Revictimization during POs		
Yes	268	25.92
No	766	74.08
Type of violence involved in revictimization		
Harassment	212	82.17
Psychological	119	46.48
Physical	45	17.51
Economic-Patrimonial	18	7.00
Sexual	2	0.78
Police Follow-Up		
Yes	555	52.51
No	502	47.49

Note. The sum of categories exceeds 100% due to different violence type simultaneity. N = 1057.

Table 3
Logistic regression analysis of intimate partner violence (IPV) revictimization during POs, 6 Months after PO issuance.

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	OR	*95% IC*	*OR*	*95% IC*	*OR*	*95% IC*
Constant	0.16***		0.10***		0.21***	
Police Risk Factors						
Offender criminal record	1.68**	[1.20]; [2.34]	1.70**	[1.21]; [2.38]	1.46*	[1.05]; [2.04]
Offender history of IPV against other women	1.04	[0.70]; [1.55]				
Offender history of IPV against the Victim	1.93***	[1.34]; [2.78]	1.98***	[1.36]; [2.88]	1.89***	[1.30]; [2.75]
Mutual children	1.07	[0.80]; [1.45]	1.02	[0.75]; [1.40]		
Offender substance/alcohol abuse	0.96	[0.69]; [1.34]	0.91	[0.65]; [1.28]		
Offender access to firearms	1.57*	[1.04]; [2.36]			1.68*	[1.10]; [2.57]
Physical violence at initial incident	1.09	[0.83]; [1.46]	1.13	[0.85]; [1.51]		
Offender (additional)						
Socio-economic status (base category = Low)						
Medium			1.42	[0.93]; [2.17]		
High			0.97	[0.43]; [2.21]		
Previous POs towards women			1.50*	[1.10]; [2.06]	1.42*	[1.04]; [1.96]
Employment situation			1.13	[0.74]; [1.72]		
Victim						
Socio-economic status (base category = Low)						
Medium			0.83	[0.55]; [1.26]		
High			0.90	[0.46]; [1.75]		
Victim of IPV by other spouses			1.85**	[1.26]; [2.71]	1.85***	[1.27]; [2.70]
Employment situation			1.27	[0.89]; [1.81]		
Law Enforcement						
Police Follow-Up					0.42***	[0.31]; [0.57]
R2 McFadden	0.03		0.04		0.07	
AUC	0.60		0.65		0.68	

Note. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$ ^{NS} not significant. N = 1048. Data imputed using MICE. Imputations = 20.

are the offender's history of IPV against the victim and the victim's history of IPV by other spouses, which increase the risk of revictimization during POs by 89% and 85%, respectively. As in Model 1, the offender's access to firearms at the time of the initial incident is a significant factor that elevates the risk of PO violation even more so by 68%. Additionally, the measures for the offender's previous contacts with the criminal justice system are both relevant and significant: the fact that the perpetrator had previous convictions and previous POs against women increases the risk of PO violation by 46% and 42%, respectively.

Model 3 is the one that shows the best performance, regarding both the description of data behaviour and the proportion of explained variance. Therefore, and given the quality of available data, the combination of theoretical and police procedural risk factors along with police intervention significantly improves the capacity to explain which elements play a key role in women's IPV revictimization during POs. The discriminant analysis results indicate that the integrated model has an acceptable predictive capacity, with an estimated sensitivity of 71% and an estimated specificity of 57%, when using the unconditioned relative frequency of the dependent variable as threshold. The area under the ROC curve (AUC = 0.6808) indicates that there is a 68% probability that the final model correctly identifies cases of revictimization (see the Appendix), which represents between low and moderate accuracy, according to conventional thresholds.

In general terms, all covariates that proved to be significant in the three adjusted models had small to medium effect sizes on the dependent variable, according to Cohen's rule of thumb (Cohen, 2013). Comparing Model 3 to Model 2, the offender's criminal record loses significance. Nevertheless, none of the adjusted models failed collinearity tests.

Besides its empirical performance, Model 3 also proves as a more adequate alternative to explain POs violation from a criminological perspective, since it contemplates victim characteristics and expands the ways in which IPV trajectories are incorporated for the understanding of the phenomenon. And from a public policy perspective, Model 3 posits that women's security can be significantly improved by focusing efforts on their post-victimization experience alone.

b. The Role of Police Follow-Up

Although the majority of victims were not revictimized, 34.2% of those whose security was not monitored by the police during POs suffered new abuses, compared to 17.1% of victims contacted by the police. However, the magnitude of this effect changes when different risk profiles are considered. To clearly illustrate the policy implications of the results, we explore the effects of police follow-up on the probability of revictimization while POs were in place using Model 3 to simulate three case scenarios: (i) an average case; (ii) an offender at the highest risk to violate POs; (iii) a victim at the highest risk of revictimization. Fig. 1 illustrates how the probability of women's IPV revictimization behaves in each case.

An average-case scenario would be one in which the covariates are set at their means. When this case scenario is considered, there is a medium risk of revictimization that diminishes by 48.5% when the police contact the victim to monitor her security. Results indicate that there is a 32.6% probability of revictimization during POs without police follow-up, which decreases to 16.8% when it takes place (see Fig. 1, Average Case).

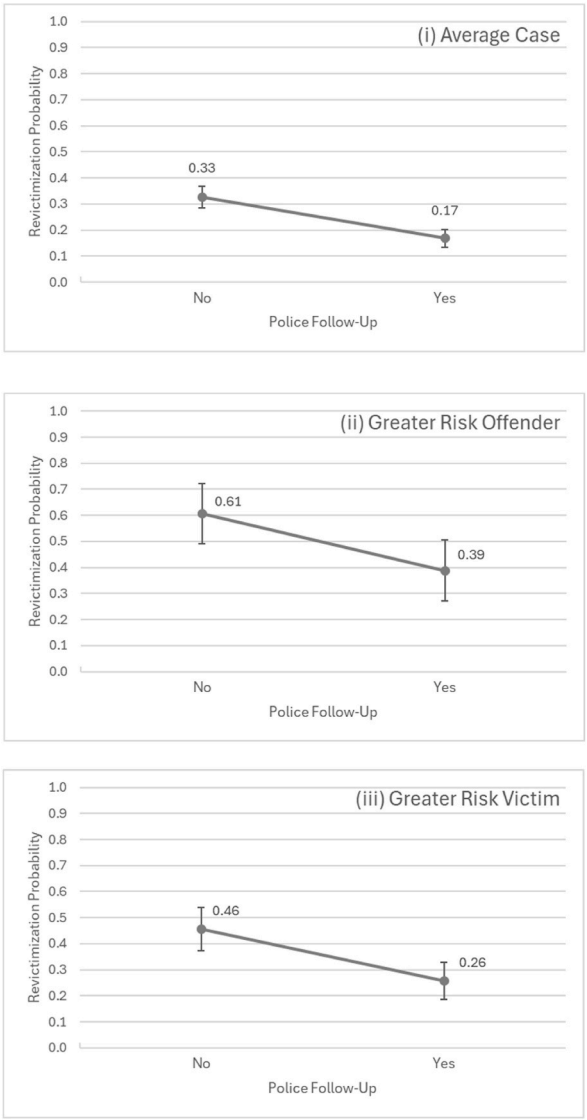

Fig. 1. Intimate partner violence (IPV) revictimization during POs by police follow-up. Selected case-scenarios.

The worst-case scenario considering offender characteristics stands a much higher probability of revictimization that diminishes only by 36.0% when police monitor victim security. This archetype would involve men who do not seem intimidated by POs: they have had them in the past due to violence against women incidents but continued to inflict harm towards their intimate partner. For these offenders, further contact with the criminal justice system regarding crime convictions proved to be ineffective for interpersonal violence deterrence. In these cases, there is a 60.6% probability of revictimization during POs in the absence of police intervention, which decreases to 38.8% when police follow-up is considered (see Fig. 1, Greater Risk Offender).

Finally, the worst-case scenario considering victim-related factors shows a high risk of revictimization, although lower in comparison to the perpetrator's. This type of case involves women who have been previously victimized by another intimate partner. So, although IPV naturalization does not necessarily illustrate this archetype as victims have repeatedly reported partner abuse to the police, these women somehow lack the empowerment to avoid repeated romantic involvement with violent men. This type of chronicity alone sets a high risk of POs' failure to prevent revictimization, which diminishes by 43.5% when police perform follow-up actions. Results indicate that in the absence of police intervention, the probability of revictimization during POs is 45.5% compared to 25.7% when police follow-up takes place (see Fig. 1, Greater Risk Victim).

6. Conclusions

a. Summary of Results

Findings indicate that in Montevideo one in four women are revictimized while POs are in place (26%), indistinctly of social class. The reabuse involved experiences a deceleration, given its severity drops when compared to the initial incidents reported to the police (see Gambetta and Russo, 2022). Results reveal that the probability of relapsing into new IPV towards the victim while POs are in place is significantly higher when offenders have histories of conviction, and when they already had a PO issued against them in the past due to women abuse. Moreover, this probability also increases when there is evidence of IPV chronicity towards the victim, both regarding the relationship with the offender and with previous spouses.

After modelling both the principles underlying current police intervention to monitor women's safety and the literature recommendations, findings show that a combination of both approaches proved best to address the risk of revictimization during POs. The integrated model showed stronger and more significant effects, and was better able to capture data heterogeneity. This model also included an additional variable to contrast the effect of police intervention to monitor victim security while POs are in place, which not only proved to be a protective factor but the one with the greatest effect on POs violation. Furthermore, although public policy is not actually considering all relevant information for the prevention of IPV revictimization, it shows sensitivity to its subject of matter with variable effects depending on different risk profiles. Our findings show that although low-risk cases are the most common, those that gather the most undesirable features concerning either the authors or the victims escalate to high-risk situations. The comparison of effects showed that lower risk cases are more policy-reactive, and vice versa.

b. Discussion

Overall, this study's findings are consistent with the literature, which shows that many of the factors related to women's vulnerability to repeated IPV during POs involve the perpetrators. However, the stake in conformity hypothesis developed by Sherman and colleagues (1992) does not seem applicable to the Uruguayan context. Contrary to Bennett-Cattaneo and Goodman's (2005) findings, none of the conformity clues, except for the absence of a criminal record, was related to PO violation in this study. Nevertheless, these findings are consistent with a large body of literature that highlights the negative impact of prior convictions on IPV recidivism (Bench et al., 2022; Caballé-Pérez et al., 2020; Jordan et al., 2010; Logan et al., 2007; Logan and Walker, 2009, 2010; McCormick et al., 2011).

Public policy to monitor victim security while POs are in place turned out to be the most influential factor on the likelihood of IPV revictimization, and the only one tested that manages to reduce it. However, police monitoring is not inherently aimed at reducing revictimization; instead, it seeks a more proactive policing approach that reacts quickly and effectively when new abuses are detected. Since police follow-up focuses exclusively on victims, and neither victims nor offenders are informed if it will occur after the court's decision, it is unlikely to deter offenders. We hypothesize that police contact with the victims likely operates as a preventive factor against revictimization because it increases women's confidence in the police to contact them in case of new abuses. Among other things, this proves as a demonstration that the criminal justice system is concerned about women's personal safety and that the police are prepared to respond to these abuses quickly and consistently. In dialogue with the literature (Fischer and Rose, 1995; Lewis et al., 2000), these mechanisms would also be more relevant in Uruguay to specifically explain why police monitoring works to reduce revictimization.

Considering risk increase of IPV recidivism during POs, the most influential factor is IPV chronicity. Previous violent acts committed by the same offender against the victim (Davis and Smith, 1995) and women's propensity to be involved with other violent men are the most significant predictors, supporting the findings of Benítez et al. (2010), Caballé-Pérez et al. (2020), and Davis and Smith (1995). This finding is theoretically and practically sensitive, as it shifts the focus from the aggressor to the victim in exploring risk factors linked to revictimization. However, we want to clarify that we understand the full risk of aggression lies with the aggressors, as they are the ones committing the acts. Other factors are identified only when they have predictive value and can highlight contexts where IPV risk is clearly elevated.

Our findings also contradict those of Harrell and Smith (1996), who found that POs lowered the risk of reabuse only considering previous physical violence, which was not a significant risk factor in our study. These results underscore that the way IPV is deeply embedded in Uruguayan intimate partner dynamics is more crucial to understanding the phenomenon than the criminal/non-criminal behaviour dichotomy.

Offenders' access to firearms is another risk factor that calls for a more thorough interpretation. Police use it as a proxy for outcome lethality, which does not necessarily address the probability of PO violations. Additionally, the literature on POs does not mention it as a key factor for its compliance. In the absence of theoretical explanations for the underlying mechanism, we hypothesize that from a coercive control perspective (Stark, 2007) firearms have symbolic effects on the offenders' sense of power and control over the victim. Thus, its mere presence and availability may reduce offenders' deterrence by law enforcement intervention and enhance their sensation of impunity.

The fact that previous POs against the offender due to women abuse constitute a risk factor rather than a protective one is consistent with Carlson et al. 's (1999) results. However, it has a dual interpretation in the Uruguayan context. On the one hand, prior POs may serve as a proxy for offender trajectories in severe IPV since they were issued before the Law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women (Uruguay, 2018), and judges could use them at their discretion to address severe abuse. On the other hand, these findings may indicate that offenders have learned to discredit criminal justice interventions that guarantee victim protection and security. This interpretation provides additional support for the stake in conformity hypothesis if prior contacts with the criminal justice system are operationalized in a more comprehensive way to incorporate non-punitive interventions.

Among the non-significant results, the irrelevance of victim socioeconomic status and employment situation to address PO violation risk may call for a broader operationalization of victims' access to resources that incorporates additional variables, such as

the territorial availability of victim services (Logan et al., 2005), which would allow for a multilevel risk analysis.

c. Implications and Future Directions

As expected, the results of this study suggest that the decisions made to protect women's safety during POs are based on inaccurate information. This is a critical problem given the lack of sufficient resources assigned to the enforcement of the Law on Gender-Based Violence Towards Women. As a result, two main policy implications emerge from these findings.

First, the principles behind police intervention to monitor victim safety need to be redefined. The fair predictive capacity of the integrated model highlights the need for more public investment in strengthening, standardizing, and building capacity for the collection, reporting, and use of data on IPV towards women. Improving the quality of police reports would enable better estimates of risk factors prevalence and size effects. In addition, new information needs to be registered in police records for the prediction of future IPV violence towards women based on other countries' initiatives to assess women's risk of revictimization. For instance, the VPR4.0 (López-Ossorio et al., 2019) is a successful tool used by Spanish Police, which includes easily measurable indicators such as the victim's intention to end the relationship with the offender and her perception of the offender's capacity to cause harm (Caballé-Pérez et al., 2020). Additionally, tools like the Danger Assessment (Campbell et al., 2009) emphasize the importance of behavioral indicators of coercive control that could be incorporated into police follow-ups.

Meanwhile, police could also leverage their already installed capacities for monitoring evidence-based risk factors that are not yet considered but proved significant in this study.

Second, a more comprehensive response to domestic abuse needs to be considered. The marginal effects of police follow-up policy suggest that intensive criminal justice interventions are less effective for high-risk cases. Therefore, effective victim protection from IPV demands responses that go beyond electronic bracelets and criminal sanctions. Moreover, the results of this study emphasize that POs alone are not enough to disentangle violent intimate partner dynamics concerning both victims and offenders. On the one hand, POs issuance needs to be supported by treatment and behaviour-change programs for (at least) the offenders more prone to recidivate. At the same time, the empirical relevance of women's trajectories in violent relationships with other partners are a reminder that intervention programmes for victims are also crucial, and must transcend mere damage repair to give them resources to establish healthy relationships, free from violence and abuse. A recent assessment of public actions implemented in Latin America to reduce IPV recidivism (Igarapé Institute, 2023) indicates that cognitive-behavioural programmes for offenders, focusing on anger management and conflict resolution skills, show promising results. Regarding victims, legal support and mental healthcare services have also proved beneficial, particularly for those facing economic vulnerability.

While this study provides original evidence for the Latin American context, further research is needed to explore whether our findings can be generalized to a national level and to investigate the causal and theoretical mechanisms underlying the relationships we observed. A broader scope would also allow us to examine how the phenomenon behaves in other areas of the country with more traditional gender roles and fewer resources for enforcing laws that target gender-based violence, such as police stations with specialized staff.

d. Limitations

Our findings have a series of limitations, mostly associated with data quality. Information extracted from police reports was not always available to address relevant theoretical constructs or to build non-dichotomous variables. That being considered, there is a sound chance that our results underestimate the actual effects of risk factors, which sounds fair in the light that all covariates had weak effects on the probability of PO violation. Moreover, there is an additional chance that we could not detect mild effects of constructs like drug and substance abuse, which might explain the fair predictive performance of our model.

Nevertheless, this study still represents an original contribution to the current state of affairs considering both Latin America public policy design and academic research.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Victoria Gambetta: Writing – original draft, Supervision, Software, Resources, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Sofía Vanoli-Imperiale:** Writing – original draft, Visualization, Validation, Software, Formal analysis, Data curation.

Declaration of generative AI and AI-assisted technologies in the writing process

During the preparation of this work, the authors used Open AI's ChatGPT to improve readability and language translation. After using this tool, the authors reviewed and edited the content as needed and take full responsibility for the content of the publication.

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Appendix

Table A.1
Logistic Regression Analysis of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) Revictimization During POs, 6 Months After PO Issuance (no imputation - listwise deletion for each model)

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	OR	*95% IC*	*OR*	*95% IC*	*OR*	*95% IC*
Constant	0.16***		0.10***		0.20***	
Police Risk Factors						
Offender criminal record	1.69**	[1.20]; [2.39]	1.87**	[1.20]; [2.89]	1.46*	[1.03]; [2.06]
Offender history of IPV against other women	1.04	[0.68]; [1.58]				
Offender history of IPV against the Victim	2.00***	[1.36]; [2.94]	1.80*	[1.11]; [2.93]	1.99***	[1.33]; [2.96]
Mutual children	1.09	[0.80]; [1.47]	1.08	[0.73]; [1.61]		
Offender substance/alcohol abuse	0.92	[0.66]; [1.31]	0.88	[0.57]; [1.35]		
Offender access to firearms	1.50*	[1.01]; [2.21]			1.63*	[1.10]; [2.44]
Physical violence at initial incident	1.08	[0.80]; [1.45]	1.24	[0.85]; [1.80]		
Offender (additional)						
Socio-economic status (base category = Low)						
Medium			1.87*	[1.11]; [3.17]		
High			1.18	[0.39]; [3.53]		
Previous POs towards women			1.74**	[1.18]; [2.59]	1.39	[0.99]; [1.93]
Employment situation			1.35	[0.84]; [2.15]		
Victim						
Socio-economic status (base category = Low)						
Medium			0.66	[0.39]; [1.12]		
High			0.76	[0.31]; [1.88]		
Victim of IPV by other spouses			2.24**	[1.38]; [3.66]	1.91***	[1.30]; [2.80]
Employment situation			1.25	[0.84]; [1.85]		
Law Enforcement						
Police Follow-Up					0.40***	[0.14]; [0.31]
N	944		603		959	
R2 McFadden	0.03		0.06		0.07	
AUC	0.60		0.67		0.69	

Note. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$ ^{NS} not significant. Listwise deletion for each model.

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