

Chapter 3

Prevalence of Domestic violence and its associated risk factors

3.1 Introduction

Prevalence studies constitute one of the most frequently used type of research primarily because they are helpful to government agencies worldwide to identify the level of problem within a particular population. This study provides indicative data on prevalence of domestic violence for India as well the general risk factors and assesses some correlates. It also help identify groups of women who need special attention. It allows comparison of different Indian states in terms of prevalence and their association. For preparing an effective action plan, it is imperative that we understand and gain a clear picture of the major forms of domestic violence prevalent, the factors leading to it, the physical psychological impact of domestic violence against women not only on the aggrieved party but also on her immediate environment consisting of her children and also on the society.

In India, domestic violence is emerging as a major social problem. However, until recently, the documentation on the prevalence and correlates of domestic violence against women has remained scant. The recognition of violence against women as a form of discrimination and, thus, a human rights violation, provides an entry point for understanding the broad context from which such violence emerges and related risk factors. The central premise of the analysis of violence against women within the human rights framework is that the specific causes of such violence and the factors that increase the risk of its occurrence are grounded in the broader context of systemic gender based discrimination against women and other forms of subordination. In order to prevent violence against women, the underlying root causes of such violence and the effects of the intersection of the subordination of women and other forms of social, cultural, economic and political subordination, need to be identified and addressed. There are a number of factors that complicate the issue in India, as in other countries. First, women lack and are denied access to economic, political, and social resources. Second, they are vulnerable to indigenous oppressive institutions of caste, religion, traditional family structures, and nondemocratic political systems. Third, India stands apart in terms of heightened domestic violence due to dowry, a major reason for harassment and domestic violence. Dowry is one of the principal social evils of India and is a perfect reflection of women's secondary status in society. It remains the leading cause of death among young brides in marital households.

The occurrence of domestic violence against women arises out of the patriarchal setup, the stereotyping of gender roles, and the distribution of power, real or perceived, in society. It is generally assumed that the main reason for most women's existence in India is to perpetuate the genealogy of the patrilineal household through male progeny. Such perpetuation is considered socially and economically essential, as sons provide for the family, uphold and maintain the male lineage and inheritance, attend to the welfare of aging parents, and perform the father's funeral rites. Thus, sons are desired and valued, and this value is celebrated from the moment of birth through rituals and sacrifices. Consent to patriarchal norms, caste, religion, and class is glorified and is reflected in the manner in which the woman is perceived by her marital family. In most households, the daughters are discriminated with subtlety. They are taught to be docile and obedient. In essence they are told that they have lesser rights than boys. Most women in India live and die under those parameters. In Indian families, the man enjoys absolute authority, power and privileges and makes every decision as the undisputed "head of family." He is addressed and elevated to the position of 'annadata' (giver of grains) and "Grihkarta" (household authority). The well-known 19th century social reformer from Bengal, Raja Ram Mohan Roy remarked, "At marriage, the wife is recognized as half of her husband, but in conduct they are treated worse than inferior animals." Roy's sympathetic observation was a reaction to the prevalent social attitudes of the time which was demeaning to women. To control women at every stage of their existence is an accepted act of manliness (Karlekar 1998). An analysis of power hierarchy within the conjugal home would suggest some identifiable features-a gendered division of labour, the fact that in most Indian marriages women enter as strangers into an already structured world, the creation of a permanent inequality in the relationship of the natal and conjugal homes, and overarching domestic ideologies that legislate gender status and role. However, the disturbing aspect of it all is the following stat: Around two-third of married women in India were victims of domestic violence and one incident of violence translates into women losing seven working days in the country, a United Nations report said.

Following such ideology, men are believed to be stronger and more powerful than women. They control women and their lives and as a result of this power play, they may hurt women with impunity. In the following paragraphs we would see the analysis of the NFHS-3 data. Data on experience of physical, sexual and emotional violence were collected. The data were collected for two time-periods, lifetime and current. Lifetime violence includes behaviours which women experienced throughout their married life. Current violence

includes behaviours, which women experienced during the 12 months immediately preceding the date of interview.

3.2 Socio Demographic profile of the respondents

The number of ever married respondents in NFHS-3 survey of 2005-06 in the age range of 15 to 49 years who completed the domestic violence module was 69704. Table 3.1 gives the distribution of the various socio demographic factors as per rural and urban residence.

Table 3.1: Distribution of various sociodemographic factors as per residence, NFHS-3, 2005-06

Socio-demographic characteristics	Rural	Urban	Total
Mean Age of respondent in years (SD)	31.41 (8.22)	32.57 (7.83)	31.92 (8.07)
Mean Age of partner in years (SD)	35.9 (11.95)	36.7 (11.26)	36.25 (11.66)
Respondents education (%)			
No Education	51.2	24.9	39.6
Primary	17.2	13	15.4
Secondary	28.9	45.6	36.2
Higher	2.7	16.5	8.8
Husbands education (%)			
No Education	30.1	13.6	22.9
Primary	18.3	11.8	15.5
Secondary	43.7	50.7	46.8
Higher	6.7	23.2	14.0
Respondents working status (%)			
Working	31.0	51.1	43.8
Not working	69.0	48.9	56.2
Husbands working status (%)			
Working	98.0	98.1	98.1
Not working	1.9	1.8	1.8
Partner drinks alcohol (%)			
Yes	38.3	36.0	37.1
No	61.6	63.9	62.9
Type of family (%)			
Nuclear	56.5	60.9	58.4
Joint	40	36.5	38.4
Standard of Living (%)			
Low	31.5	7.8	21.1
Medium	36.5	24.4	31.2
High	28.4	65.1	44.5

SD=Standard Deviation Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

The average age of the women respondents is 32 years with standard deviation of 8.07 years. 56% of the respondents reside in rural area whereas 44% reside in urban area. The NFHS-3 data indicate that educational opportunities vary among the respondents according to their areas of residence. Urban women and men are more likely to go to school than their rural counterparts. Almost 40% of the total women respondents were illiterate with more than 50% of the rural women with no education. There were 24.9% of the urban respondents who were illiterate. Less than 3 percent of rural women have higher education level as compared to 16.3 percent of women in urban areas, showing significant rural-urban differentials in the levels of education. 30% of the partners in the rural setup were illiterate as compared to 13.6% of the urban partners. Similarly only 6.7% of the rural partners were having higher education as compared to 23.4% in urban setup. Total of 43.8% women, 31% of the rural and 51.1% of the urban women were engaged in work. Overall 37% of the respondents husband/partner consumes alcohol, 38.3% from rural and 36.0% from urban settings. Only 36.5% of the urban families were staying in a joint type of family structure as compared to 40% in rural area. As regards to the standard of living 31.5% of the respondents from rural residence were having low standard of living, 36.5% were from medium standard of living and 28.4% were from high standard of living index. In the urban type of residence more than 65% were from high standard of living index and least 7.8% in the low standard of living index and the remaining 24.4% were from medium standard of living index.

Since time immemorial the joint family has been one of the salient features of the Indian society. But the twentieth century brought enormous changes in the family system. The joint family in rural areas is surviving in its skeleton. The nuclear family is now the characteristic feature of the Indian society. NFHS-3 data suggest that joint family does not make up more than thirty seven percent of all families in urban areas. The joint family system in the past not only provided a suitable umbrella to manage personal risks, such as risks of premature death and excessive longevity, but also laid down the norms of intergenerational relationships as well as the role of each member. The elderly played a significant role in decision making regarding household matters, while the younger people were entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring well-being of their ageing parents. But these days in smaller families, they are gradually marginalized in the decision-making process. Considerable changes have taken place in the traditional role of women. Once the priority for the young women was the husband, but now it has shifted to their career and in addition deep resentments tend to surface when the husbands are reluctant to take part in the household chores. The urban women are seen in many different roles. With 75 percent of the level of

female literacy rate in urban and with the rise in education, urbanization and opportunity to proper employment, women are much freer now to come out of their homes with a view to meeting their family expenses. With the rise in education and economic development, the women would steadily move towards greater economic independence in course of time (Singh 2002). The urban woman is in a position to exercise much greater authority than before. Several studies have suggested (directly or indirectly) that there is an inverted U-shaped relationship between economic empowerment and violence against women. Where women have consolidated economic power, they tend to be at lower risk of violence. However, where women's economic power is in transition, men are more likely to feel threatened by this, and there is often a (relatively) short term spike in male violence against women (Bloomberg, 2005). However, a lack of longitudinal studies have made it difficult to confirm that this relationship exists and hence the importance of understanding context, particularly the fluidity of women's roles and status within the local community. For example, Koenig et al (2003b) comparison of two different settings in rural Bangladesh showed how increased female empowerment challenged long-established gender roles and led to conflict and domestic violence in the more conservative setting of Sirajgonj, but in the less culturally conservative area of Jessore, women's participation in savings and credit groups and increased autonomy were not associated with an increased risk of violence. As already discussed it is reasonable to presume that women with more education would have greater abilities to protect themselves in times of need, such as when dealing with a violent partner. Thus, it is expected that women with higher levels of education experience comparatively less violence. However, it is also speculated that there may be a transition for women who have begun their autonomy. For example, the urban, better educated, and economically active women may in fact suffer more violence than other women precisely because of the greater agency they exert in their own lives, thereby challenging the existing gender norms (Daga 1998; INCLLEN 2000). With the rise in the level of education and exposure to mass media, women tend to have greater awareness of the notion of gender equality, faith in the effectiveness of legal action to protect their rights, and confidence in such institutions as family courts and certain voluntary organizations working for women. With the rise in modern education, gainful engagement, quality of health condition and a fewer number of children, family life may not be always well. The State of Kerala can be cited as one of the examples. Those who are unhappy with current state of family life are on the gradual increase in the state (Singh 2002). It is all the more acute in urban areas where the hold of traditional norms and values has largely dissipated. The consumer culture sweeping

the urban India and the breakdown of the extended or joint family system has contributed to this (Singh 2002). Under the new socio-economic urban milieu there has been a tremendous increase in the family violence.

We now see the prevalence of domestic violence in India and its correlates.

3.3 Prevalence of Domestic Violence

In epidemiology, the prevalence of a health-related state in a population is defined as the total number of cases of the risk factor in the population at a given time, or the total number of cases in the population, divided by the number of individuals in the population. It is used as an estimate of how common a disease is within a population over a certain period of time. Suppose we define 'a' as the number of individuals in a given population with the disease at a given time, and 'b' as the number of individuals in the same population at risk of developing the disease at a given time, including those already with the disease. Then, we can write the prevalence as

$$\text{prevalence} = \frac{a}{a + b}$$

Researchers may use the term *current prevalence* to describe the percentage of people who currently have a diagnosis and the term *lifetime prevalence* to describe the percentage of people who have had the diagnosis at some point in their life.

Lifetime prevalence (LTP) is the number of individuals in a population that at some point in their life (up to the time of assessment) have experienced a "case" (e.g., a disorder), compared to the total number of individuals (i.e. it is expressed as a ratio or percentage). Often, a 12-month prevalence (also called as current prevalence) is used in conjunction with lifetime prevalence. For our analysis lifetime prevalence of domestic violence is defined as proportion of women who have ever experienced any type of violence in their life and current prevalence is the proportion of women experiencing any kind of violence during the 12 months preceding the survey.

Life-time prevalence of domestic violence

The analysis of 69,484 ever-married women data of NFHS-3 reveals that 35.1% (24394) of the women respondent experienced Domestic Violence i.e. any of the physical or sexual or emotional violence with 95% confidence limits of (34.80-35.51). Table 3.2 gives the percentage of ever married Indian women aged 15-49 who have ever experienced violence (life time) and in the 12 months preceding the survey (current prevalence) by a

husband/partner along with 95% confidence interval of domestic violence, physical, sexual and emotional violence.

Table 3.2: Life time and Current prevalence (95% Confidence Interval (CI)) of various forms of violence in Indian women

Form of Violence	Life time prevalence (95% CI)	Current or last 12 months prevalence (95% CI)
Physical Violence	30.9 (30.65 – 31.34)	18.5 (18.25 – 18.83)
Sexual Violence	8.3 (8.11 – 8.52)	5.8 (5.65 – 6.0)
Emotional Violence	14.1 (13.87 – 14.38)	10.7 (10.46-10.92)
Domestic Violence	35.3 (34.8 - 35.51)	23.8 (23.48 – 24.11)

Domestic violence is experience of physical, emotional and/or sexual violence.

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06;

Physical violence is most prevalent in Indian women [30.9% (21438) with 95% confidence limits of (30.65-31.34)], followed by emotional violence with prevalence of 14.1% (9814) [95% confidence limits of (13.87-14.38)]. Prevalence of sexual violence is least with 8.3% (5778) and with 95% confidence limits of (8.11-8.52). These data along with the world-wide literature suggest that domestic violence is almost a universal phenomenon existing in all communities (Heise 2002; Martin 1999). However, these figures should be understood cautiously as some of the behaviours considered as violent may not be perceived by either partners or people as being inappropriate or wrongful (Heise *et al.* 1995). However, irrespective of the people's perceptions, these behaviours have some influence on both physical and mental health of women. The prevalence of both physical and sexual violence against women within marriage has been increasingly documented in India.

The INCLLEN study suggest that about 50 percent of women experienced at least one of the violent behaviours at least once in their married life; 43.5 percent reported at least one psychologically abusive behaviour and 40.3 percent reported having experienced at least one form of violent physical behaviour. The study also documents the multiple forms and frequency of occurrence of violence. A study conducted by Babu and Kar in three states of eastern India covering both married men and women found that 56% of the women reported domestic violence, physical violence (16%), psychological violence (52%) and Sexual violence (25%). The study further reported a prevalence of physical and sexual violence in Jharkhand as 21.1% and 27.4%, West Bengal reporting 14.6% and 19.7% respectively and Orissa reporting 13.2 and 32.4 respectively (Babu and Kar 2009) .

As per National Family Health Survey-2, 38% and 10% of married women had experienced physical and sexual violence at least once in life, respectively, with considerable variation by socio-cultural setting (IIPS and Macro International 2007, NFHS-2). NFHS-2 analysis for states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Bihar shows that 40% women experiencing domestic violence in Tamil Nadu as compared to 27% in Bihar and 18% in Maharashtra (Figure 1.6). Experience of physical and sexual violence reported in other studies varied widely depending on the sociocultural and geographic setting of the sub-population addressed and the kinds of questions posed to elicit the experience of violence. For example, studies have observed that between 20% and 70% of married women reported the experience of physical violence (Jejeebhoy and Cook 1997; Rao 1997) and 8%-30% of women ever faced sexual violence in their married life (IIPS and Johns Hopkins University 2005). A study undertaken by Manoj Pandey in 2009 on 69,484 ever married women in age 15-49 years on the basis of NFHS-3 data finds the prevalence of domestic violence in Bihar as being 63.14%, Rajasthan (51.03%), Madhya Pradesh (56.34%) and Uttar Pradesh (47.06%) (Pandey 2009). Analysis of 28139 currently married Indian women from NFHS-3 data survey by Silverman et al. in 2008 found 35.49% women having experienced intimate partner violence with or without sexual violence, 7.68% women reporting both and 27.80% women reporting only physical violence (Silverman *et al.* 2008). Pradeep Panda in 2004 carried out a study on domestic violence against women from Kerala with the objectives to examine the lifetime and current prevalence of physical and psychological violence and to identify the risk and protective factors of domestic violence against women. For lifetime prevalence of physical violence, four behaviours were considered: slaps, hits, kicks, and beatings. For current prevalence of physical violence, six behaviours were considered: slapping, hitting, kicking, beating, threatening of using weapon and forced sex. Lifetime and current prevalence of psychological violence were measured with seven behaviours: insult, belittlement or demeaning, threat, threats to someone the respondent cares about, frightening, threats of abandonment, and husband's infidelity. The study found 35.7% women having experienced at least one act of physically violent behaviour, 64.9% reporting one form of psychological behaviour and 64.9% reporting one of the physical or psychological behaviour (Panda 2004).

While most studies in India have focused on the experiences of women, there are a few that shed light on the male perspective. In a survey of married men in Uttar Pradesh, for example, about one in three men admitted that they had perpetrated physical violence, and that they had ever forced their wife to engage in sexual act (Martin *et al.* 1999; Koenig *et al.*

2006). The study by Gerstein in 1995-1996, as part of a survey on male reproductive health, included 6,695 married men aged 15-65 in five districts of Uttar Pradesh found that 30% reported having physically abused their wives. The level and type of wife abuse fluctuated across the five districts (Aligarh, Bandha, Gonda, Kanpur Nagar and Nainital). The proportion of men reporting perpetration of physical abuse on women ranged from 18% in Nainital to 45% in Bandha. Sexual abuse followed a similar pattern: Men in Nainital reported of having nonconsensual sex with their wives (18%), while 40% of men reported so in Bandha. Around 4-9% men physically forced their wives to have sex (Gerstein 2000). In 1997, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) began a large research program in India which comprised of a study in three states. The chosen sites include Punjab with low gender and high development indices, Rajasthan with both low gender and development indices, and Tamil Nadu with both high gender and development indices. Delhi was also added to provide a sample of men who have sex with men (MSM). After the four study sites were chosen, partners were selected to undertake individual studies on masculinity and violence at each site. Each study began with a qualitative component, where researchers held focus group discussions, undertook in depth interviews and participant observation, and collected narratives and case studies. Although the focus of research was on men, it also included focus group discussions and interviews with women in order to explore women's views on masculinity. After the qualitative phase, each partner undertook a household survey. The survey was designed to document men's reporting of domestic violence. Punjab, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu reported that about two-thirds of young men admitted having forced sex on their wives in past one year (Duvvury, Nayak and Allendorf 2002).

WHO Bulletin on sexual violence against intimate partners carried out a cross sectional study on 1314 men working in three of the six municipalities in Cape Town between June 1998 and February 1999. The study findings report that 7.1% of the men forced sex on an intimate partner and of these total men who reported sexual violence, 80.9% reported perpetrating physical and emotional abuse (WHO Bulletin 2004). Dearwater et al in 1995 conducted a study to determine prevalence of intimate partner abuse among female patients presenting for treatment in community hospital emergency departments. The survey was conducted from 1995 through 1997 inquiring about physical, sexual, and emotional abuse to all women aged 18 years or older who came to the emergency departments in Pennsylvania and California. Prevalence of intimate partner abuse in a study on community hospital emergency departments in Pennsylvania and California was found to be 2.2% (95% CI=1.7 – 2.7) for acute trauma from abuse and 36.9% (95% CI=35.3 – 38.6) for lifetime

emotional or physical violence. California had higher reported rates of lifetime physical or severe abuse (44% Vs 31%) than Pennsylvania (Dearwater *et al.* 1998). Neil Anderson's study on risk factors for domestic physical violence in eight southern African countries reports that 14% men and 18% women interviewed had experienced partner physical violence (Anderson *et al.* 2007). Prevalence of domestic violence in United States as reported by a study conducted by Susan Wilt (1996) ranged from 11.6% to 12.6% with long term prevalence of domestic violence in pregnant women ranging from 11% to 24%. Findings from the South African cross sectional study suggest the lifetime prevalence of domestic violence as 24.6% (Jewkes *et al.* 2002b). Also a study from Bangladesh found 42% currently married women aged 15-49 living in Sirajganj and Jessore reporting physical abuse by their partners (47% in Sirajganj and 39% in Jessore) (Lane 2003). Another study in six Bangladeshi villages reports that 67% of women have ever experienced domestic violence in their life and 18% during pregnancy (Bates *et al.* 2004). Around 14% of the sexually experienced women in 15-19 years of age from Rakai, Uganda reported that their first sexual intercourse was coerced (Koenig *et al.* 2004). Similarly a cross sectional survey of women attending general practice in a primary care unit reported 39% (95% CI= 36% - 41%) had experienced violent behaviour of which 46% had injuries and 69% reported controlling behaviour by their partners (Bradely *et al.* 2002).

Current prevalence or Last 12 months prevalence of domestic violence, India NFHS-3

Current prevalence is the proportion of women experiencing any kind of violence during the 12 months preceding the survey. The NFHS-3 data for 2005-06 show that of the women who have experienced domestic violence, 23.8% (n=16533), (95% confidence interval 23.48-24.11) experienced it in the past 12 months. Physical violence was experienced by 18.5% women (n=12880) with 95% confidence limits of (18.25-18.83) Indian women in last 12 months. Similarly 10.7% (n=7425, 95% CI=10.46-10.92) and 5.8% (n=4047, 95% CI= 5.65-6.00) women experienced emotional and sexual violence respectively in the last 12 months (Table 3.2).

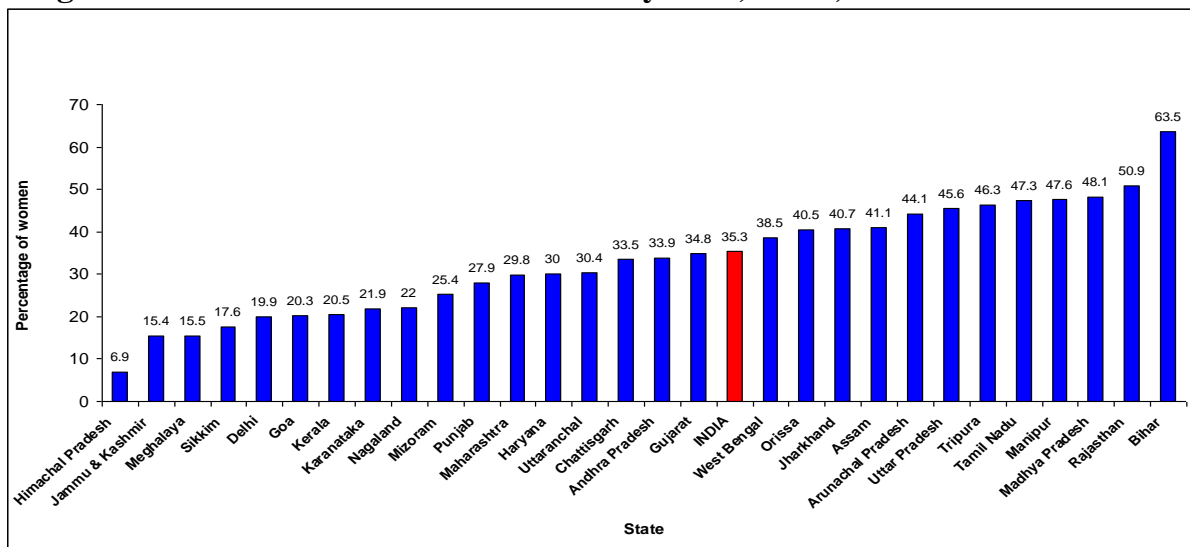
There are few studies which report current prevalence or last 12 month prevalence of domestic violence. Current or past 12 months prevalence of domestic violence found in a cross sectional study in South Africa in 2002 is 9.5% (Jewkes *et al.* 2002b), whereas the study carried out in community hospital emergency departments in Pennsylvania and California reported 12% and 17% respectively (Dearwater *et al.* 1998). Lisa Bates in her study finds that the prevalence of current or past 12 months domestic violence in the in-depth

interviews carried out in six Bangladeshi villages is 35% (Bates 2004). Life time and Current prevalence (95% CI) of various forms of violence in Indian women is represented in table 3.2.

State wise differences in prevalence of Domestic Violence

Domestic Violence is maximum in Bihar (63.5%) followed by Rajasthan (50.9%) and Madhya Pradesh (48.1%). Himachal Pradesh experiences the least Domestic Violence (6.9%). Domestic Violence is also low in Jammu and Kashmir (15.4%) and Meghalaya (15.5%). Statewise difference in prevalence of domestic violence is depicted in figure 3.1. Statewise difference in life time prevalence of various forms of violence is depicted in table 3.3.

Fig 3.1 Prevalence of Domestic Violence by state, India, 2005-06



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Women of Bihar and Tamil Nadu experience maximum physical violence with 58% and 44.7% respectively. Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir experience least physical violence with prevalence of 5.7% and 11.7% respectively. Emotional Violence is highest in Rajasthan with 23.4% followed by Bihar (22.9%) and Madhya Pradesh (22.7%). It is low in Meghalaya (6.7%), Delhi (4.7%) and least in Himachal Pradesh (3.2%). Sexual violence is highest in Bihar with 20.7% followed by Rajasthan with 20.2%. The least prevalence of sexual violence is in Meghalaya (1.5%) followed by Himachal Pradesh (1.6%).

Table 3.3: Life time prevalence of various forms of violence in different states of India

State	Physical violence	Emotional violence	Sexual violence	Domestic violence
1. Jammu & Kashmir	11.7	9.2	3.8	15.4
2. Himachal Pradesh	5.7	3.7	1.6	6.9
3. Punjab	25.4	11.0	7.0	27.9
4. Uttaranchal	27.6	9.8	5.8	30.4
5. Haryana	27.8	9.6	7.9	30.0
6. Delhi	18.9	4.8	2.3	19.9
7. Rajasthan	41.5	23.4	20.2	50.9
8. Uttar Pradesh	42.5	15.0	8.7	45.6
9. Bihar	58.0	23.3	20.7	63.5
10. Sikkim	13.6	9.9	4.7	17.6
11. Arunachal Pradesh	38.3	17.1	9.6	44.1
12. Nagaland	14.7	12.4	3.0	22.0
13. Manipur	41.9	13.2	14.0	47.6
14. Mizoram	22.2	11.0	2.1	25.4
15. Tripura	40.3	21.9	18.6	46.3
16. Meghalaya	12.6	7.3	1.5	15.5
17. Assam	36.2	14.4	13.9	41.1
18. West Bengal	30.5	11.4	19	38.5
19. Jharkhand	35.2	17.6	12.1	40.7
20. Orissa	35.3	19.4	13.9	40.5
21. Chattisgarh	30.6	13.0	7.4	33.5
22. Madhya Pradesh	42.3	22.7	10.5	48.1
23. Gujarat	26.5	18.7	7.6	34.8
24. Maharashtra	27.2	15.0	2.3	29.8
25. Andhra Pradesh	32.1	12.1	3.9	33.9
26. Karanataka	19.6	8.9	4.0	21.9
27. Goa	16.5	12.3	3.1	20.3
28. Kerala	16.1	10.3	4.8	20.5
29. Tamil Nadu	44.7	18.3	4.0	47.3

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

The reason for high violence reported by women from Bihar may to some extent be attributed to low education level and high unemployment level as compared to Himachal Pradesh which reports lowest prevalence of domestic violence. The difference in the education level and employment status in the two states namely Bihar and Himachal Pradesh is shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Difference in education and employment level (%) for Bihar and Himachal Pradesh

	Bihar		Himachal Pradesh	
	Women	Husband/Partner	Women	Husband/Partner
Education Level				
Illiterate	54.9	34.0	16.4	8.2
Primary	9.5	10.6	13.6	10.7
Secondary	31.0	40.9	55.9	63.2
Higher	4.6	13.4	14.1	17.3
Working Status				
Working	29.2	97.2	28.6	98.6
Not working	70.8	2.8	71.4	1.4

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

More than half of the women respondents in Bihar (54.9%) are illiterate as compared to only 16.4% women of Himachal Pradesh. Also the educational status of the partner or husband is equally low in Bihar as compared to Himachal Pradesh. Only 8.2% are living with an illiterate partner in Himachal Pradesh as compared to 34.0% in Bihar. This may be the major contributing factor for high reporting of domestic violence by women from Bihar.

Critical look at the percentage of women experiencing violence show high correlation with variables like illiteracy level of the women and her partner, working status of women and her partner and the standard of living. Most of states with high domestic violence have high percentage of women who are illiterate with some exceptions as Jammu and Kashmir where there is high illiteracy of females but less domestic violence. Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh and Jharkhand have maximum illiteracy and high domestic violence. States with high literacy level of women show low prevalence of domestic violence. States like Himachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Sikkim, Goa and Mizoram have high literacy rates with low domestic violence. Tamil Nadu on one hand and Kerala on other hand both being in same region still differ in the prevalence of women experiencing domestic violence. Similarly the states like Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim, Delhi, Goa, Kerala having low prevalence of domestic violence have few families falling in low standard of living categories compared to states like Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Jharkhand where there is high prevalence of violence and high percentage of families falling in low standard of living category. States of Bihar and Rajasthan have high percentage of unemployment compared to other states as well as the females participation in work force is also increasing. The statewide details for selected variables are given in table 3.5.

Table 3.5: State wise differences in the demographic variables affecting prevalence of violence

State	Rural population	% of Illiterate women	% of Illiterate partner	% of women not working	% of men not working	Standard of living
Andhra Pradesh	40.30	42.7	31.1	53.1	1.5	15.5
Arunachal Pradesh	69.80	52.1	32.1	37.3	3.2	26
Assam	68.80	34.9	24.6	71.7	1.1	29.7
Bihar	64.40	65.9	37.1	66.3	2.5	38.6
Chattisgarh	50.30	57	29.5	32.2	1.6	29.2
Delhi	6.90	34.7	15.2	77	1.6	3.0
Goa	48.50	17.9	12.6	64.2	6.0	7.5
Gujarat	57.70	38.4	18.2	47.5	2.3	10.1
Haryana	74.40	47.7	23	71.3	2.5	12
Himachal Pradesh	70.50	21.4	7.7	69.1	1.1	5.2
Jammu & Kashmir	67.40	53.1	26.3	65.2	1.0	7.7
Jharkhand	66.10	61.5	35.2	45.6	1.2	40.0
Karnataka	62.70	41.5	31.3	50.2	1.4	24.4
Kerala	65.70	4.2	3.1	68.0	2.7	5.4
Madhya Pradesh	50.30	47.9	26.2	48.3	1.7	24.6
Maharashtra	32.70	23.4	12.1	55.3	2.1	11.6
Manipur	67.60	28.4	8.8	34.8	1.1	14.1
Meghalaya	62.50	35.4	36	55.2	0.8	25.7
Mizoram	49.80	8.1	5.2	53.9	2.4	10.6
Nagaland	51.10	25.3	18.2	56.1	2.5	15.1
Orissa	71.20	46.1	28.9	62.1	1.5	38.8
Punjab	63.80	37.2	24	74.9	2.1	6.0
Rajasthan	67.90	67	31.8	43.7	3.5	24.9
Sikkim	64.60	30.6	15.8	67.6	0.5	7.9
Tamil Nadu	48.00	24.1	17.7	57.3	0.7	21.4
Tripura	76.20	25.6	19.6	68.1	2.3	21.7
Uttar Pradesh	59.60	58.8	28.2	66.1	1.5	22.2
Uttaranchal	71.70	41.7	15.7	54.9	2.4	14.9
West Bengal	50.90	37.3	27.2	66.6	2.0	25.5

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

To understand the variation at state level we need to first understand the state wise socio economic development. Development is a multi dimensional phenomenon which includes parameters like level of economic growth, level of education, level of health services, degree of modernisation and status of women. In India the progress of socio economic development is not uniform. As per study carried out by Abhiman Das a huge state wise variation is present in the socio economic development in India (Das 1999). Literacy or the enrolment ratio which is the enrolment ratio of males and females for primary and secondary levels of schooling combined. In India the average enrolment ratio is estimated to be 88.8%. Rajasthan has lowest level of enrolment ratio (49.9%) followed by Bihar (54.2%) and Uttar Pradesh (60.5%). The highest level of enrolment is achieved by Tamil Nadu (125.1%). More than 50% of the households still do not have the facility of electricity at home where Bihar reveals a distressing situation with only 12.5% households having electricity followed by Assam (only 18.7%). On the other hand about 87% and 82.3% of the households in Himachal Pradesh and Punjab have facility of electricity. The average life expectancy of Indian individual is significantly low as compared to developed countries with Kerala having highest life expectancy at birth (72.4 years) and in contrast Uttar Pradesh recorded lowest at 52.8 years followed by Assam (54.5 years) and Madhya Pradesh (57.9 years). Thus states like Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala have shown high economic growth whereas states like Andhra Pradesh has shown average growth. States like Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have poor economic growth. The prevalence of violence is associate dwith the economic growth as can be seen that northern states which are dominating the India's economic scenario have low prevalence of violence as compared to central and eastern states which show high prevalence of violence.

Decline in the death rate and reduction in infant mortality is directly related to the level of existing health standard. On the basis of health parameters comprising of doctors per lakh population and percentage of people not morbid along with children survival ratio per thousand births state like Kerala is on top position followed by Punjab, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Himachal Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are at the bottom of the list.

But the theoretical foundations of development discourse have experienced many changes over the decades. The role of men and women in the development process has received much attention in the last few decades. Although the principle of equality of men and women was recognized as early as in 1945 in the UN Charter and the UN Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, researchers have pointed out that development planners worked on

the assumption that what would benefit one section of society (especially men) would trickle down to the other(women). The new theory argues that a person's role was specified under a patriarchal framework where the scope of gender -masculine or feminine- was limited within the biological understanding of sex (male/female). Status of women is determined to a great extent in terms of socio-economic indicators such as income, property, education and skills that open up opportunities of employment, better health and the ability to determine important events in life even when others are opposed to them. These indices are also vitally interlinked with the concepts of power and position. It is widely acknowledged today that one cannot hope for gender equity unless women have a share in the decision-making process in the family and in the public sphere, thus enabling them to access the rights and opportunities provided to them by the state, society and socio-cultural institutions. Western feminists and anthropologists have adopted two basic approaches to study the status of women in society. While one states that the status of women is determined by physiological factors, the other states that economic factors are the paramount determinants. Some western authors have attributed women's low status to distinctly female biological functions which preclude them certain roles that have become the prerogative of males. Physiological differences between men and women have had an important role in determining the division of labor and consequently the status of women in societies. Women have been perceived as biologically inferior because of the greater physical strength of men. Their role in reproduction and child-bearing has also excluded them from certain occupations such as hunting and warfare. Unfortunately, these analyses address the question of status from a perspective which tends to focus solely on the primarily natural function of women - to bear and rear children. For example women from north eastern region have all the women of the tribal dominated societies enjoy much higher status than that of the women of the non-tribal dominated societies of this area. Further, it was also found that amongst the tribal dominated States. The women of matrilineal Meghalaya are enjoying much higher status as they have very high rates in most of the status affecting variables. The awareness and practice of family planning methods are still in a very low level in comparison to that of all India level. The status of women in the North East is comparatively better than women in the rest of India, both in the tribal as well as the non-tribal societies of the region, there are very strict gender rules and norms that define the roles, responsibilities and attributes allotted to women. They have greater levels of mobility, economic autonomy and control over their labor than many women in other parts of India. Yet, within such a framework, gender has always been a basic differentiating factor, as is reflected in the cultural norms that have assigned specific roles to

men and women in society. It is these rules that create the sketch of an 'ideal girl' or an 'ideal woman'. It is these rules again that give rise to the rights and privileges that women have. Many of them may remain 'norms' which women are expected to follow; some however get the status of 'customary laws', which have a legal bearing. In the entire hill area of Assam, tribal women are not entitled to inherit the father's or husband's property. They are governed by their un-codified customary laws and practices. It is observed that in some societies tribal women inherit property in absence of a male issue in her family. Sometimes she inherits land as gifted property from her father. Although there is no provision in the varied customary laws and practices relating to women's right to property and inheritance, daughters and widows receive family support till their marriage or re-marriage. In some communities these laws sanction polygamy and child marriage; in others, land, property rights and custody of children are given only to the males. In addition, women are debarred from taking part in political decision making. Besides, the inherent gender biases of the traditional systems, greater contact and exposure to other cultures have also resulted in acculturation and dilution of some of the positive and women friendly aspects of the indigenous cultures. The women in the state of Meghalaya enjoy a little more mobility and visibility than their counterparts in the rest of the country, their life, however, is not free from violence. Desertion is a common phenomenon in the state especially in the villages where de-facto marriages (unregistered marriages) and teenage pregnancies has perpetuated the problem. Rape, sexual harassment and domestic violence are very much in existence. Extremist violence is a much-talked problem in Tripura. Position and Leadership Ethnicity is the main factor, which emerged in Manipur and Meghalaya, as a factor dividing women into different groups. The main reason for this can be as one scholar says is the development of the consciousness, which is the basis of such an identity and the values attached with what the communities in the NorthEast claim to be their traditions. In Nagaland the proportion of urban female in the age group 15-19 was much higher than that of the rural, this proportion has always been higher amongst the rural women than that of the urban women at the national level. Marriage is universal, though the mean age at marriage has given up steadily in all these States. According to 1981 census in all these States except Nagaland it has become lower than the national level. The difference in age at marriage to some extent reflects the differences in social and cultural background of different sections of the population. Women-sensitive variables such as sex ratio, literacy rates, child mortality, fertility and work participation, found the Hindi heartland states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana as the most women-unfriendly. Uttar Pradesh is on top followed by Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan (three) and Punjab and Haryana.

Rajasthan recorded the highest percentage of illiterate rural females with the literacy rate at nine. Other educationally poor states were Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh with only 14, 15 and 16 as literacy rates among females in the age group of six years and above. In addition to educational backwardness, the states of Rajasthan, UP, MP and Bihar are also noted for the higher incidence of child marriages and lower mean age at marriage. States with low levels of child marriages are Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. The mean age at marriage in all these states was above 18 years. The mean age of marriage in Kerala (21) and Gujarat (18) is also on the higher side. The infant mortality rates among females are the highest in Madhya Pradesh followed by Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan, while child mortality is prominent in UP, MP, Rajasthan and Maharashtra. Among states with high fertility rates is Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

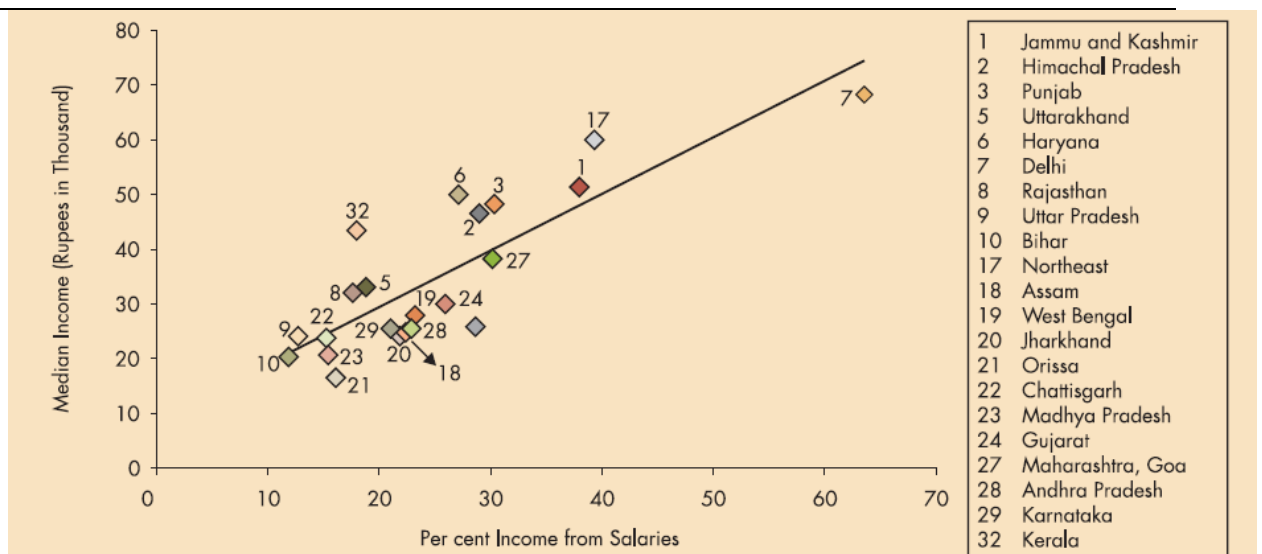
A study by Santhya et al in the year 2002 examined the unwanted sex among married young women in India specifically Gujarat and West Bengal and found that overall 12% women experienced unwanted sex frequently and 32% experienced it occasionally (Santhya *et al.* 2007). Another cross sectional community based study on women between 17-70 years of age from Erankulam, Kozhikode and Palakkad gave a prevalence of 38.6% of lifetime domestic violence and 13.4% current prevalence of domestic violence. Physical violence was reported by 30% women, sexual violence by 5% women and psychological violence (physical and/or sexual) is reported by 15% of women. Ernakulum reported 15% prevalence of domestic violence, Kozhikoda reported 10% and Polakkad reported 16% (CDC 2004)

India is a vast country and subsumes within itself a variety of ethnic groups, cultures, values, traditions and ways of living. Interestingly there is a great variation in these attributes of the population across different regions of the country lending itself to a geographical interpretation in the pattern of domestic violence against women. As is well known, the perceived status and value of women varies greatly across different ecological regions of the country. That gender equity differs significantly between North and South Indian states has been documented and studied since the 1960s (Visaria 1967). Many authors have observed a north-south difference in the perceived value of women based on cropping pattern that requires substantive female involvement in agriculture in the latter and their marginal involvement in the former (Bardhan 1974). Women in north-east India enjoy greater mobility and visibility than women in other parts of the country (Agarwal 2002).

As per IHDS (Indian Human Development Survey-2004-5) states in the north have the highest household incomes. Punjab and Haryana in the plains are doing quite well as are Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir in the hills. The lowest regional household

incomes are in the central region, in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The lowest incomes are in Orissa. Households in these states and Orissa have only half the income of those in the northern plains. These statewise differences are especially pronounced for rural areas and somewhat narrow for urban incomes. Figure 3.2 shows the median income for all the states. Also states like Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir have low poverty while Orissa, Jharkhand, and Madhya Pradesh have high poverty. As regards the women's labour force participation affluent states like Himachal Pradesh have high rates of women's labour force participation while others like Punjab have very low rates. Some poor states like Chhattisgarh have high rates while others like Jharkhand have low rates.

Figure 3.2 : Statewise Median Incomes and Average Proportion of Income from Salaried Work.



Source: IHDS 2004-5 data

For males poor states, such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, and Orissa have the lowest overall days employed by men (about 190–5 days); wealthier Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, and Maharashtra have the highest number of days employed (about 260–300 days). The state differences for women are also striking, ranging from eighty to eighty six days in Bihar and Jharkhand, to 196 in Maharashtra, and 204 in Delhi. These large differences in days worked are at least partly responsible for the many differences in well-being across the states. Some of these state differences are associated with greater urbanization, but most are based on the availability of work

One of the important parameter like literacy and education also shows region wise differences. Literacy rates are the highest in Kerala, followed by Delhi, the North-East, and

Himachal Pradesh. Some of the lowest levels are recorded in Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar, Rajasthan, and Andhra Pradesh. Table 3.6 shows the statewise literacy rates.

Regional differences in age at marriage are striking, with an average age at marriage of 15–17 years in central states like Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, and a higher average age at marriage in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, as well as in the southern states. In Bihar and Rajasthan, the states with the earliest age at marriage, around 25 per cent of the girls had not attained puberty at the time of marriage.

Fertility in India has been declining steadily. As measured by the *NFHS*, the total fertility rate dropped from 3.7 in 1992–3 to 2.7 in 2005–6. Still, childbearing remains central to women’s lives. Educated women and women in urban areas have fewer children than women with lesser education and those in rural areas. Interestingly, although fertility is lower in richer families than poorer ones, this difference is far smaller than that associated with women’s education. Women in Kerala and Tamil Nadu have the smallest family size, and those in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan have the largest.

Table 3.6: Statewise Literacy rates for population age 7 years and above.

	Males (Per cent)	Females (Per cent)
All India	79	58
Jammu & Kashmir	70	51
Himachal Pradesh	89	72
Uttarakhand	85	64
Punjab	81	68
Haryana	78	56
Delhi	92	77
Uttar Pradesh	75	52
Bihar	71	42
Jharkhand	73	48
Rajasthan	71	40
Chhattisgarh	72	48
Madhya Pradesh	75	49
North-East	90	81
Assam	83	75
West Bengal	78	65
Orissa	80	57
Gujarat	85	63
Maharashtra, Goa	89	71
Andhra Pradesh	69	49
Karnataka	81	62
Kerala	96	91
Tamil Nadu	81	65

Source: IHDS 2004–5 data.

To explain India's state wise divergence in gender equity, many anthropologists and demographers continue to follow Dyson and Moore's (Dyson and Moore 1983) emphasis on cultural norms. By contrast, economists Bardhan (1974) generally ascribe gender equity differences to the fact that the South produce more female labor-intensive crops than the North and therefore a correspondingly larger value for female labor are found. Still a third approach (Jeffrey 1993) attributes the differences to state policies designed to promote female equality, which have been more forthcoming in the relatively proactive Southern states as compared to the North. As per Dyson and Moore women's lack of autonomy and their low status in North India stem from the widespread regional practice of exogamous marriage. In the North, women are expected to marry outside the family and to move in with their husband's family, typically located in a different village, which they enter in an inferior position within the household hierarchy. Although a wife's power and status rise as she becomes a mother and mother-in-law (Gupta 1995), Dyson and Moore emphasize that married women in the North lose the "protection" of their own family. Northern marital customs require the girl's parents to pay large dowries and have given rise to a preference for sons and high fertility rates. By contrast, women in the South marry close kin and retain their family networks. Many also have greater control over their own mobility, and some are allowed to inherit property. Moreover, since a bride price rather than a dowry was the norm in South India at the time they wrote, Dyson and Moore found that, in the South, "neither marriage nor dowry is necessarily very important". The result was that South Indian women exercised more authority over decisions, daughters were relatively more prized, and fertility rates were lower than in the North. Jejeebhoy's (2001) quantitative study concludes that Tamil women in the South have more mobility and authority than women in Uttar Pradesh. Some economists (Bardhan 1974) and anthropologists (Miller 1981) have argued that regional differences in female autonomy stem largely from divergent economic conditions. Wet-rice cultivation, they point out, which is more prevalent in the South than in the North, requires skills in which women have a comparative advantage, while the wheat cultivation prevalent in the North requires work for which men have a comparative advantage.

As per IHDS the north Indian custom of village exogamy ensures that women marry outside their own village because all men from their own village, or even a set of closely related villages, are considered close kin. Even urban families may be reluctant to marry their daughters into families originating from villages close to their native place. Consequently, in states like Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, less than 10 per cent of women marry within their own towns or villages. While marrying within the natal village is permitted in south India and

marriage with a close cousin or uncle is often preferred, the number of suitable matches within a close community is limited. Consequently, even in south India, the majority of women marry outside their own village and circle of close relatives. Unlike many other aspects of social life, marriage traditions have little relationship with the socioeconomic standing of the family, and regional differences predominate. In Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh, around 10 per cent of women marry within their own village or town, and a negligible percentage marries their uncles or cousins. In contrast, in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, more than 25 per cent marry within their own village or town, and 23–30 per cent of women in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu marry a cousin or an uncle. (IHDS 2010)

3.4 Co-occurring Pattern of Violence

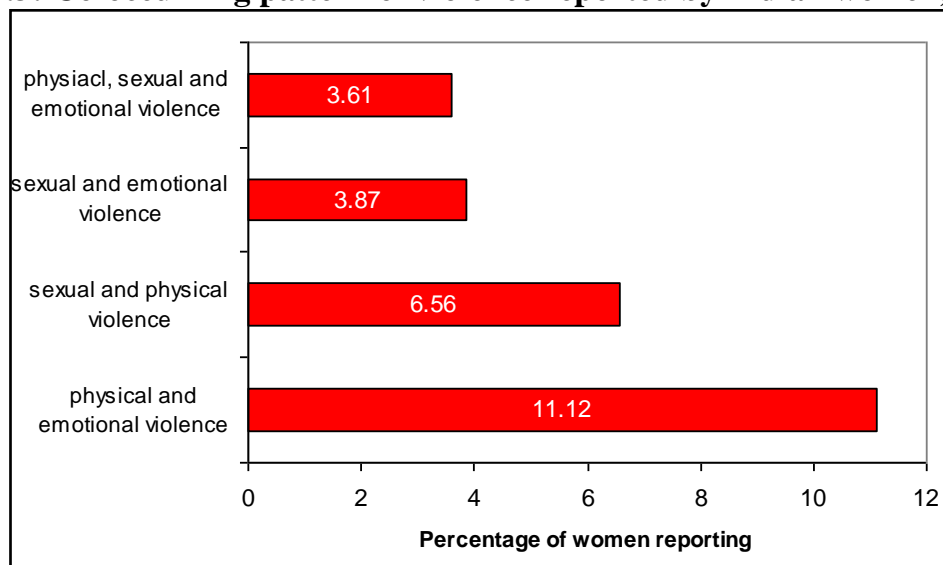
There are several types of violence that occur in intimate romantic relationships. It is frequently the case that two or more types of violence are present in the same relationship. Emotional violence often precedes, occurs with, and/or follows physical or sexual violence in relationships (Stets 1991). Sexual and non-sexual physical violence also co-occur in many abusive relationships (Browne 1987) and, as with emotional violence, sexual and non-sexual violence often are combined elements of a single abusive incident (Browne 1987). It may be somewhat artificial to separate emotional violence from physical forms of violence because physical forms of violence also inflict emotional and psychological harm to victims, and both forms of violence serve to establish dominance and control over another person. However, it also is possible for any one of these types of violence to occur alone. In fact, emotional violence often occurs in the absence of other types of violence. Therefore, despite some conceptual and experiential overlap, the various forms of violence also are separable conceptually and experientially.

Until recently, it was believed that few women exclusively experienced sexual violence by an intimate partner. Several studies from North and Central America have indicated that sexual violence was generally accompanied by physical abuse and by emotional violence and controlling behaviors (Heise 1999). The findings from the World Health Organisation, Violence Against Women (WHO VAW) study suggest that, although this pattern is maintained in many countries, a few countries demonstrate a significant departure. In both the capital and province of Thailand, a substantial portion of women who experience partner violence, experience sexual violence only (figure 1.4). In Bangkok, 44 percent of all cases of lifetime partner violence have experienced only sexual violence. The

corresponding statistic in the Thai province is 29 percent of cases. A similarly high percentage of cases of violence in Bangladesh province (32 percent) and Ethiopia province (31 percent) involve sexual violence only (WHO and PATH 2005).

The NFHS-3 data confirm that most women who suffer physical or sexual abuse by a partner generally experience multiple acts of violence over time. Likewise, physical and sexual abuse tends to co-occur in many relationships. Figure 3.3 shows the combination of various forms of violence experienced by Indian women.

Figure 3.3: Co-occurring pattern of violence reported by Indian women, NFHS-3



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

4174 (6.56%) respondents in NFHS-3 survey reported of having experienced sexual violence along with physical violence. Also 7072 (11.12%) women reported of combination of physical violence along with emotional violence. Sexual violence along with emotional violence occurs in 2462 (3.87%) of the ever married women. 2298 (3.61%) respondents reported of all the forms of violence viz. physical, sexual and emotional violence occurring simultaneously.

3.5 Bivariate Analysis of the various correlates of domestic violence

While existing studies have documented the prevalence of physical and sexual violence in marriage in India, including among the young, relatively little work has been done to explore the factors that place women at the risk of experiencing violence. The ecological framework (Heise 1998) has been increasingly adopted to understand this extremely complex phenomenon; it recognizes, for example, the possible interplay of individual, familial,

relational, societal and community factors that combine to place women at risk of violence within marriage. Individual factors include, for example, life cycle indicators and husband's alcohol use. The immediate familial context in which violence takes place includes characteristics of the couple, such as extent of marital conflict and husband-wife communication on the one hand, and intergenerational exposure to domestic violence and presence of others in the family on the other. At the next level are factors at the community level, including community wealth, attitude towards violence against women and level of crime in the community. Finally, societal factors are often held to influence domestic violence, such as, for example, gender norms, and levels of overall violence, laws and systems addressing violence against women. In short, the ecological framework combines factors at various levels towards explaining why some individuals and some societies are more prone to domestic violence than others. A large number of studies exist worldwide that have attempted to explain several of these factors and their interplay with violence against women (Hadi 2000; INCLEN 2000; Kishore and Johnson 2004). Several individual level factors have been identified as risk or protective factors in studies in both developed and developing countries. The bivariate analysis is carried out to find out the major factors which are associated with the experience of domestic violence.

We now discuss the results of bivariate analyses that show the characteristics and context of violence in terms of women's own characteristics, characteristics of their husbands and the marital union, and characteristics of their household. In addition, the intergenerational effects of violence are examined. Finally, logistic regression is used to determine the factors that have a significant and direct effect on a married woman's risk of ever experience of violence. Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 years who ever experienced domestic violence and other forms of violence by Woman's characteristics is presented in table 3.7. Table 3.8 presents the results of bivariate analysis along with unadjusted odds ratio for various forms of violence by sociodemographic variables.

Table 3.7 Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who ever experienced domestic violence and other forms of violence by Woman's characteristics, NFHS-3, 2005-06

Background characteristics	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Age group				
15-19	31.2	24.7	12.1	10.7
20-24	34.4	29.4	12.9	9.1
25-29	35.4	31.4	13.8	8.5
30-34	35.7	31.8	14.3	8.3
35-39	36.5	32.3	15.3	8.4
40-44	34.7	30.6	14.8	7.1
45-49	34.2	30.3	14.6	6.8
Age at first marriage				
<15	46.0	41.6	18.8	11.9
15-19	37.7	33.5	14.7	8.9
20-24	25.4	21.2	10.9	5.6
25+	19.5	15.4	8.4	4.3
Number of children				
No children	25.4	20.3	11.1	7.1
1 -2	29.6	25.2	12.2	7.0
3 -4	39.7	35.7	15.8	9.1
5+	47.7	43.8	18.3	11.4
Woman's educational status				
Illiterate	45.6	41.5	18.1	11.1
Primary	40.4	35.6	17.0	10.0
Secondary	26.8	22.4	10.7	6.0
Higher	12.2	8.9	5.5	2.5
Women's working status				
Not working	30.0	26.0	11.2	7.1
Paid in cash	41.4	37.3	18.0	9.5
Paid in kind	45.7	40.6	17.7	12.3
Paid in cash and kind	51.0	45.7	25.4	13.4
Working, not paid	37.6	32.3	15.2	8.5
Women's HIV status				
HIV Positive	50.0	45.8	18.1	12.5
HIV Negative	37.4	34.0	14.2	6.9

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Table 3.8: Bivariate Analysis, reporting of unadjusted odds ratio for various forms of violence by sociodemographic variables.

Variable	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Age group				
15-19	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
20-24	1.15	1.27	1.07	0.83
25-29	1.21	1.40	1.16	0.77
30-34	1.22	1.42	1.21	0.75
35-39	1.26	1.45	1.31	0.77
40-44	1.17	1.35	1.26	0.64
45-49	1.15	1.32	1.24	0.61
Age at first marriage				
<15	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
15-19	0.71	0.62	0.75	0.72
20-24	0.40	0.33	0.53	0.44
25+	0.28	0.23	0.39	0.34
Number of children				
No children	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1 -2	1.10	1.13	1.07	1.04
3 -4	1.30	1.43	1.14	0.94
5+	2.13	2.42	1.59	1.41
Woman's educational status				
Illiterate	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Primary	0.81	0.78	0.93	0.89
Secondary	0.44	0.41	0.54	0.51
Higher	0.17	0.14	0.26	0.20
Women's working status				
Yes	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
No	0.59	0.58	0.57	0.70
HIV status of women				
Negative	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Positive	1.78	1.72	1.33	1.93
Husband/Partner's educational status				
Illiterate	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Primary	0.91	0.90	0.93	0.95
Secondary	0.54	0.52	0.60	0.61
Higher	0.25	0.22	0.33	0.30
Husband/Partner's working status				
Yes	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
No	1.20	1.11	1.57	1.31

Table 3.8 contd.

Variable	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Partner drinks alcohol				
Yes	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
No	0.40	0.38	0.42	0.46
Spousal educational difference				
Husband has				
Less education	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Both have none	2.63	2.88	3.30	1.62
Same education	0.76	0.78	0.78	0.79
More education	0.89	0.90	0.91	0.88
Spousal age difference				
Husband is				
Younger	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
0-4 years older	0.94	0.97	0.92	1.09
5-9 years older	0.94	0.98	0.94	1.18
10-14 years older	0.95	0.97	0.99	1.13
15+ years older	1.15	1.15	1.25	1.48
Duration of marriage (years)				
0-4	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
5-9	1.65	1.80	1.43	1.23
10-14	1.89	2.15	1.65	1.36
15-19	1.95	2.21	1.79	1.33
20-24	1.93	2.15	1.80	1.29
25-29	1.98	2.26	1.85	1.15
30+	2.12	2.39	1.97	1.21
Residence				
Urban	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rural	1.36	1.34	1.26	1.52
Household structure				
Joint	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Nuclear	1.33	1.40	1.19	1.11
Standard of Living				
Low	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Middle	0.70	0.70	0.72	0.71
High	0.34	0.33	0.42	0.36
Did her father ever beat her mother				
No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	3.64	3.67	2.76	2.65

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Woman's Characteristics

The variation in the percentage of women who have ever experienced domestic violence is examined for the following characteristics of women: current age, age at first marriage, number of children ever born, education, work status and HIV status.

Age: A woman's age is thought to affect the likelihood that she will experience domestic violence. Researchers argue that as a woman ages, she often grows in social status as she becomes not only a wife, but a mother, and perhaps a more economically productive or socially influential member of her community; thus, older women are less likely to report current experience of abuse than young women (Fernandez 1997). Ever-experience of violence is generally hypothesized to increase with age, since the older an ever-married woman is, the longer has been her period of exposure to the risk of violence. The analysis of NFHS-3 data confirms this expectation (Table 3.6). Domestic violence is found to be associated with women's age ($p < 0.05$) and is also found to be increasing with women's age ($p < 0.05$). It is minimum (31.2%) in the age group 15-19 years and increase to 34.4% in 20-24 years age group and to 36.6% in 35-39 years age group.

Physical violence and emotional violence show statistical significance with women's age ($p < 0.05$) with steady increase in reporting of violence with increase in age. Of the total number of women reporting violence, physical violence and emotional violence was least in age group 15-19 years with 24.7% and 12.1% respectively. Percentage of women reporting physical violence increased with increasing age with maximum of 32.3% women reporting physical violence in age group 35-39 years. Sexual violence showed significant association with women's age but showed a decreasing trend with age implying that sexual violence was high in younger age groups of 15-19 and 20-24 and decreased thereafter.

There does appear to be systematic relationship between current age of the women and lifetime experience of violence. This is not surprising because logically one would expect a step-wise increase with age, because lifetime experience is cumulative and as one grows older, one has had exposure to this potential risk for a longer period of time. Various studies have shown that women's age affects the likelihood that she would experience domestic violence (Daga 1998; Visaria 1999). Women's age has been identified as a significant risk factor by many other studies in India and outside as well (Suitor *et al.* 1990; Bachman *et al.* 1995; O'Campo 1995; Schuler *et al.* 1996; Haj-Yahia 2000; Black *et al.* 1999; Hadi 2000; Koenig *et al.* 2003b; 2004; Babu and Kar 2009).

Some studies have found young age to be a risk factor for being victim of domestic violence. Young age has consistently been found to be a risk factor for a woman experiencing domestic violence (Harwell and Spence 2000; Romans *et al.* 2007; Vest *et al.* 2002). Young women have been found to be more at risk of rape than older women (Jewkes, Sen and Garcia- Moreno 2002c). According to data from justice systems and rape-crisis centres in Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, Peru and the United States, between one third and two thirds of all victims of sexual assault are aged 15 years or under, although this also may reflect reporting bias (WHO 2010).

Age at marriage: A woman's young age at first union is generally thought to be a risk factor for the experience of domestic violence. This expectation has both contextual- and individual-level explanations. At the contextual level, age at marriage is a reflection of the status of women (Mason 1987), a correlate of violence, with very early marriages being more common in societies where women's status is low. At the individual level, a woman's age at marriage is expected to be related to her risk of experiencing violence, because when she marries at a very young age she has not been given a chance to acquire the life skills and the maturity needed to ensure herself interest and security in marriage and within the spousal relationship (Kishor and Johnson 2004). Domestic violence is more common among women who had been married at young age. Women married at a younger age are more likely to be beaten or threatened by the husbands and more likely to believe that a husband might sometimes be justified in beating his wife.

The expectation that the experience of violence varies with age at marriage is supported by the data from NFHS-3. As shown in Table 3.6 for all forms of violence, the relationship between violence and age at first marriage is significant and in the expected direction. Women whose age of marriage is less than 15 years report maximum domestic violence (46.0%) as compared to women who have married in 15-19 years of age (37.7%) and 20-24 years (25.4%). The percentage of ever married women reporting domestic violence is least (19.5%) for women whose age of marriage is more than 25 years. The trend is same for all the other forms of violence. Physical violence is maximum reported by 41.6% of women whose age of marriage is less than 15 years followed by 33.5%, 21.2% and 15.4% for women whose age of marriage is 15-19 years, 20-24 years and more than 25 years respectively. Similarly emotional violence and sexual violence is reported as (18.8%, 14.7%, 10.9% and 8.4%) and (11.9%, 8.9%, 5.6% and 4.3%) for women whose age of marriage is less than 15 years, 15-19 years, 20-24 years and more than 25 years respectively. Table 3.6

shows the corresponding odds ratio for reporting various forms of violence with increasing age of marriage. As seen the odds of reporting domestic violence reduces by 30% from 1.00 for women with age of marriage as <15 years to 0.71 for women with 15-19 years of age of marriage, 0.40 for 20-24 years and reduces by almost 80% with odds ratio of 0.28 for women who is 25+ years of age at marriage. Similar trend is shown for physical, emotional and sexual violence. The odds ratio declines with increase in the age of marriage.

Thus as hypothesized the data in NFHS-3 confirms that younger age at marriage increases the risk of women to experience domestic violence as younger age at marriage puts a lot of stress for adjustment which may result in use of violence on the part of young husbands.

Number of children ever born: Studies have shown that the vulnerability of experiencing domestic violence is positively related to the number of children (Martin *et al.* 1999). The association between violence and number of children could be conceptualized such that when there are more children in a household there is economic insecurity, insufficient resources, which may lead to disturbing levels of stress for the head of the household. This in turn may further lead to violence in some instances. Hence more the number of children, the greater are the likelihood of violence (Martin *et al.* 1999). However the relationship may work in opposite direction. The existence of greater numbers of children in a household is a result of, rather than a cause of, spousal violence, in that women who are subject to partner violence may be less able to control their own sexuality and fertility than women who are not subject to violence (Johnson 2003). A study conducted in Kerala does not show such evidence (Panda 2004). The reason for the absence of such association may be the fact that there were very few women in the sample with more than three children.

The present study finds that number of children in the family and domestic violence is positively associated. Number of children in the family is statistically associated with the experience of domestic violence by the women ($p < 0.05$). The percentage of women experiencing domestic violence in families with no children is 25.4% as against 29.6% in families having up to two children. Families with three to four children and more than four children reported 39.7% and 47.7% of domestic violence respectively. The results show that bigger families with more number of children experience more domestic violence than families with less number of children ($p < 0.05$).

Physical, sexual and emotional violence is also associated with number of children ($p < 0.05$). In case of physical violence the percentage of women reporting violence with no

children is least (20.3%) as compared to women with 1-2, 3-4 and 5+ number of children with respective percentage of women reporting physical violence as 25.2%, 35.7% and 43.8%. Similarly for emotional and sexual violence the percentage of women reporting violence is least with 18.1% and 11.1% for women having no children and increased to 17.0 and 10.0 for women with 1-2 children, 15.8 and 9.1 for women with 3-4 children and 18.3 and 11.4 for women with 5+ number of children respectively. It is also seen that chi-square for trend showed that the violence experienced by women increases as number of children increase ($p < 0.05$) for all the forms of violence. Table 3.6 shows percent distribution of women ever experiencing violence by number of children ever born by them.

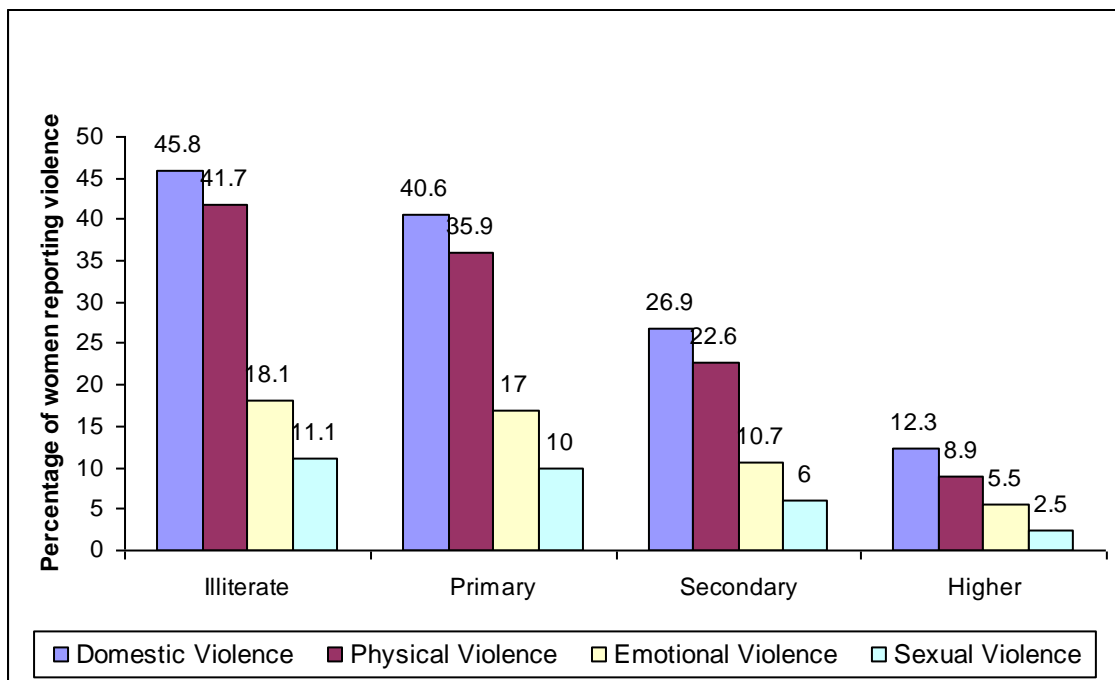
As is hypothesized families with more number of children experience more stress associated with the necessity to provide for several children which increases the economic insecurity. With insufficient resources to cater for large family may increase the stress and frustration leading to violence. Violence not only becomes a possible response to this frustration, but also an acceptable one. This in turn may further lead to violence in some instances. Hence more the number of children, the greater are the likelihood of violence.

Education: The relationship between individual educational attainment and domestic violence is complex. Education is well known as a vehicle for empowerment of women (Kishor and Johnson 2004). It gives women the ability to gather and assimilate information, manipulate and control the modern world, secure and protect themselves from any form of violence (Malhotra 1997; Kishor 2000, Kishor and Johnson 2004). It is reasonable to presume that women with more education would have greater abilities to protect themselves in times of need, such as when dealing with a violent partner. Thus, it is expected that women with higher levels of education experience comparatively less violence. Low level of education is globally found to be the most consistent factor associated with both the perpetration and experience of domestic violence and sexual violence (Ackerson *et al.* 2008; Boy and Kulczycki 2008; Boyle *et al.* 2009; Brown *et al.* 2006; Chan 2009; Dalal, Rahman and Jansson 2009; Gage 2005; Jeyaseelan *et al.* 2004; Johnson and Das 2009; Koenig *et al.* 2006; Martin, Taft and Resick 2007; Tang and Lai 2008). For example, women who report lower levels of education (primary or none) have a 2 to 5-fold higher risk of domestic violence as compared to higher-educated women (Ackerson *et al.* 2008; Boy and Kulczycki 2008; Dalal, Rahman and Jansson 2009; Koenig *et al.* 2004; Martin, Taft and Resick 2007; Tang and Lai 2008). Similarly, studies have found that lower-educated males were 1.2 to 4.1

times more likely to perpetrate domestic violence than higher-educated men (Ackerson *et al.* 2008; Dalal, Rahman and Jansson 2009).

NFHS-3 also reveals that education is a protective factor against violence. Figure 3.6 reports the various forms of violence as per women’s educational status. Relationship between education and domestic violence reveals that education reduces the chance of domestic violence.

Figure 3.6 Reporting of various forms of violence as per women’s educational status



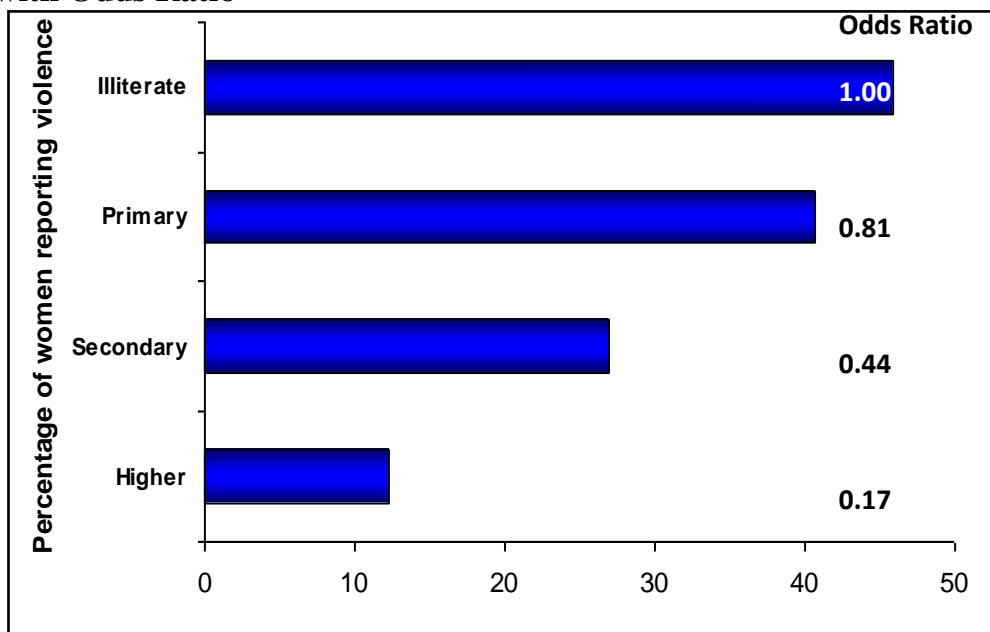
Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Almost 46% of illiterate women report domestic violence, 41.5% report physical violence, 18.1% report emotional violence and 11.1% report sexual violence. 40.4% primary educated women report domestic violence as compared to 26.8% women who are secondary educated and 12.2% women who are higher educated. The trend is similar for all the forms of violence. The odds ratio declines steadily with each increase in the level of education (Table 3.6). Thus higher the educational qualification lower is the chance of experiencing domestic violence. The odds of reporting violence reduces to 0.17 (risk reduced by nearly 85%) if the women is from higher education status (Figure 3.5)

The analysis clearly brings out that education is a protective factor for women while dealing with domestic violence. As already stated formal education helps a woman to know what is happening outside her immediate surroundings. It also facilitates her to develop

rational outlook towards life. Education makes the woman more knowledgeable and helps her to get job and economic returns by means of which she can contribute more to her family. It also enhances social prestige of a woman. Thus the analysis supports the hypothesis that women with more education have greater resources to draw upon in times of need, such as when dealing with a violent partner and as expected women with more education experience less violence.

Figure 3.5 Reporting of domestic violence as per women’s educational status along with Odds Ratio



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

The chi-square test was statistically significant implying that violence and education are associated with each other ($p < 0.05$). Chi square test for linear trend is also carried out with a view to see if with increase education whether there is a decrease in the reporting of domestic violence. The analysis reveals chi square for linear trend significant ($X^2 = 3502.09$, $p = 0.000$) implying that as education increases violence decreases. In other words women with higher education experience less violence of all types as compared to women with no education. The illiterate category was taken as a reference category. The odds of experiencing domestic violence is reduced by 20% (Odds Ratio=0.81) if the women has primary level of education and by 55% (odds ratio=0.44) if the women is secondary educated. The odds of experiencing domestic violence reduces by more than 80% (odds ratio=0.17) if women has higher educational level. Thus education of the women is a protective factor for domestic violence. Various other forms of violence also depict the same association with the odds ratio

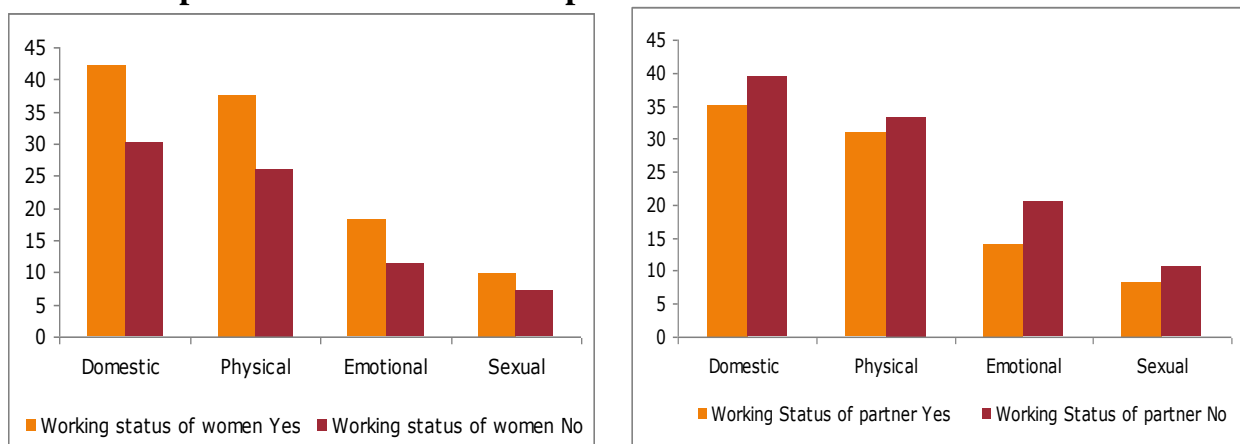
for reporting physical violence by primary educated women reduces to 0.78, for emotional violence to 0.93 and sexual violence to 0.89 respectively compared to illiterate women. The odds ratio reduces to 0.41, 0.54 and 0.51 for secondary educated women for physical, emotional and sexual violence respectively and the odds ratio reduces to 0.14, 0.26 and 0.20 for secondary educated women for physical, emotional and sexual violence respectively

Work Status: Economic inequalities can be a causal factor for violence against women both at the level of individual acts of violence and at the level of broad -based economic trends that create or exacerbate the enabling conditions for such violence. These economic inequalities can be found at the local, national and global level. Women's economic inequalities and discrimination against women in areas such as employment, income, access to other economic resources and lack of economic independence reduce women's capacity to act and take decisions, and increase their vulnerability to violence. Economic independence is one of the main sources of women's empowerment. But empirical association between labor force participation and domestic violence reveals that the odds of being beaten are greater for women who work. The important finding from the present study is the increased likelihood of women being beaten if they are employed. Women who work are assumed to have more freedom of movement than women who do not work. Perhaps it could be argued that because women acquire freedom of movement and are at times outside the ideological control and role expectations of the family, they are more likely to be beaten (Madhurima 1996). The independence of these women is seen as a threat to the authority of the family and thus, violence is used against them to control them (Miller 1999; Bhatti 1990). It has been hypothesized that employment may reduce women's dependence on their husbands and enhance their power within households and relationships, and thus reduce their vulnerability to domestic violence. On the other hand, employed women may be at higher risk of experiencing violence because they may be more likely to challenge their husbands' authority or because their husbands perceive a threat to their authority

Table 3.6 reveals that working women experience relatively more levels of all the forms of violence as compared to non-working women in NFHS-3. It is seen that 30% of non-working women report domestic violence as compared to 41.4% women who are working and paid in cash, 45.7% women who are working and paid in kind, 51% who are paid both in cash and kind and 37.6% who are working but not paid. Similarly for physical, emotional and sexual violence 26%, 11.2% and 7.1% of not working women report various forms of violence respectively as compared to 37.3%, 18.0% and 9.5% women who are

working and paid in cash, 40.6%, 17.7% and 12.3% women who are working and paid in kind, 45.7%, 25.4% and 13.4% who are paid both in cash and kind and 32.3%, 15.2% and 8.5% who are working but not paid respectively. Each of the form of violence was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) in the working and non working women. Figure 3.6 shows the distribution of various types of violence with respect to the working status of respondent and the husband/partner.

Figure 3.6: Distribution of various types of violence with respect to the working status of respondent and the husband/partner



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

The link between women's economic empowerment and domestic violence is a complex and nuanced one. While some studies have found that when women gain employment, own property or land they have a lower incidence of domestic violence, other studies show a higher incidence or no difference. The analysis of NFHS-3 data shows that Indian working women experience more domestic violence than non working women. The reason may be that in Indian culture husband is provider for all the needs and thus enforce power and authority in the homes and on women. Working women may be perceived as women likely to challenge their husband's authority or because their husbands perceive either real or perceived threat to their authority they resort to violence. The failure to fulfill masculine roles undermines his masculinity, make the husband feel humiliated. Men often use violence in these situations to reassert their masculine authority.

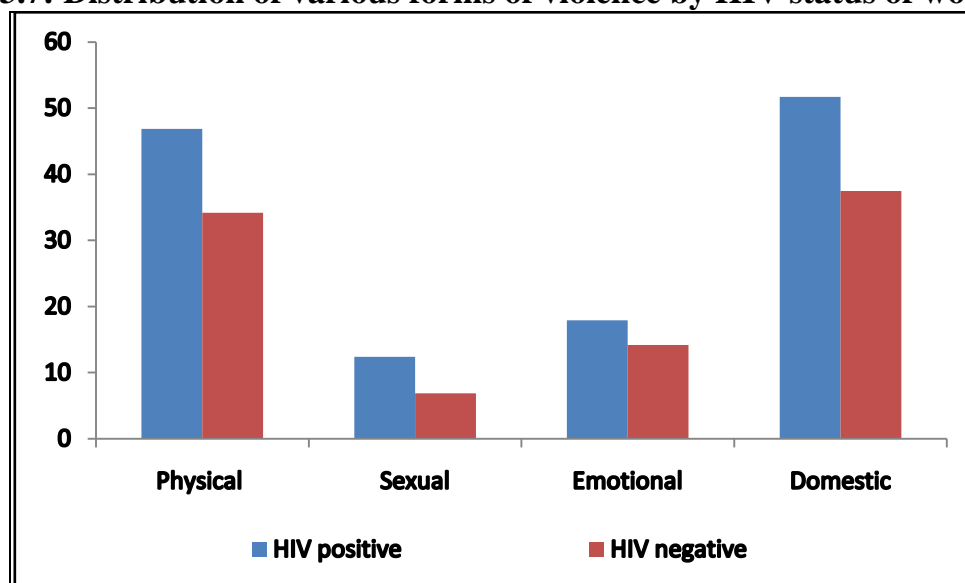
Blumberg's 61-society research found that where women had consolidated economic power, they tended not to be beaten by their husbands. However, where women's economic power was in transition, the more that men felt threatened by this, and the more likely there was to be a short-term spike in male violence against women. Blumberg also highlighted the importance of combined programmes of microcredit with training in legal/human

rights/gender. Blumberg compared women who were economically empowered via microcredit prior to receiving legal/human rights/gender training with those who received no credit, only the training (Blumberg 2005). Women who received training without credit complained that if they tried to assert their newly discovered rights, their husbands would beat them: “They could do nothing because they couldn’t support themselves and their kids if they left. The training hadn’t addressed what they identified as their most important problem: inadequate income, especially their own.

HIV Status of Women: Gender inequality is driving two distinct yet interlinked epidemics among women in India: HIV/AIDS and domestic violence. Gender-based violence is widespread attesting to the social, economic, and cultural inequalities in women's lives. As HIV infection expands, married women in monogamous relationships, previously deemed to be sheltered from risk, are increasingly emerging as a vulnerable group. These two epidemics operate in a complex interplay, with similar root causes, coinciding risk factors, and intersecting consequences. Physical and sexual violence also lie behind some of the most intractable reproductive health issues of our times— unwanted pregnancies, HIV and other STIs, and complications of pregnancy. There is a growing body of research indicating that domestic violence may increase women’s susceptibility to HIV infection. In recent years, social scientists have viewed HIV transmission largely through the lens of gender, emphasizing the vulnerability of women (Seidel 1993). Inadequate knowledge, inability to negotiate safer sex, and powerlessness to abstain from sex or to insist on male condom use make women and girls vulnerable to HIV (UNAIDS 2004).

Domestic violence and HIV/AIDS status of the women are studied to see if there exists any association between the two variables. It is found that domestic violence and HIV status are associated to each other and the association was significant ($p < 0.05$). Domestic violence is experienced by 50.0% of women who were HIV positive as against 37.4% women who were not HIV positive. Similarly physical violence is experienced by 45.8% women having HIV positive as against 34.0% women who were HIV negative. Sexual violence (12.5% against 6.9%) and emotional violence (18.1% against 14.2%) by women who were HIV positive and HIV negative respectively. Figure 3.7 shows the distribution of various forms of violence by ever married women’s HIV status.

Figure 3.7: Distribution of various forms of violence by HIV status of women



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

The odds of reporting domestic violence increase by 78% (Odds ratio=1.78) if the women is HIV positive. Similarly the odds ratios were 1.72, 1.33 and 1.93 for physical, emotional and sexual violence. In sexual violence the odds almost doubles with the HIV positive status of the women. The association was statistically significant with chi-square value of 12.42 and $p < 0.05$.

Existing research quantifies risk of HIV and domestic violence in India in epidemiological terms and, to a lesser extent, assesses the broader factors that render married women vulnerable to either, or both. Marriage is nearly universal (94%) among Indian women by the age of 25-29 and is most often accompanied by a bride's residence in her husband's family home (IIPS and ORC Macro, NFHS-2 2000). Vulnerability implies a lack of empowerment and indicates the extent to which an individual is capable of making informed decisions about his or her own life. Vulnerability manifests itself at the individual and societal levels, thereby linking epidemiological risk to broader and deeper factors that increase the likelihood of exposure to risk-generating situations. Vulnerability at the individual level illustrates an individual's cognitive ability related to risk of HIV infection or domestic violence, while societal vulnerability encompasses the socio-cultural and economic factors that create risk-inducing circumstances and influence who is affected by HIV and AIDS and domestic violence. Lack of knowledge, combined with their inability to negotiate condom use, places women whose husbands have multiple partners at risk of HIV infection. Literacy, years of formal education and exposure to mass media affect women's knowledge of HIV (Chatterjee 1999). Yet 40 % of Indian women have no exposure to mass media and

half of women have no education. Although data are limited, studies have indicated that sexual coercion in marriage is widespread in India (Khan *et al.* 1997). International research indicates that women in coercive sexual situations have little ability to negotiate safer sex and are highly vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Heise 1995). A qualitative study on sexual relations and negotiation among married couples in Mumbai found that women commonly have sexual relations against their will and that many husbands believe that sex is their right in a marriage (George 1998). In this study, women respondents whose husbands had other partners generally did not use condoms when having sex with their husbands. In a study conducted in Uttar Pradesh, a large Northern state, two-thirds of all respondents reported that their husbands had at one time or another coerced them into having sex - one-third by means of physical abuse (Khan *et al.* 1997). Notably, Indian law does not consider marital rape an offense. Women in the first study reported that they lacked the courage or power to suggest condom use to their husbands, believing that the risks of upsetting the status quo in their marriages outweighed the benefits (George 1998). In situations where married women perceive they are at risk, negotiating condom use requires overcoming women's traditionally more submissive role in sexual relations, as well as a cultural emphasis on fertility. On average, women in India marry at 19.7 years of age, and a significant proportion become pregnant during their first year of marriage. Also, younger women are biologically more susceptible to HIV infection (Garcia-Moreno and Watts 2000). The status of women in marriage and the marital home reduces a woman's negotiating power, possibly increasing her vulnerability to both violence and HIV. Gendered power dynamics also underlie sexual relations. A range of studies finds that women have difficulty discussing sexual relations with their husbands, including contraception (George 1998; Gupta 2000) The imbalance of power within the home curtails a woman's ability to negotiate the terms of sex and thereby increases her vulnerability to HIV.

Husband's/partner's characteristics

Husband's Education: According to a multi-country study of prevalence and incidence of domestic violence it can be hypothesized that the relationship between husband's education and violence is negative and monotonic (Kishor and Johnson 2004). However, this association is also subject to fluctuation and inconsistencies. For example, in case of Haiti, the relationship between education and violence is positive and monotonic (Kishor and Johnson 2004). A study carried out by Pradeep Panda on domestic violence against women in Kerala found no association with women's education and husband's education (Panda 2005).

NFHS-3 analysis also brought out that husband/partner's education has a negative association with violence. As the education level of husband increased there is reduction in reporting of domestic violence as also the various forms of violence. 46.3% of women whose husband/partner were illiterate reported domestic violence, which reduced to 44.0% whose husband/partner were primary educated and to 31.7% and 17.7% whose husband/partner were secondary level and higher level educated respectively. Similarly 42.2% women reported physical whose husband/partner were illiterate as compared to 39.5%, 27.4% and 13.6% women whose husband/partner were primary, secondary and higher level educated respectively. Emotional and sexual violence is reported by 19.1% and 11.4% whose husband/partner were illiterate as compared to 17.9% and 10.9% whose husband/partner were primary level educated, 12.4% and 7.2% whose husband/partner were secondary level educated and 7.2% and 3.8% whose husband/partner were higher level educated respectively (Table 3.9). The odds ratio shown in table 3.7 also reveals that the trend is linear in decreasing manner with the odds for domestic violence reducing from 0.91 to 0.54 and 0.25 for primary, secondary and higher education level as compared to illiterate level (Table 3.7). The other forms also follow the same trend.

Table 3.9: Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who ever experienced domestic violence and other forms of violence by Husband's/Partner's characteristics, NFHS-3, 2005-06

Background characteristics	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Husband's educational status	46.3	42.2	19.1	11.4
Illiterate	44.0	39.5	17.9	10.9
Primary	31.7	27.4	12.4	7.2
Secondary	17.7	13.6	7.2	3.8
Higher				
Husband's Occupation				
Working	35.0	30.8	14.0	8.3
Not Working	39.5	33.1	20.4	10.6
Husband Drinks Alcohol				
Yes	48.4	44.2	21.0	12.2
No	27.3	23.0	10.0	6.0

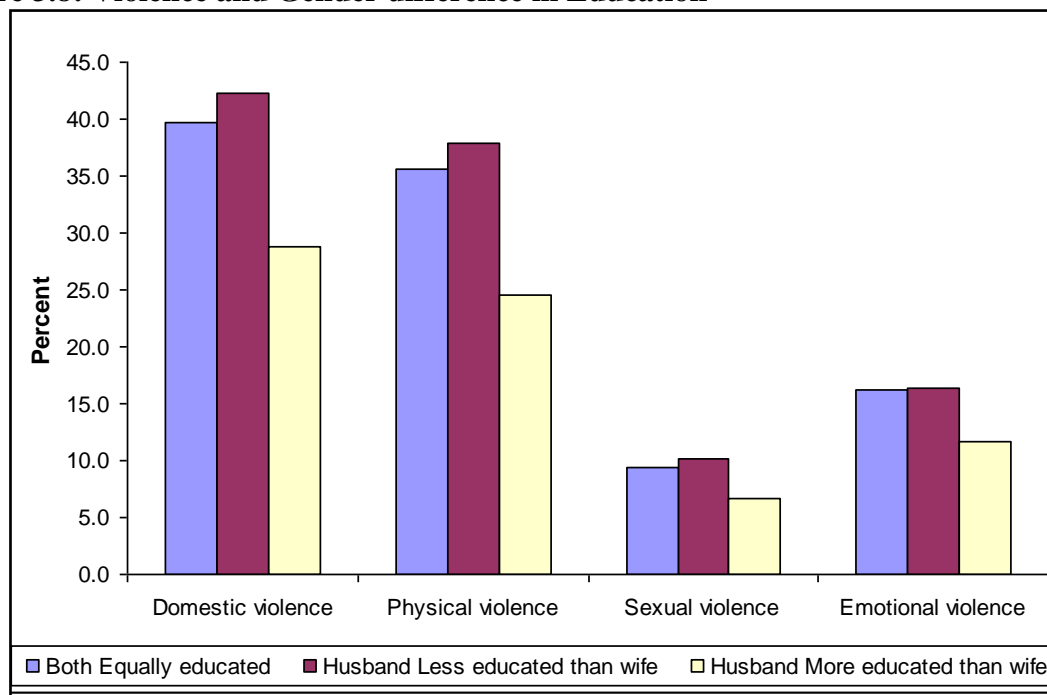
Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Husband's Occupation: Power dynamics within marital relationships and the risk of domestic violence are likely to be shaped not only by women's employment but also by their husbands' employment status (Benson, Fox, DeMaris, and Van Wyk 2003). In India, a husband's ability to provide economically for the family is intimately linked to notions of masculinity as well

as personal and family honor. A study of married men and women in a working class community in suburban Mumbai found that men's failure to provide economically for the family did not go unnoticed and often led to criticism by neighbors (George 2006). Research has also highlighted the challenges that men in urban poor communities face in meeting their role as economic providers, including difficulties in securing steady employment and alcohol dependency, which can lead to frustration, stress, marital discord and domestic violence (George 2006; Krishnan 2005). A key social expectation of men once married is that they work and earn for their family, and failure to meet this expectation can lead to social disapproval (George 2006; Krishnan 2005). Social disapproval, a sense of inadequacy and frustration and related stressors associated with living in poverty may increase the likelihood of men perpetrating domestic violence. In a cross-sectional survey of urban and rural women in Kerala, women whose husbands were employed were significantly less likely to report physical domestic violence when compared to women with unemployed husbands in adjusted analyses (OR=0.2, 95% CI: 0.1-0.3 for both regular and irregular employment) (Panda and Agarwal 2005).

In the present analysis chi square test is carried to see if there is any association of working status of husband/partner and reporting of violence. Almost 40% of women whose husband/partner were not working reported domestic violence as compared to 35% who had working husband/partner. Similar trend is observed in other forms of violence with higher percentage of women reporting violence who had not working partner as compared to women who had working husband/partner. The percentages were 33.1% versus 30.8%, 20.4% versus 14.0% and 10.6% versus 8.3% for physical, emotional and sexual violence respectively (Table 3.9). Figure 3.8 depicts the prevalence of various types of violence with respect to the education status of respondent and the husband/partner.

Figure 3.8: Violence and Gender difference in Education



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Many authors have found a significant association between husbands' occupation and violence against wives (Ghazizadeh 2005). Researchers have shown that husbands in nonagricultural occupations were significantly more likely to be reported as having ever been violent (Kishor and Johnson 2004). The working status of the husband is also found to be a risk factor for domestic violence by study conducted by Ghosh in 2007.

Alcohol consumption by husband: Alcohol use has been studied from ethnographic, sociological and health perspectives which have demonstrated direct and indirect linkage between alcohol use and sexual behaviour. The influence of alcohol use on sexual behaviour has the potential to increase harms and has serious implications for the health of population with the advent of HIV infection. Alcohol consumption is associated with increased risk of all forms of interpersonal violence (Farrington 1998). Heavy alcohol consumption by men is associated with intimate partner violence (Hoffman 1994). Alcohol is thought to reduce inhibitions, cloud judgment, and impair ability to interpret social cues. However, biological links between alcohol and violence are complex. Research on the social anthropology of alcohol drinking suggests that connections between violence and drinking and drunkenness are socially learnt and not universal (Miczek *et al.* 1994). Some researchers have noted that alcohol may act as a cultural "time out" for antisocial behaviour. Thus, men are more likely to act violently when drunk because they do not feel they will be held accountable for their

behaviour. In some settings, men have described using alcohol in a premeditated manner to enable them to beat their partner because they feel that this is socially expected of them. It seems likely that drugs that reduce inhibition, such as cocaine, will have similar relations to those of alcohol with intimate partner violence, but there has been little population-based research on this subject. Available literature reveals that alcohol consumption and unsafe sex play a significant role in the global burden of diseases through the linkages between alcohol consumption, risky sexual behaviour, unprotected sex which increases the risk of spreading sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV infection that contribute to the global burden of diseases (WHO 2005). Alcohol consumption is known to Indians even before the British rules, although many Indians other than the tribes did not accept alcohol as part of normal social interaction, eating habits, or rituals (Mohanty and Bhagat 1995). However, the social changes over the last several decades have resulted into a shift in the more favorable attitude towards alcohol use. With recent economic liberalization policies, alcohol has become more available with more varieties and outlets. This ease of access is reflected in surveys that assess alcohol sales and prevalence in India.

Harmful use of alcohol and illicit drug use are other commonly cited risk factors associated with the experiencing and perpetration of intimate partner violence. The co-occurrence of alcohol abuse and domestic violence including forced sex within marriage in India is widely acknowledged (Jeyaseelan 2007). Cross-sectional studies from different low and middle income countries report that men who misuse alcohol are 1.6 to 4.8 times more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence (Abrahams *et al.* 2004; Dalal, Rahman and Jansson 2009; Flake 2005; Gage 2005; Johnson and Das 2009; Koenig *et al.* 2004). A systematic review pooled the results of 10 studies and found that harmful use of alcohol was associated with a 4.6 times increased risk of exposure to intimate partner violence as compared to mild or no alcohol use (Gil-Gonzalez *et al.* 2006).

In present NFHS-3 data, in terms of husband risk behaviors, most women reported that their husbands were tee-totallers (62.9%). More than one third of the women (37.1%) reported their husbands consume alcohol. An association was found between husband's alcohol consumption behavior and reporting of violence. Nearly half of the women (48.4%) who reported their husbands drank reported of domestic violence as compared to 27.3% whose husband did not consume alcohol. Physical violence was reported by 44.2% of women whose husband consumed alcohol. Emotional violence (21.1% against 10%) and sexual violence (12.2% against 6%) was reported more by women whose husband consumed alcohol as against those whose husband did not consume alcohol. The difference in all forms of

violence was more for women whose husbands consumed alcohol and this difference was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) (Table 3.8). The odds of reporting domestic violence reduces by 60% (odds ratio=0.40) for women whose husband does not drink. Similarly the odds reduce by 62% for physical violence, 58% for emotional violence and 54% sexual violence for women whose husband does not consume alcohol (Table 3.8). Thus alcohol consumption increases the risk of violence for women.

Our findings corroborate with the study findings in Kerala where the authors found more than 61 percent of the women who stated that their husbands had got drunk at least once a week reported that their husbands had hit, kicked, slapped or beat them (Panda 2004). In the study conducted by Rao (1997), ethnographic and econometric methods were used to study the determinants of wife-abuse in a community of potters in the Karnataka State in South India. The survey revealed that wife beating is acceptable behaviour in the community. It is not considered a problem. The causative factors of abuse, as revealed in the qualitative survey, included excessive liquor consumption by husbands, hostilities connected with dowry, female sterilisation, and the number of living male and female children.

Union Characteristics

Spousal age difference: Differences in spousal age, in which the husband is older than the wife, are theorized to imply power imbalances in the relationship: because age often confers seniority, ascribed power associated with age intersects with the power associated with maleness in many cultures, such that a wife younger than her husband may be at a comparative disadvantage. There is, however, little in the empowerment literature regarding the converse situation, when the wife is older than the husband. Theoretically, one could argue that socially ascribed power increases with age, regardless of gender; this may be true for most relationships but may not apply to the relationship of a woman to her husband. In fact, it may be more likely that because relationships in which women are older than their husbands are so contrary to the normative marital arrangement in most societies, they may be at greater risk for marital discord (Kishor and Johnson 2004). NFHS-3 survey collected information on the age of women and her husband. Also information on spousal age difference is assessed. The variable is categorized depending on whether the husband is younger or older to women in age. The husband is considered younger than women or older than women. If the husband is older the number of years by which he is older was noted as 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15+ years older than women. NFHS-3 data analysis shows that 35.5% women reported domestic violence whose husband are younger than them. Also 34.1% women

reported domestic violence whose husband is older than them by 0-4 years. 34.2% whose husband is older by 5-9 years and 34.4% for women whose husband is older by 10-14 years. Maximum domestic violence is reported by women who had husbands with 15+ years age difference. Similarly physical violence, emotional violence and sexual violence is maximum reported by 33.7%, 16.7% and 10.1% women who had husbands with 15+ years of age difference (table 3.10). Table 3.8 shows the odds ratio corresponding to the spousal age difference. The odds of reporting domestic violence is maximum for women with husband/partner who is 15+ years older than her. Similarly the other forms of violence also show that the odds are maximum with spousal age difference of more than 15 years with the odds ratio for physical violence being 1.15, emotional violence being 1.25 and odds ratio for sexual violence being 1.48.

Table 3.10 Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who ever experienced domestic violence and other forms of violence by Union characteristics, NFHS-3, 2005-06

Background characteristics	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Spousal educational difference				
Husband has				
Less education	30.5	25.7	12.6	7.2
Both have none	53.8	50.0	32.1	7.1
Same education	25.1	21.3	10.0	5.7
More education	28.0	23.8	11.5	6.4
Spousal age difference				
Husband is				
Younger	35.5	30.6	13.9	7.0
0-4 years older	34.1	29.9	12.9	7.7
5-9 years older	34.2	30.0	13.2	8.2
10-14 years older	34.4	29.9	13.8	7.9
15+ years older	38.7	33.7	16.7	10.1
Marital duration (in years)				
0-4	24.1	19.2	9.5	6.8
5-9	34.4	29.7	13.1	8.3
10-14	37.6	33.8	14.8	9.1
15-19	38.3	34.3	15.9	8.9
20-24	38.0	33.8	15.9	8.7
25-29	38.6	34.8	16.3	7.8
30+	40.2	36.1	17.2	8.2

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Spousal education difference: Large interspousal education differences in favor of husbands are likely to be disempowering for women. Disparities in educational attainment between

male and female partners may also result in higher rates of domestic violence (Ackerson *et al.* 2008; Chan 2009). A woman whose educational attainment level equals or exceeds that of their husbands are less likely to suffer beating and intimidation than are women whose educational attainment levels are inferior to that of their husbands. On the other hand men may use violence to gain power within a relationship in which the woman's level of education is higher. Ackerson *et al.* (2008) found that Indian women with a higher level of education relative to their partner were more likely to experience physical violence. Xu *et al.* (2005) found a similar relationship between relative educational attainment between partners and any type of domestic violence in China. The analysis of NFHS-3 substantiates other studies which have shown strong association between domestic violence and spousal difference in education. The spousal education difference is categorized as both illiterate, both having same education level, husband more educated than wife and husband less educated than wife. Maximum domestic violence (53.8%) is reported by women, where both are illiterate followed by women whose husband is less educated than his wife (30.5%). Least domestic violence is reported by women where both have same education level. All the other forms of violence also showed the same trend. Physical violence (50.0%), emotional violence (32.1%) and sexual violence (7.1%) are highest in case where both the women and her husband/partner are both illiterate. In case of women whose husband's were less educated than them 25.7% women report physical violence, 12.6% women report emotional violence and 7.2% women report sexual violence. 28% of women report domestic violence, 23.8% women report physical violence, 11.5% women report emotional violence and 6.4% women report sexual violence who had more educated husband. Of the women who had same education level as that of her husband 25.1% report domestic violence, 21.3% report physical violence, 10.0% report emotional violence and 5.7% report sexual violence respectively (Figure 3.9). The association between various forms of violence and gender difference in education was found to be statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Thus it is very clear that all the forms of violence were more experienced by women having more education level than her husband.

It has also been suggested from various other studies that when women have greater achieved status than their husbands, there is an increased vulnerability of marital discord (Hornung 1981; Daga 1998; INCLLEN 2000). Table 3.8 shows the odds ratio with respect to spousal educational difference. The table clearly brings out the fact that the maximum odds of reporting domestic, physical, emotional and sexual violence is when women and her husband/partner both are illiterate. For domestic violence the odds ratio is 2.63 implying that

the odds of reporting domestic violence by women is nearly three times higher if women and her husband/partner both are illiterate compared to women whose husband is less educated than her. or physical violence odds ratio is 2.88, for emotional violence 3.30 and sexual violence the odds ratio is 1.62 respectively.

Marital Duration: The probability of having ever been a victim of domestic violence increases with marital duration. It is not female age itself, but years of exposure that increases the probability of violence. The rate of ever-experience of domestic violence is expected to rise with marital duration because a longer marriage provides a greater period of exposure to the event of violence. However, this relationship could also be argued in converse manner. Marital duration is considered a proxy for compatibility in a marriage, particularly in cultures where divorce is legal and socially accepted. In such cases, the experience of violence is likely to be negatively associated with marital duration (Kishor and Johnson 2004).

Analysis of NFHS-3 data reveals that duration of marriage or the years spent in married life is highly associated with domestic violence. Table 3.9 shows the percentage of women reporting domestic violence and various forms of violence as per the marital duration. It is seen that women who have more than 30+ years of marital duration spent with husband/partner reports maximum domestic violence (40.2%) as well as other forms of violence namely physical (36.1%) and emotional (17.2%). Sexual violence is reported maximum (9.1%) by women with marital duration of 10-14 years. Least violence is reported by women with 0-4 years of marital duration. 24.1% women with 0-4 years of marital duration reported domestic violence as compared to 19.2% who reported physical violence, 9.5% emotional violence and 6.8% sexual violence. The chi square for linear trend is statistically significant indicating that as duration in married life becomes longer, women are at larger risk of experiencing domestic violence (Table 3.10). The odds rise from 1.00 for <5 years duration group to 1.65 for 10-15 years of married duration and becomes 2.12 who have more than 30 years of married life. Similarly for physical violence and emotional violence the odd rises from 1.80 and 1.43 for 5-9 years to 2.39 and 1.97 for women with 30+ years of marital duration respectively. But this is again logical as lifetime experience is a cumulative quantity and as one grows older, one has been exposed to this potential risk for a longer period of time. In case of sexual violence the odds is highest 1.36 for women with 10-14 years of marital duration and thereafter reduces to 1.21 for women with 30+ years of marital duration. A study from 5 districts of Uttar Pradesh also found that duration of marriage is positively associated with domestic violence (Gerstein 2000). Marital duration of more than

15 years is also identified as a potential protective factor against male perpetration of intimate partner violence in Bangladesh (Johnson and Das 2009).

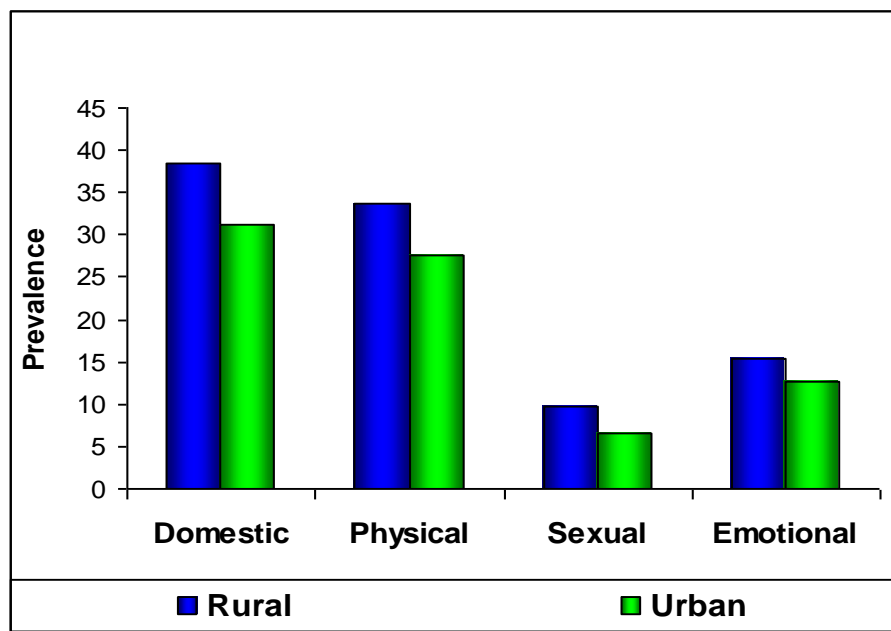
Household Characteristics

Area of residence: The anonymity of urban living is generally believed to be associated with a higher risk of violence. With further industrial development, rural to urban migration, nuclearization of families and rise of divorce rate and the proportion of single member household is likely to increase steadily on the line of industrial West. There is a big difference between urban and rural India. One of the major differences that can be seen between rural and urban settings is their standards of living. People living in urban India have better living conditions than those living in the rural parts of India. Another difference that can be seen between urban and rural area, is their education. In rural India, the education level is much lower than urban area. The rural community women are more likely to be illiterate, to marry an illiterate spouse and to marry at a lower age. In urban communities, women favour autonomy, whereas in the rural and illiterate communities there is still a desire for virgin brides and a focus on more patriarchal and traditional values (Logan *et al.* 2003). Due to this patriarchal norm, women who have internalised such social norms that justify 'acceptance' of traditional gender roles might be at greater risk of violence (Garcia-Moreno *et al.* 2006). They are also more likely to accept that violence against women is a normal part of life. These attitudes seem to have a complex relationship with residency and literacy. Of course, women in rural communities expressed greater acceptance of traditional gender roles than those from urban communities where access to communication and media outlets is greater and people have more exposure to new ideas. Women living in urban areas, especially the educated, may also have different options. This may be because access to media might contribute to changing traditional gender roles, norms and attitudes. Similarly, attitudes towards violence and gender roles were linked to disparities in literacy of women. This may be because literate people are more likely to use available information and new ideas than illiterate people.

The analysis of NFHS-3 data shows that violence of any type was found to be associated with the type of residence. The data reveals that 31.2% of urban women experience domestic violence as compared to 38.2% (OR=1.36) in rural population. Similarly experience of other types of violence shows physical violence being reported by 27.6% in urban area as against 33.4% (OR=1.34) in rural area. Sexual violence is reported by 6.6% of the women from urban area as against 9.7% (OR=1.52) women from rural area (Table 3.7).

The analysis reveals that 12.6% of the urban women experience emotional violence as compared to 15.3% (OR=1.26) of the rural women (Figure 3.9). The data discloses that rural women experienced more violence (of all types) than urban women and this difference with respect to residence was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Figure 3.9: Reported domestic violence by ever married women (15-49 years) by residence



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

In a multi-country study of prevalence and incidence of domestic violence in developing world (Kishor and Johnson 2004), six out of nine countries, (Cambodia, Columbia, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Peru and Zambia) show women living in urban areas are significantly more likely to report domestic violence than rural women. Only two countries (India and Egypt) show opposite relationship. Our study supports the findings. The present study found that 31.3% of the urban women as against 38.4% of the rural women experience domestic violence (Table 3.10).

Household structure: Since time immemorial the joint family has been one of the salient features of the Indian society. But the twentieth century brought enormous changes in the family system. Changes in the traditional family system have been so enormous that it is steadily on the wane from the urban scene. In villages the size of joint family has been substantially reduced or is found in its fragmented form. Some have split into several nuclear families, while others have taken the form of extended families. Extended family is in fact a

transitory phase between joint and nuclear family system. The available data suggest that the joint family is on its way out in rural areas too (Singh 2002).

Table 3.11: Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who ever experienced domestic violence and other forms of violence by Household characteristics, NFHS-3, 2005-06

Background characteristics	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Standard of living				
Low	49.2	44.6	20.6	13.1
Medium	40.5	36.3	15.8	9.6
High	24.9	20.9	9.9	5.1
Residence				
Urban	31.2	27.6	12.6	6.6
Rural	38.2	33.4	15.3	9.7
Household structure				
Nuclear	37.9	33.9	15.0	8.6
Joint	31.3	26.7	12.9	7.8

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

The joint family or extended family in rural areas is surviving in its skeleton or nominal form as a kinship group. The adults have migrated to cities either to pursue higher education or to secure more lucrative jobs or to eke out their living outside their traditional callings, ensuing from the availability of better opportunities elsewhere as well as the rising pressure of population on the limited land base. Many of the urban households are really offshoots of rural extended or joint families. The emergence of financially independent, career-oriented men and women, who are confident of taking their own decisions and crave to have a sense of individual achievement, has greatly contributed to the disintegration of joint family. Disintegration of joint family has led to closer bonds between spouses, but the reverse is also true in certain cases. For many, nuclear family is a safer matrimonial home to a woman. In bygone days people generally lived in joint families, yet familial discord never escalated into extreme physical violence or death, as we so often come across such instances in our day-to-day life and also know through national dailies, both electronic and print media (Singh 2002). I hypothesize that violence against women will be more pronounced in nuclear families compared to joint families. This is because joint families are much more likely to have stringent social control measures that minimize the need for using violence against women to control their actions.

The available data from the National Family and Health Survey-3 suggest that joint family does not make up more than thirty six percent of all families in urban areas. The

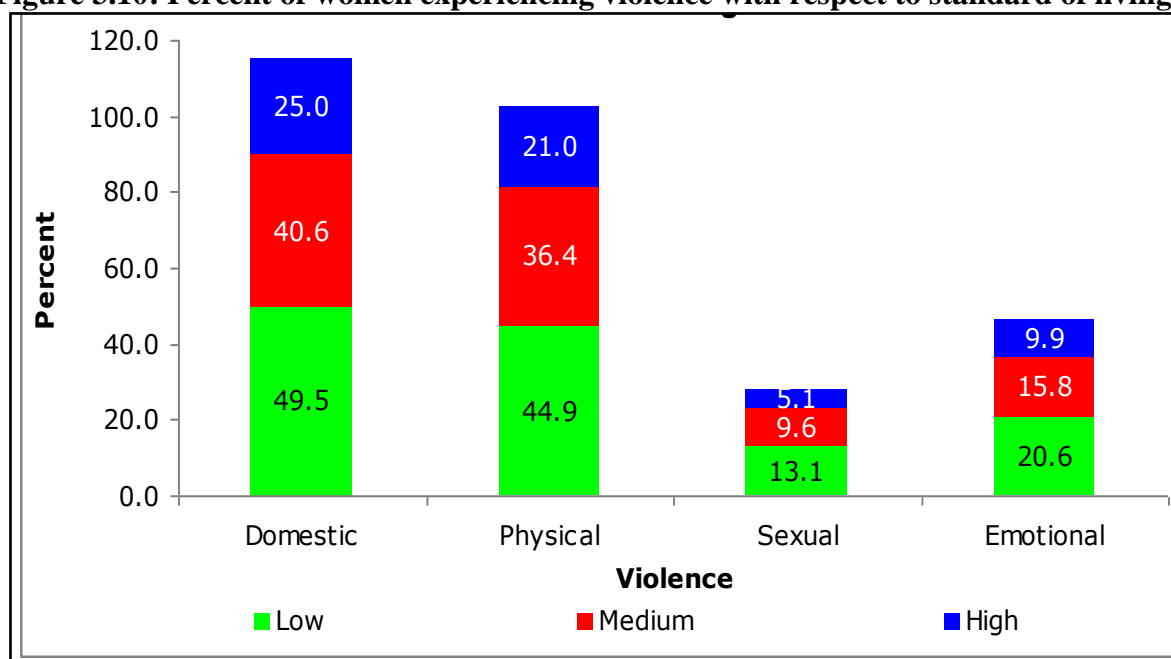
effect of nuclear and joint family structure on experience of violence by women is studied. The data show that household structure and violence is associated ($p < 0.05$). It is seen that women staying in nuclear family experienced more violence than women staying in joint family. Domestic violence was experienced by almost 38% of women staying in nuclear family as against 31.3% in joint family. Similarly physical, sexual and emotional violence were also seen to be associated more (34%, 8.6% and 15.0%) with women in nuclear family than those experienced (26.7%, 7.8% and 12.9%) by joint family respectively (Table 3.10). Table 3.7 shows the odds ratio corresponding to the household structure. As is seen the odds of reporting domestic violence increases by 33% (Odds Ratio=1.33) for women staying in a nuclear family compared to women staying in joint family. Similarly trend is observed for various forms of violence. The odds of reporting physical violence increases by 40% (Odds Ratio=1.40), for emotional violence by 19% (Odds Ratio=1.19) and for sexual violence by 11% (Odds Ratio=1.11) for women staying in nuclear family as compared to women staying in joint family (Table 3.8).

Standard of living: Violence against women knows no geographical, cultural, or linguistic boundaries, and affects all women without regard to their level of income. However, for many women, poverty adds another dimension to the pain and suffering they experience as a result of violence. Poverty limits choices and access to the means of protecting and freeing oneself from violence. It also means more barriers to using services and programs that can help. The discrimination faced by women in society limits their opportunities and options, creating additional barriers that prevent low-income women from leaving an abusive situation. They simply do not have the options that women with more money have. Women are almost always less well off financially after they leave a marriage. Those who already live on a low income can expect to live in even more dire poverty. A common assumption in the literature on domestic violence is that women who are poor are more likely to experience violence than women who are not poor (Heise 1998; Jeweks 2002a). Studies from a wide range of settings show that, while domestic violence and sexual violence cut across all socioeconomic groups, women living in poverty are disproportionately affected (Heise and Garcia-Moreno 2002; Jewkes, Sen and Garcia-Moreno 2002c). Another powerful predictor of wife battery is the socioeconomic status of the family. Studies have shown that there is an inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and physical violence (Bhatti 1990, Madhurima 1996, Vindhya 2000). However, there are many possible explanations for this pattern. Some researchers argue that the reason for this finding is due to defining domestic

violence only as physical violence. They found that physical violence is more likely to be used by the lower classes whereas upper class women face higher rates of emotional and verbal abuse (Bhatti 1990). This inverse relationship could potentially be due to the lower rates of reporting among the higher classes. Because of the social stigma attached to wife battery in the middle and higher classes, women are more likely to be socialized to see violence in their homes as private and are less likely to report it (Madhurima 1996). In fact, this problem of under-reporting among the upper echelons has made it very difficult to estimate the exact rates of domestic violence in India. There are severe social sanctions on women for even acknowledging that violence takes place in the house; so women do not generally come forward to report the violence. Examinations of health records reveal that women who are hospitalized because of beatings by their husbands refuse to identify or report the perpetrator (Daga *et al.* 1998, Vindhya 2000, Visaria 1999). Given these circumstances, it is extremely hard to estimate the true rates of domestic violence in India.

NFHS-3 agrees with these findings. The standard of living is associated with violence experienced by women ($p < 0.05$). Domestic violence was maximum (49.2%) in low index of standard of living, 40.5% in medium level and 24.9% in high level of standard of living. Similarly physical violence was (44.6%, 36.3% and 20.9%), sexual violence (13.1%, 9.6% and 5.1%) and emotional violence (20.6%, 15.8% and 9.9%) in the low, medium and high level of standard of living (Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.10: Percent of women experiencing violence with respect to standard of living



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Thus the data revealed that as standard of living increases from low to medium to high the percentage of violence experienced by women decreases and is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Table 3.8 shows the declining odds ratio with increase in standard of living. As is clear from the table the odds of reporting domestic violence reduces by 30% (OR=0.70) for women of middle standard of living and by 66% (OR=0.34) for women of high standard of living as compared to women who is from low standard of living index. The trend in physical violence also show decline in odds ratio from 1.00 to 0.70 and 0.33 for women of middle and high standard of living as compared to women who is from low standard of living index. Emotional and sexual violence also show decreasing trend (Table 3.8).

Intergenerational effect: One of the important risk factors includes intergenerational exposure to violence –either witnessing violence among parents or experiencing violence in childhood. Women’s history of experiencing her father beat her mother was examined in the present study. It was assumed that if the ideology of the threat of violence was present in her natal family, it is likely that the belief systems of the marital family are similar. Thus, if the woman experienced any violence by her father towards her mother, chances are higher that she will experience physical assault from her husband. Many studies have found strong association with both physical and psychological violence and childhood experience, (Hotaling and Sugarman 1986; Sugarman and Hotaling 1989; Kalmuss 1984; Ellsberg *et al.* 1999; Jewkes *et al.* 2002a; Martin *et al.* 2002, Panda 2004). Gil did a systematic review of 10 studies (Gil-Gonzalez *et al.* 2008) found that exposure to violence during childhood increased the likelihood of intimate partner violence perpetration among men by 3 or 4-fold, compared to men without childhood exposure to violence Another meta-analysis found that exposure to any childhood sexual abuse (but not physical abuse alone) increased male perpetration of sexual violence towards women more than three-fold (Jespersen, Lalumiere and Seto 2009). A number of primary studies in LMIC found that childhood exposure to violence (particularly intra-parental violence and sexual abuse) was positively associated with the experiencing of intimate partner violence and sexual violence by females (Martin, Taft and Resick 2007; Sochting, Fairbrother and Koch 2004; Vung and Krantz 2009). Such exposure to violence during childhood may increase the likelihood of violence acceptance either as a victim or perpetrator in future partnerships and high-risk situations.

Almost 17% of the women in NFHS-3 data reported witnessing their father’s beating their mothers during their childhood. An overwhelming 60% of the women experienced domestic violence who had reported witnessing their fathers beating their mothers during

their childhood. Physical violence was reported by 54.4%, emotional violence by 25.9% and sexual violence by 15.4% by women who had witnessed their fathers beating their mothers in their childhood (Table 3.12). The difference in reporting various forms of violence was more in those women witnessing violence in childhood as compared to those who had not witnessed violence in childhood by their fathers towards their mothers and this difference was statistically significant in all forms of violence ($p < 0.05$). Table 3.7 shows the odds of reporting violence with respect to the women witnessing violence in family in her childhood. The odds of reporting domestic violence increases to almost four times (Odds Ratio=3.64), physical violence (Odds Ratio=3.67), emotional violence (Odds Ratio=2.76) and sexual violence (Odds Ratio =2.65) for women who witnessed her father beat her mother as compared to women who has not witnessed it.

Table 3.12: Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who ever experienced domestic violence and other forms of violence by Intergenerational effect, NFHS-3, 2005-06

Did her father ever beat her mother	Domestic Violence	Physical Violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence
Yes	59.2	54.4	25.9	15.4
No	28.5	24.5	11.3	6.4

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

In sum: In India, the differences in experiencing domestic violence is discernible with respect to the level of female literacy, sex ratio, age at marriage of girls, household size, female workforce participation rate, and gender relations. Diversities inherent in Indian society are also reflected in the plurality of family types. The bivariate analysis of NFHS-3 data shows that there does appear to be systematic relationship between current age and age at marriage of the women and lifetime experience of violence. This is not surprising because logically one would expect a step-wise increase with age, because lifetime experience is cumulative and as one grows older, one has had exposure to this potential risk for a longer period of time. Young age at marriage reflects that she has not been given a chance to acquire the life skills and the maturity needed to ensure her interest and security in marriage and within the spousal relationship. It is also evident that higher percentage of women report violence when there are more children in a household. This reason may be that with higher number of children there is economic insecurity, insufficient resources, which may lead to disturbing levels of stress for the head of the household. This in turn may further lead to violence in some instances. Notably, one of the important finding from the present study is the increased likelihood of women being beaten if they are employed. Women who work are assumed to

have more freedom of movement than women who do not work. Perhaps it could be argued that because women acquire freedom of movement and are at times outside the ideological control and role expectations of the family, they are more likely to be beaten. While these data do not indicate a simple relationship between employment and violence, it is clear that violence is closely linked to economic power relations. Unemployment of both husband and wife is strongly associated with violence, and there is a positive correlation between a husband's regular employment and a lack of domestic violence. Women in homes with lower socio-economic status are also more likely to experience violence or be more likely to report it. Education of women and her husband is a protective factor against violence as women with more education would have greater abilities to protect themselves in times of need, such as when dealing with a violent partner. Maybe the women being less educated are less empowered to encounter violence. Alcohol use is an important risk factor associated with the experiencing and perpetration of intimate partner violence. Thus 'Education' leading to empowerment of women through enhancement of their status and better decision making power have been identified as key factors to armor against violence. Notably, violence occurs more frequently when women are more educated than their husbands. Strong association is found between husband's alcohol consumption behavior and reporting of violence by women. NFHS-3 finds that the probability of having ever been a victim of domestic violence increases with marital duration. It is not female age itself, but years of exposure that increases the probability of violence. Rural residence and nuclear structure of the family are risk factors for violence. This is because joint families are much more likely to have stringent social control measures that minimize the need for using violence against women to control their actions. Witnessing domestic violence in childhood increased the odds of reporting violence by women. The study also brings out an important association between domestic violence and HIV/AIDS status of the women. The odds of reporting various forms of violence almost double if the women are HIV. Studies have indicated that sexual coercion in marriage is widespread in India. Inadequate knowledge, inability to negotiate safer sex, and powerlessness to abstain from sex or to insist on male condom use make women vulnerable to HIV. Also the low status of women in marriage and the marital home reduces a woman's negotiating power, possibly increasing her vulnerability to both violence and HIV.

3.6 Multicollinearity testing

Multicollinearity in the predictors or independent variables predicting violence is detected by tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF). VIFs exceeding 4 is considered as sign of multicollinearity requiring correction. Of all the independent variables considered age of women, age at first marriage and marital duration gave a VIF value of 15.05, 5.06 and 15.3 respectively indicating strong multicollinearity in these variables. The model is rerun after removing marital duration and age at first marriage after which all the independent variables gave VIF value around 1 to 2 indicating no collinearity. Though the R^2 value did not change much for the model the logistic regression is carried out on the remaining independent variables to predict the chance of women experiencing violence.

3.7 Multivariate Analysis using Logistic regression

In this section an attempt is made to explain the probability of being subject to domestic violence. In univariate analysis risk factors are studied independently of each other. When the outcome variable as in our case is dichotomous i.e. present/absent the correct statistical technique to analyse data is logistic regression which would tell how well the selected background characteristics taken together explain the variation in the dependent variable. It is preferable to use logistic regression, instead of multiple linear regression technique since in such a case the error term would not be normally distributed (Kendall 1975). The logit of the probability of occurrence (p) is expressed as a function of explanatory variables as

$$\text{Logit}(p) = \log(p/1-p) = \beta_0 + \sum \beta_i X_i$$

Where,

Logit (p) is probability of occurrence (p) expressed as a function of explanatory variables X_i 's are the explanatory variables β_i 's are the coefficients.

In order to identify the strongest associations between various forms of violence and the correlates discussed above, the values for the main outcome variables were dichotomized to allow for the use of Logistic Regression Modeling. Four logistic regression models were run with the outcome variable as domestic, physical, sexual and emotional violence. Each of the outcome variable is dichotomized as 0 and 1. Women experiencing violence is coded as 1 and women not experiencing violence is coded as 0. We first try to find out various factors that are perhaps responsible for violence of women. It is assumed that the incidence of violence is influenced/determined jointly by the wife's and the husband's characteristics, marital characteristics, household's socioeconomic status and other household characteristics. Table

2.1 shows the variables considered as correlates for the analysis. Table 3.13 gives the results of logistic regression for domestic violence and physical violence and table 3.14 gives the results for emotional violence and sexual violence respectively.

Logistic regression with domestic violence as the dependent variable reveals that when all the variables considered simultaneously, age of the respondent, number of children, women's education and work status, HIV status of the women, husband's education husband's alcohol consumption, spousal age, standard of living, household structure and respondents witnessing her father beat her mother in childhood were the statistically significant variables. Residence, Gender difference in education and husband's/partner's occupation are not statistically significant (Table 3.13). The significance of these factors may be explained in the following way. Age of respondent is associated with domestic violence. Younger age increases her exposure to the potential risk of violence as well as it also reflects that she has not been given a chance to acquire the life skills and the maturity needed to ensure her interest and security in marriage and within the spousal relationship. Number of children is positively associated with domestic violence. The reason may be that with higher number of children there is economic insecurity, insufficient resources, which may lead to disturbing levels of stress for the head of the household. This in turn may further lead to violence in some instances. Education level of a woman may increase her awareness regarding her right for freedom and help her to assert it. This may also affect the level of freedom indirectly by getting occupation and contributing in the family income, which provide her to occupy a significant position within the family. Economic freedom is a crucial criteria for both male and female members for taking part in decision making at the household level. In that sense, respondent's contribution in family decisions may be recognized for her occupation. Level of husbands education may increase the awareness of a husband, which may help him to recognize the need for giving freedom to his wife. Husbands' occupation, indicating his income level, may affect women's position in the family inversely as low income of husbands may force wives to engage in job. Also nuclear structure of the family are risk factors for violence. Witnessing domestic violence in childhood increased the odds of reporting violence by women. The multivariate analysis also brings out an important negative association between domestic violence and HIV/AIDS status of the women.

Table 3.13: Logistic Regression with adjusted odds ratio and 95% Confidence Interval for dependent variable.

Dependent Variable : Domestic Violence and Physical Violence

Variables	Domestic Violence Exp β (95% CI)	Physical Violence Exp β (95% CI)
Respondent Variables		
Age of the respondent		
15-19(Reference Category)	1.00**	1.00**
20-24	1.107 (0.989, 1.238)	1.023 (0.908, 1.152)
25-29	1.258 (1.163, 1.360)	1.247(1.150, 1.352)
30-34	1.184 (1.103, 1.270)	1.202(1.118, 1.293)
35-39	1.114 (1.039, 1.194)	1.125(1.047, 1.210)
40-44	1.109 (1.033, 1.191)	1.101 (1.023, 1.186)
45-49	1.029 (0.954, 1.110)	1.026 (0.948, 1.110)
Total number of children		
No children (Reference)		
1-2 children	0.890 (0.840, 0.943)	0.84(0.79, 0.89)
3-4 children	0.720 (0.667, 0.776)	0.67 (0.621, 0.730)
5+ children	1.252 (1.199, 1.308)	1.27 (1.22, 1.33)
Education of the respondent		
Higher (Reference)		
Secondary	1.895 (1.724, 2.084)	2.039 (1.833, 2.269)
Primary	2.676 (2.410, 2.972)	2.945 (2.622, 3.308)
No education	2.845 (2.566, 3.154)	3.229(2.880, 3.621)
Working status of the respondent		
Working (Reference Category)		
Not working	1.363 (0.718, 2.587)	1.21(0.61, 2.37)
HIV status of women		
HIV Negative (Reference Category)		
HIV Positive	1.51 (1.05, 2.159)	1.24 (1.2, 1.29)
Husband's Characteristics		
Partner's Education		
No education (Reference Category)		
Primary	0.796 (0.654, 0.970)	0.85 (0.70, 1.04)
Secondary	0.684 (0.563, 0.831)	0.90 (0.74, 1.11)
Higher	0.623 (0.508, 0.765)	0.77 (0.63, 0.94)
Partners working status		
Working (Reference Category)		
Not working	1.034 (0.711, 1.503)	1.05 (0.71, 1.55)
Alcohol Use		
Yes (Reference Category)		
No	0.490 (0.473, 0.508)	0.46 (0.44, 0.48)

Table 3.13 contd.

Union Characteristics		
Gender difference in age		
0-4 (Reference Category)	1.00**	1.00**
5-9	1.115 (1.015, 1.224)	1.16 (1.055, 1.28)
10-14	1.189 (1.033, 1.369)	1.20 (1.04, 1.39)
15+	1.367 (1.221, 1.531)	1.46 (1.30, 1.64)
Husband younger	1.034 (0.942, 1.136)	1.06 (0.97, 1.17)
Gender difference in education		
Equally educated (Reference)	1.00	1.00
Wife more educated	1.018 (0.960, 1.078)	0.99 (0.93, 1.05)
Wife less educated	1.040 (0.469, 2.305)	1.08 (0.48, 2.40)
Household Characteristics		
Type of Residence		
Urban (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00**
Rural	1.363 (0.718, 2.587)	1.221 (1.173, 1.271)
Household structure		
Joint (Reference Category)	1.00**	1.00**
Nuclear	1.059 (1.020, 1.099)	1.09(1.05, 1.13)
Household Standard of Living		
high (Reference Category)	1.00**	1.00**
Medium	0.993 (0.894, 1.104)	1.00 (0.89, 1.12)
Low	1.209 (1.084, 1.349)	1.21 (1.07, 1.35)
Intergenerational Characteristics		
Did women witness violence in Childhood		
No	1.00**	1.00**
Yes	1.567 (1.459, 1.683)	1.58 (1.47, 1.69)

** statistically significant at 0.05 level of significance

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

**Table 3.14: Logistic Regression with adjusted odds ratio and 95% Confidence Interval for dependent variable
Dependent Variable : Emotional Violence and Sexual Violence**

Variables	Emotional Violence Exp β (95% CI)	Sexual Violence Exp β (95% CI)
Respondent Variables		
Age of the respondent**		
15-19(Reference Category)	1.00**	1.00**
20-24	1.0 (0.92, 1.11)	1.64 (1.37, 1.95)
25-29	1.03 (0.94, 1.13)	1.48 (1.29, 1.68)
30-34	0.97 (0.89, 1.06)	1.33 (1.17, 1.48)
35-39	0.94 (0.87, 1.04)	1.25 (1.11, 1.41)
40-44	0.90 (0.82, 0.99)	1.26 (1.11, 1.43)
45-49	0.77 (0.67, 0.90)	1.05 (0.92,1.19)
Total number of children**		
No children (Reference)		
1-2 children	1.05(0.97, 1.13)	1.08 (0.98, 1.19)
3-4 children	0.91 (0.82, 1.00)	0.90 (0.79, 1.02)
5+ children	1.08 (1.02, 1.15)	1.22 (1.14, 1.32)
Education of the respondent**		
Higher (Reference)		
Secondary	1.63 (1.42, 1.86)	1.73 (1.43, 2.09)
Primary	2.16 (1.86, 2.50)	2.32 (1.89, 2.84)
No education	2.02 (1.74, 2.33)	2.29 (1.87, 2.81)
Working status of the respondent		
Working (Reference Category)		
Not working	0.70 (0.399, 1.86)	0.72 (0.29, 1.78)
HIV status of women**		
HIV Negative (Reference Category)		
HIV Positive	0.67 (0.63, 0.71)	0.67 (0.64, 0.70)
Husband's Characteristics		
Partner's Education**		
No education (Reference Category)		
Primary	0.81 (0.64, 1.02)	0.61 (0.47, 0.79)
Secondary	0.71 (0.56, 0.89)	0.66 (0.51, 0.850)
Higher	0.64 (0.49, 0.82)	0.58 (0.45, 0.76)
Partners working status		
Working (Reference Category)		
Not working	1.02 (0.66, 1.59)	1.64 (0.88, 3.17)
Alcohol Use**		
Yes (Reference Category)		
No	0.51 (0.49, 0.54)	0.56 (0.53, 0.59)

Table 3.14 contd.

Union Characteristics		
Gender difference in age		
0-4 (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00
5-9	0.91 (0.79, 1.06)	0.91 (0.81, 1.02)
10-14	0.84 (0.66, 1.06)	0.94 (0.79, 1.13)
15+	1.48 (1.25, 1.75)	1.74 (1.52, 1.99)
Husband younger		
		0.89 (0.79, 1.04)
Gender difference in education		
Equally educated (Reference)	1.00	1.00
Wife more educated	1.04 (0.90, 1.11)	1.57 (0.68, 3.62)
Wife less educated	0.43 (0.10, 1.87)	1.05 (0.93, 1.08)
Household Characteristics		
Type of Residence		
Urban (Reference Category)	1.00**	1.00
Rural	1.14 (1.08, 1.20)	0.97 (0.91, 1.04)
Household structure**		
Joint (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00
Nuclear	0.98 (0.93, 1.02)	0.95 (0.89, 1.01)
Household Standard of Living **		
High (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00
Medium	0.82 (0.72, 0.95)	0.93 (0.79, 1.09)
Low	1.02(0.88, 1.16)	1.12 (0.95, 1.33)
Intergenerational Characteristics		
Did women witness violence in Childhood**		
No	1.00**	1.00**
Yes	1.70(1.55, 1.85)	1.38 (1.24, 1.53)

** statistically significant at 0.05 level of significance

Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Logistic regression with physical violence as the dependent variable reveals that when all the variables considered simultaneously, age of the respondent, number of children, women's education, HIV status of the women, husband's alcohol consumption, spousal age, residence of the respondent, standard of living, household structure and respondents witnessing her father beat her mother in childhood were the statistically significant variables. Gender education difference and husband's/partner's occupation are not statistically significant (Table 3.13).

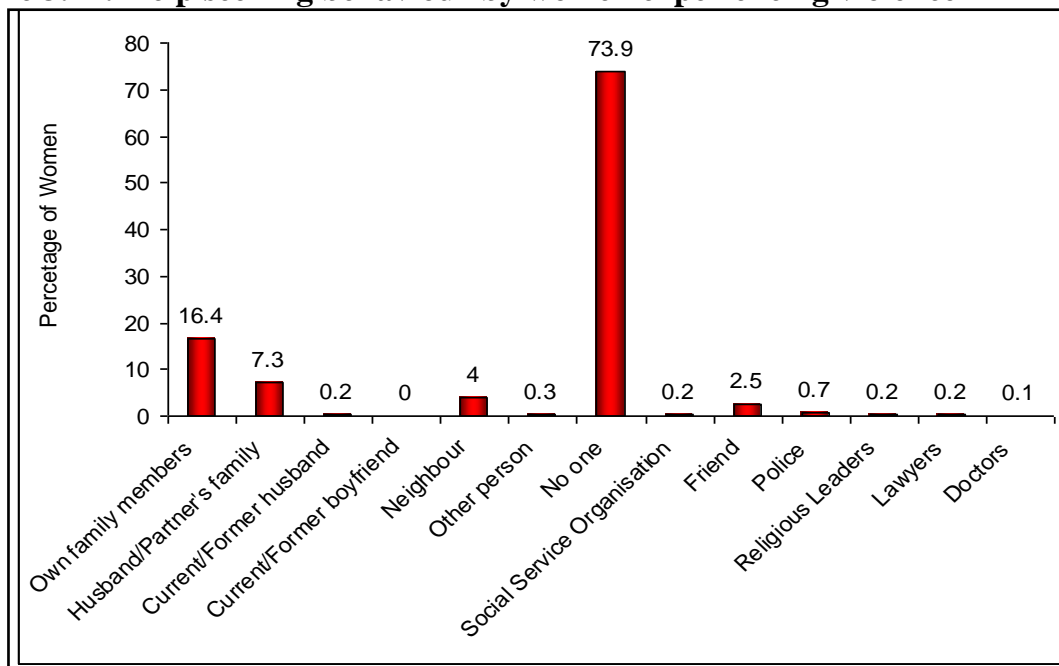
Logistic regression with emotional violence as the dependent variable reveals that when all the variables considered simultaneously, age of women, her education and husband's education, husband's alcohol consumption, HIV status of the women and respondents witnessing her father beat her mother in childhood were the statistically significant variables. Age of the respondent, spousal education difference, number of children and household structure are not statistically significant (Table 3.14).

Logistic regression with sexual violence as the dependent variable reveals that when all the variables considered simultaneously, age of women, women’s education, HIV status of the women, husband’s education, husband’s alcohol consumption, residence of the respondent and respondents witnessing her father beat her mother in childhood were the statistically significant variables whereas household structure, spousal education difference and husband’s/partner’s occupation are not statistically significant (Table 3.14).

3.8 Help-Seeking Behavior

In this section of the chapter, data are presented on help-seeking behavior of ever married women who have ever experienced any violence, whether they seek help, from whom they seek help. Two potential sources of support have been considered important for women’s ability to negotiate conflict in marriage: natal support (own family members) and neighbour. In the survey nearly three fourth of the women, 73.9%, reported no social support from any source. Nearly one sixth (16.4%) of the women reported social support from her own family members, 7.3% reported from husband/partner’s family members. Only 4% reported that the help came from neighbours (Figure 3.11).

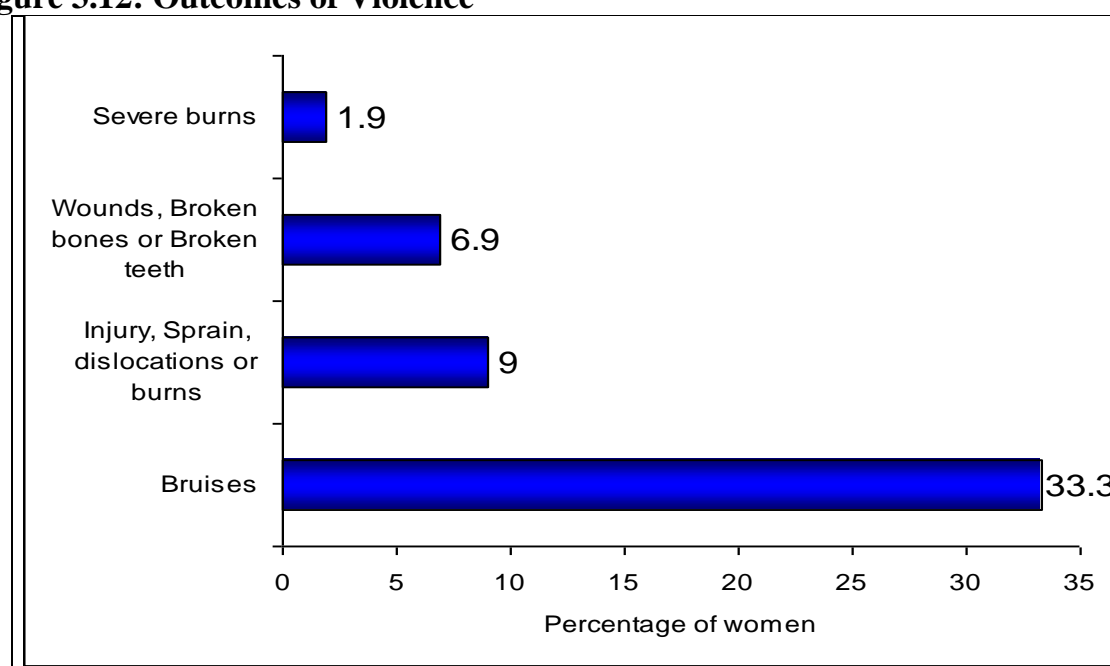
Figure 3.11: Help seeking behaviour by women experiencing violence



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

3.9 Consequence of the domestic violence Domestic Violence occurring within the private sphere of the woman’s life is believed to be the most common form of gender based violence against woman and its aftermath is seen in almost all areas of her life. The consequences of abuse can be profound, extending beyond the health and happiness of individuals to affect the well-being of entire communities. Living in a violent relationship affects a woman’s sense of self-esteem and her ability to participate in the world. Studies have shown that abused women are routinely restricted in the way they can gain access to information and services, take part in public life, and receive emotional support from friends and relatives (WHO 2002). Not surprisingly, such women are often unable properly to look after themselves and their children or to pursue jobs and careers. Among the women who reported experiencing violence almost one-third said they had bruises after a violent act. Around 9% reported they had injury in the form of sprain, dislocation or burns. 6.9% of the violent acts resulted in the women getting wounded, broken bones or broken teeth and 1.9% resulted in the outcome of severe burns. In this study, the consequences of violence have been studied at the personal level. Analysis of NFHS-3 data show that 33.3% of women reported bruises and 9% reported of injury, sprain, dislocations or burns. Almost 7% women reported wounds with broken bones or broken teeth. Around 2% women reported severe burns. Figure 3.12 depicts the outcome of the violence as reported by the women experiencing violence.

Figure 3.12: Outcomes of Violence



Source: NFHS-3 India 2005-06

Studies have underscored that injuries resulting from domestic violence are widespread and severe. A multi-site study reports that almost half (45.3 per cent) of women who faced violence reported injuries that required treatment, and only half these women reported receiving health care. Of these, 23.5 per cent required treatment on more than five separate occasions, and 187 women out of a sample of 9,938 required hospitalization as a result of their injuries (INCLEN 2000). A similar study in Gujarat found that only 10 per cent reported requiring medical attention for injuries, and only 38 per cent of these women actually sought treatment (Visaria 1999). The main reasons underlying women's reluctance to seek care relate to gender norms and power imbalances, embarrassment and shame, preference for relying on home remedies, and lack of control over economic resources required to seek care (INCLEN 2000). Increased health problems such as injury, chronic pain, gastrointestinal and gynecological signs including STD, depression and post traumatic stress disorder are well documented by controlled research in abused women (Campbell 2002). Women's inability to seek redress at the health system level is compounded by provider attitudes and skills. Many health care providers do not recognize a case of domestic violence, are not trained to assess or probe suspicious injuries in a sensitive manner, and consequently opportunities to identify and provide support to battered women are lost. This lack of skill and sensitivity is reflected in under-reporting of domestic violence in facility records and reports, and in treating and managing such cases (Jaswal 2000).

In sum: The relationships, identified in the bivariate analyses, largely hold true in the multivariate analyses as well. Logistic Multivariate analysis is carried out to see the simultaneous effect of the factors on the outcome variable. Logistic regression with domestic violence as the dependent variable reveals that when all the variables considered simultaneously, age of the respondent, age at first marriage, number of children, women's education and work status, HIV status of the women, husband's education, husband's alcohol consumption, spousal age and education difference, residence of the respondent, standard of living, household structure and respondents witnessing her father beat her mother in childhood were the statistically significant variables. Marital duration and husband's/partner's occupation are not statistically significant. Logistic regression with physical violence, sexual violence and emotional violence as the dependent variable also reveals the same pattern.

From the women who reported experiencing violence almost one-third said they had bruises after a violent act. Around 9% reported they had injury in the form of sprain,

dislocation or burns. 6.9% of the violent acts resulted in the women getting wounded, broken bones or broken teeth and 1.9% resulted in the outcome of severe burns. Studies have underscored that injuries resulting from domestic violence are widespread and severe but women are reluctant to seek care. The main reasons underlying are gender norms and power imbalances, embarrassment and shame, preference for relying on home remedies, and lack of control over economic resources required to seek care (INCLEN 2000).

3.10 Discussion

Violence against women persists in every country in the world as a pervasive violation of human rights and a major impediment to achieving gender equality. In recent decades, particularly since the Beijing Women's conference in 1995, empowering women in the developing world has become a primary policy goal. Quite apart from being an important goal in its own right, increased female autonomy has been shown to confer other benefits like long-term reduction in fertility, higher child survival rates, and allocation of resources in favour of children in the household. There has been much debate in the women and development literature on how to empower women, with the debate often centering on their participation in economic activities and access to financial resources. Engels (1884) had argued that participation in the labour market is essential if women are to be emancipated from the servitude in which the patriarchal family held them. Apart from the substantial anecdotal evidence on this issue, numerous case studies suggest that a woman's access to employment outside the home increases her domestic decision-making power and control over resources. Blumberg and Coleman (1989) have been strong proponents of this in the sociology literature; Rahman and Rao (2004) have recently provided evidence of this using data from two states of India. Others have emphasized the role of access to resources such as land and credit. Agarwal (1994), in particular, has argued that ownership of assets would be a very efficacious avenue in developing countries. Female autonomy is typically defined as the ability of women to make choices/decisions within the household relative to their husbands'.

The cultures of South Asia are largely gender stratified, characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, inheritance and succession practices that exclude women, and hierarchical relations in which the patriarch or his relatives have authority over family members. Levels and patterns of female autonomy vary considerably within the region, however, and the question is why. Despite overall advances in women's economic status in many countries, many women continue to face discrimination in formal and informal sectors of the economy, as well as economic exploitation within the family. Women's lack of

economic empowerment, also reflected in lack of access to and control over economic resources in the form of land, personal property, wages and credit, can place them at increased risk of violence. In addition, restrictions on women's control over economic resources, such as household income, can constitute a form of violence against women in the family. While economic independence does not shield women from violence, access to economic resources can enhance women's capacity to make meaningful choices, including escaping violent situations and accessing mechanisms for protection and redress. Violence against women is a violation of human rights, rooted in historically unequal power relations between men and women and the systemic discrimination against women that pervades both the public and private spheres. The broad context from which it emerges includes disparities of power in the form of patriarchy, sociocultural norms and practices that perpetuate gender-based discrimination and economic inequalities. Its scope and prevalence reflect the degree and persistence of gender-based discrimination that women face, which is often compounded by other systems of domination. Violence against women must therefore be addressed in the context of seeking to end all forms of discrimination, to advance gender equality and the empowerment of women and to create a world in which all women enjoy all their human rights. The next chapter touches upon the issue of women empowerment in context to domestic violence experienced by women. It further investigates the decision making power and attitude towards wife beating in relation to her experience of domestic violence.