

Spousal Violence in India: Role of gender relative status

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Abstract: The prime objective of this paper is to study the spousal violence against women through gender relative status approach. This study utilized data from the fourth round of National Family Health Survey (NFHS 4). Descriptive statistics and multivariate techniques have been used for data analysis. The main explanatory variable was gender inequity, which reflects the multidimensional aspects of women's autonomy and the inequality between women and their partners. Results suggest that about one fourth of the Indian women had experienced emotional, physical or sexual violence from their spouse in the last one year. In both the adjusted and unadjusted models, the risk of all types of violence was lower among women who had jointly taken a decision with their spouse or partner, had unequal level of schooling compared to their spouse, had the same level of earning as that of their spouse, and when both wanted the same number of children. Gender inequities are significant predictors of spousal violence among women in India. An exploration of the causal link between multidimensional aspects of gender inequity and spousal violence will be substantial for developing interventions to diminish the risk of spousal violence and should be considered a public health research priority.

Keywords: Spousal Violence, Gender Egalitarian, Norms, Logistic regression, India.

Introduction

Spousal violence is a prevalent public health and human right concern across the world. Perpetrated against women by men or intimate partner, spousal violence is considered a social evil. About 30% of women aged 15 or older experience lifetime physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence. Region wise variation range from 16% in East Asia to 66% in Central sub-Saharan Africa (Devries et al., 2013). In the recent past, there has been growing recognition globally about the violence against women and its impact on health and well-being of women, encompassing but not limited to physical, reproductive, sexual, and mental health outcomes (PAHO and WHO, 2003; Ellsberg *et al.*, 2008; Bailey, 2010; Rahman *et al.*, 2013; Rahman *et al.*, 2013).

Additionally, violence against women affects health outcomes, both for women who experience it and for their children (Campbell, 2002; Sinha and Chattopadhyay, 2017). However, such kind of violence is often overlooked, because it is considered a forbidden topic. It not only is limited to the less developed or developing world but has remained a worldwide challenge. Although several studies have been done at national and international level to understand the causes and consequences of spousal violence against women, majority led to socio-economic and demographic determinants (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Kavitha, 2012; Khan, and Aeron, 2006; Babu and Kar, 2009; Dalal and Lindqvist, 2010). Besides, the primary covariates of spousal violence

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among women in less developed society are assumed to be related to inadequate economic resource, low level of household wealth, large family size, greater number of children, and some community and life style-related determinants (Hindin and Adair, 2002; Moraes and Reichenheim, 2002; Gil-Gonza *et al.*, 2006; Ackerson *et al.*, 2008).

Indian culture endorsed men to take up the stereotyped gender roles and control women, while women grow up to follow the passage of submission, dependence, and respect for authority throughout their lives. The family is the main focus of women, and they are identified as mothers and wives, rather than as individuals in their own right. On the other hand, men are considered to be the sole breadwinner. Such kind of traditional beliefs that men have a right to control women make them vulnerable to violence by men (Heise, 2002; Nanda *et al.*, 2014). Further to this, Flood (2010) describes that majority of men believe violence against women unacceptable, but a significant small number of men do have supportive attitudes about violence. He also argues that men who are more conservative about gender have worst attitude towards violence.

Apart from the socio-economic and demographic determinants of spousal violence, few studies in the Asian region and other diverse international setting have also tried to see the association of spousal violence with some gender-related variables (Lamichhane *et al.*, 2011; Jejeebhoy, 1998; d'Oliveira, 2009), though the results of these studies remain inconclusive to reach a consensus. For illustration, studies found that control over financial resources was associated with a reduced risk of intimate partner violence (Lamichhane *et al.*, 2011; Jejeebhoy, 1998). In contrast, d'Oliveira (2009) found that higher autonomy, as measured by financial autonomy, was associated with an elevated risk of violence from intimidated partners. Moreover, a large number of studies reported that deeply rooted patriarchal norm is the main cause of various forms of violence against women in India (Rao, 1997; Visaria, 2000), and also the long-standing cultural norms that propagate the view of women as subordinates throughout their lifespan (Fernandez, 1997; Rathod and Gundappa, 2012).

Favouritism against a female is a proliferous and long-running phenomenon that exemplifies Indian society at every level. Indian women through the centuries remained subjugated and oppressed because the society believed in clinging on to orthodox beliefs (Rao *et al.*, 2015). The inherent cultural and social factors play a significant role in evolving and endorsing violence against women (Khan and Aeron, 2006; Simister and Mehta, 2010).

Although the social-cultural factors of spousal violence such as gender egalitarian factors are not clearly understood. Gender relative status and roles, which is determined by historical and structural power imbalances between male and female, increases the risk of violence against women. In patriarchal societies, like India, where traditional gender paradigm persists, women in both custom and practice have remained inferior to men in almost all aspects of their lives. Women's freedom to exercise their own judgment and to act in their own interests is greatly restricted. All such factors increase the risk of spousal violence. Only few studies explored the role of gender and gender relative statuses and roles of men and women and violence in and around the world (Fattah and Camellia, 2020; James-Hawkins *et al.*, 2018). With this context, the present study attempts to examine the association of gender relative status and spousal violence in India.

Data and Methods

The present study used data from the fourth round of National Family Health Survey 2015-16 conducted by International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) under the stewardship of Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India and funded by many international agencies and Government of India. The National Family Health Survey is a large-scale, multi-round survey conducted in a representative sample of households throughout India. Four rounds of the survey have been conducted since 1992-93 and the fourth round of the survey was conducted in 2015-16, covering the 99% of India's population. The NFHS is in the similar line with the other demographic and health survey. It provides the information at the national and district levels, covering a spectrum of information on fertility, mortality, practice of family planning methods, maternal and child health services, reproductive health, nutrition, anemia, communicable and non-communicable diseases, etc.

NFHS four employed a two-stage stratified probability proportional to size sampling design. Systematic random sampling was adopted to select the households. A total of 28,586 primary sampling units (PSUs) were selected across the country, of which fieldwork was completed in 28,522 clusters. The primary sampling units were derived from the sampling frame created for the 2011 census. The survey covers a representative sample of about 699,686 ever-married women in the age group of 15–49 and 112,122 men aged 15–54 from 601,509 households. However, domestic violence module interviewed only one eligible woman per household randomly selected to answer questions on domestic violence section to comply with ethical requirements. Women victims of domestic violence were provided with a list of appropriate local organizations that they could contact if they wanted help (state module subsample only). In total, 83,397 women were administered with questionnaire on domestic violence and 79,729 completed the module.

This paper analysed the specific measure of spousal violence; that is, emotional, sexual and physical violence from husband/partner against women in the last 12 months. So the dependent variables used in this study consisted of all forms of spousal violence against women. NFHS-4 asked a series of questions to the eligible women related to their experience of any kind of violence. All the questions were broadly categorized into three based on emotional violence, sexual violence and physical violence. The perpetration of spousal violence faced by women in the last one year was assessed via 13 survey items, which consisted of emotional, physical and sexual violence. Women who reported that their spouse engaged in any of the following behaviors were classified as having experienced physical violence:(1) pushing, shaking, or throwing something at her; (2) twisting her arm or pulling her hair; (3) slapping her; (4) punching with his fist or with something that could hurt her; (5) kicking, dragging or beating her up; (6) trying to choke or burn her on purpose; and (7) threatening or attacking her with a knife, gun, or any other weapon. Women who reported that their spouse engaged in any of the following behaviors were classified as having experienced sexual violence: (1) physically forcing her to have sexual intercourse with him without her consent; (2) forcing her to perform any sexual acts without her willingness; and (3) forcing her with threats or in any other way to perform any sexual acts. Women who reported that their spouse engaged in any of the following behaviors were classified as having experienced emotional violence:(1) Saying or doing something to humiliate her in front of others; (2) threatening to hurt or harm her or someone close to her; (3) insulting or making her feel bad about herself.

The main explanatory variable in our study is gender relative status, which reflects the multi-dimensional aspects of egalitarianism norms, that is, gender relative status of in decision-making, relative status of economic aspects, gender relative status of aspect in the wanted fertility and gender relative status in the schooling between spouses. The National Family Health Survey provides us enough information related to gender relative status. The variables that we used to represent the gender relative status between spouse in the study are couple decision-making in household chores and seeking health care, differential in earning between husband and wife, couple schooling differential and differential desire for child. Apart from the relative gender status variables, we have included several socioeconomic and demographic variables that have been theoretically and empirically associated with the spousal violence. The demographic and socioeconomic variables used as independent variables are age group of respondents, place of residence, caste, religion, education, number of living children, respondent occupation, partner education, respondent father ever beat her mother, partners drinking alcohol, number of eligible women in the household, and marital duration. All are independent variables are categorical variables.

The prevalence of spousal violence in the last one year has been estimated for the ever married women. Descriptive statistics and multivariate analysis have been used to see the significant association between predictor and outcome variables. In descriptive statistics, chi-square test has been applied. In multivariate analysis, logistic regression model has been used. Logistic regression models the crude association between different gender relative status and spousal violence. This is done to see how the addition of the other variables affects the relationship between relative gender status and spousal violence.

Results

Differential in sample distribution and prevalence of spousal violence

Table 1 depicts the sample distribution and prevalence of different forms of violence faced by women in the last 12 months in India by background characteristics. Approximately 4(81.3%) of 5 respondents take decisions jointly, 14.7% of women were as much educated as her husband, 17.5% of the respondent earning more than her husband and about 24% of the respondents were earning equivalent to their husband. Further, 86% of the respondents replied that they want equal number of children to her husband. From the sample majority of the respondent belongs to 30-39 years' age group, 67% residing in rural area and other backward caste were dominating. Hindu was the dominating religion, 33% were not educated and only 19% of the women completed higher level of education (Table 1). Regarding the number of children, majority (51.8%) had 1-2 children, a large proportion (69%) do not belong to the working category, a little more than one fourth of the respondents' husbands had completed higher level of education. Seventy-two percent of the women was exposed to media, and 21.8% belongs to richest wealth quintile. About one fifth of the respondent reported that their father never beat their mother. Regarding respondents' partner substance abuse, 30% of the respondents' husbands were drunkard. In 56.5% households, only one woman was eligible for the survey, that is, one woman was residing in the house with her spouse, and 64.2% of the women completed 10 years or more of marital life.

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A substantial percentage of women (24.5%) reported that they had suffered many forms of violence during the last 1 year (Table 1). Overall, 10.5%, 20.6% and 5.5% of women reported that they had suffered emotional violence, physical violence and sexual violence, respectively, during the last one year. The bivariate analyses revealed several significant differences in the prevalence of spousal violence across various socio-demographic groups. The prevalence of all forms of violence was significantly higher among the couples who did not take decisions jointly compared to those taking decisions jointly. Similarly, prevalence of all forms of spousal violence was significantly more frequent among women who reported that they and their husbands were illiterate. From the analysis we can understand that the prevalence of all forms of spousal violence was significantly higher if respondents' earnings were more or less than their partners' earnings. Moreover, the prevalence of all forms of violence was higher when the respondents' desire to have children more or less than their partners' desire compared to those who had the same desire of having children. The younger women (those aged 20–24 years) were significantly more likely than older women to report physical and sexual spousal violence. The prevalence of all types of violence is significantly higher in rural areas compared to urban areas. In addition, illiterate women and women who have five or more children faced all types of spousal violence compared to their counterparts. Similarly, the prevalence of all types of violence is higher among those whose partners were illiterate compared to those whose partners had some level of schooling. Reports of all forms of spousal violence were significantly more frequent among women who were employed, not exposed to any kind of media, and belonged to the poorest wealth quintile. Compared to their counterparts, a higher prevalence of all forms of spousal violence was identified if the respondent's partner was drunkard and the respondent's father beat her mother. Moreover, it was also found that if the number of eligible women in the house was more, then a reduced violence was observed. It can also be seen that the prevalence of all types of spousal violence increases as the number of years of their married life increases.

Result of multivariate analysis

In multivariate analysis using unadjusted and adjusted logistic regression models, a significant effect of predictors on outcome variables was observed. In adjusted model, all selected demographic and socio-economic variables have been adjusted to see the effect of the gender variables on all forms of spousal violence. Result shows that the risk of sexual and emotion violence was significantly less likely than their counterparts if the couples jointly take decisions (Table 2). In both the unadjusted and adjusted models, the risk of sexual and emotional violence was more likely among the couples with no schooling. However, it was significant only in the unadjusted model: UOR=1.85; CI=1.0-3.42 for sexual violence and UOR=1.83; CI=1.09-3.07 for emotional violence. Similarly, the risk of sexual and emotional violence was less likely if the respondent and her partner earnings were equal, though the relationship is not significant. The risk of sexual and emotional violence was more likely, if the husband had desired for more or fewer number of children. For example, for sexual violence unadjusted (UOR=2.41; CI=1.61-2.43) and adjusted (AOR=2.43; CI=1.546-3.77) odds ratios were higher if the husband wanted more children compared to when both wanted the same number of children. Similarly, the risk of emotional violence was 2.2 (UOR= 2.26; CI=1.58-3.23) times and 2.1 times (AOR=2.11; CI=1.42-3.15) more likely if husband had desired for more number of children compared to those couples who wanted the same number of children.

Table 1: Sample distribution and prevalence of different forms of violence faced by women in last 12 months in India by background characteristics in India, 2015-16

Background characteristics	%	Number	Emotional	Physical	Sexual	Any form of violence
Couple jointly decision making			***	***	***	***
No	18.7	11,276	16.4	27.5	9.0	32.1
Yes	81.3	51,440	8.8	19.0	4.6	22.8
Schooling differential			***	***	***	***
Equal level of schooling	14.7	9,298	7.3	14.2	4.1	17.4
Husband has more schooling	49.5	32,083	10.1	20.4	5.3	24.5
Wife has more Schooling	21.3	14,445	10.2	18.7	5.3	22.4
Both have no schooling	14.5	9,980	15.2	30.9	8.0	35.2
Respondent earning			***	***	***	***
More than him	17.5	2,563	16.6	29.9	8.6	34.9
Less than him	54.7	8,155	14.1	27.0	7.8	32.3
About the same	23.9	3,618	11.5	25.1	5.3	28.4
Husband/partner doesn't bring in money	4.0	464	12.7	24.9	7.0	28.1
Desire for child			***	***	***	***
Both want same	86.0	10,843	6.7	15.3	3.7	18.5
Husband want More	9.0	1,160	16.6	27.6	12.0	33.2
Husband want fewer	4.9	599	10.4	17.7	7.2	22.9
Age Group			ns	***	***	***
<20 years	3.1	1,642	11.0	16.3	5.5	21.3
20-24 years	14.2	8,847	10.3	21.6	6.1	25.2
25-29 years	19.5	13,970	10.0	20.9	5.7	24.8
30-39 years	35.1	25,000	10.8	21.3	5.7	25.1
40 +years	28.2	16,554	10.4	19.6	4.9	23.7
Place of residence			***	***	***	***
Urban	33.0	19,469	9.5	16.8	4.5	20.5
Rural	67.0	46,544	10.9	22.5	6.0	26.6
Caste			***	***	***	***
SC	18.6	11,686	13.4	26.7	7.4	31.0
STs	16.3	12,108	11.0	21.8	6.0	25.9
OBC	41.5	25,574	10.8	22.4	5.7	26.4
Others	23.6	13,719	7.2	13.5	3.5	16.6
Religion			***	***	***	***
Hindu	75.8	49,546	10.7	21.7	5.6	25.5
Muslim	13.9	8,614	10.5	17.4	5.1	21.7
Others	10.3	7,853	8.8	17.4	5.2	21.4
Education			***	***	***	***
No education	33.0	22,138	13.6	27.8	7.2	32.2
Primary	14.0	9,559	11.6	23.8	6.4	28.0
Middle	16.5	10,824	10.5	20.3	5.4	24.4
Secondary	17.4	11,496	8.4	15.4	4.1	19.2
Higher	19.1	11,996	6.0	10.9	3.3	13.9
Living child			***	***	***	***
0	10.2	6,136	9.2	15.0	5.1	19.2
1-2	51.8	35,452	9.7	19.0	4.9	22.6
3-4	30.1	19,977	11.5	24.0	6.4	28.3
5+	7.8	4,448	12.8	26.0	6.9	30.6

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Background characteristics	%	Number	Emotional	Physical	Sexual	Any form of violence
Respondent Occupation			***	***	***	***
Not working	69.1	44,346	8.9	18.2	4.7	21.8
professional/technical/managerial	2.6	1,720	8.7	13.8	5.3	16.8
clerical	0.4	247	12.3	11.8	5.0	16.9
sales	1.7	1,087	10.9	20.1	5.6	24.2
Agricultural	15.9	11,252	14.7	29.0	7.3	34.0
services/household and domestic	3.7	2,387	13.9	23.0	8.9	28.8
Manual- skilled and unskilled	6.5	4,225	13.6	26.5	7.4	30.9
Partner education			***	***	***	***
No education	18.7	12,904	15.0	29.9	7.9	34.2
Primary	14.4	9,726	12.9	26.0	6.9	30.3
Middle	17.3	11,612	11.3	22.2	5.9	26.7
Secondary	23.5	15,273	9.3	17.9	5.0	21.6
Higher	26.1	16,291	6.3	12.4	3.1	15.7
Media exposure			***	***	***	***
No	27.9	19,596	12.9	27.3	7.3	31.4
Yes	72.1	46,417	9.5	18.0	4.8	21.9
Wealth index			***	***	***	***
Poorest	17.4	12,838	15.0	32.0	9.2	36.3
Poor	19.7	13,992	12.4	25.3	6.4	29.6
Middle	20.4	13,790	10.9	20.7	5.3	25.2
Rich	20.7	13,142	9.1	17.2	4.4	20.8
Richest	21.8	12,251	6.0	10.5	2.9	13.6
Respondent's father ever beat her mother			***	***	***	***
No	80.7	50,588	8.0	15.9	4.0	19.2
Yes	19.3	12,310	21.1	40.4	11.7	46.8
Partner drink alcohol			***	***	***	***
No	69.7	45,122	7.1	14.2	3.3	17.7
Yes	30.3	20,891	18.3	35.4	10.5	40.3
Eligible women in house			**	***	ns	***
1	56.5	49,547	10.8	21.7	5.6	25.7
2	39.7	15,630	10.0	19.3	5.3	23.2
3+	3.8	836	9.8	18	5.7	22.4
Marital Duration			***	***	***	***
<2 years	5.8	3,117	6.1	9.5	3.2	13.5
2-4 years	11.7	6,862	8.3	17.2	4.8	20.5
5-9 years	18.3	12,341	10.1	21.3	5.8	25.0
10+	64.2	40,396	11.0	22.0	5.6	26.2
Total	100	66,013	10.5	20.6	5.5	24.5

Note: level of significant; ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, ns= not significant. Chi-square test is applied to calculate the association of significant. Percentage is weighted and numbers are unweighted. Numbers are not equal due to missing cases

Table 2: Determinants of sexual and emotional violence in last 12 months in India, 2015-16

Covariates	Sexual Violence		Emotional Violence	
	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)
Couple jointly decision making				
No [®]				
Yes	0.368***[0.245,0.553]	0.347***[0.220,0.549]	0.455***[0.314,0.661]	0.461***[0.305,0.696]
Schooling differential				
Equal level of schooling [®]				
Husband has more schooling	1.485[0.890,2.478]	0.762[0.389,1.492]	1.549*[1.014,2.367]	1.104[0.639,1.909]
Wife has more Schooling	0.963[0.547,1.696]	0.844[0.424,1.681]	0.84[0.520,1.357]	0.677[0.375,1.224]
Both have no schooling	1.855*[1.004,3.427]	0.99[0.290,3.379]	1.835*[1.095,3.074]	2.067[0.668,6.401]
Respondent earning				
More than him [®]				
Less than him	1.091[0.705,1.690]	1.244[0.736,2.104]	1.122[0.766,1.643]	0.916[0.600,1.398]
About the same	0.574[0.326,1.009]	0.758[0.400,1.436]	0.69[0.433,1.100]	0.616[0.368,1.029]
Husband/partner doesn't bring in money	0.873[0.291,2.622]	0.886[0.237,3.318]	0.983[0.391,2.468]	0.921[0.342,2.478]
Desire for child				
Both want same [®]				
Husband want More	2.417***[1.618,3.610]	2.434***[1.568,3.778]	2.264***[1.586,3.233]	2.118***[1.422,3.154]
Husband want fewer	1.597[0.805,3.168]	1.248[0.537,2.901]	2.215**[1.309,3.747]	2.712***[1.512,4.864]
Age Group				
<20 years [®]				
20-24 years		1.456[0.114,18.59]		0.825[0.160,4.264]
25-29 years		1.403[0.108,18.20]		0.501[0.0926,2.713]
30-39 years		0.913[0.0680,12.26]		0.48[0.0855,2.691]
40 +years		0.706[0.0502,9.928]		0.321[0.0546,1.891]
Place of residence				
Urban [®]				
Rural		0.938[0.583,1.512]		0.883[0.595,1.312]
Caste				
SC [®]				
STs		0.977[0.559,1.706]		1[0.612,1.632]
OBC		0.919[0.549,1.539]		1.06[0.690,1.629]
Others		0.935[0.514,1.700]		0.914[0.547,1.528]
Religion				
Hindu [®]				
Muslim		0.852[0.451,1.610]		0.922[0.552,1.539]
Others		1.1[0.631,1.915]		0.797[0.478,1.327]
Respondent's education level				
No education [®]				
Primary		0.91[0.472,1.755]		1.47[0.842,2.566]
Middle		0.902[0.441,1.846]		1.294[0.698,2.400]
Secondary		0.53[0.211,1.330]		1.252[0.571,2.744]
Higher		0.252*[0.0736,0.860]		0.858[0.313,2.357]
Living child				
0 [®]				
1-2		0.193*[0.0417,0.892]		0.608[0.146,2.533]
3-4		0.171*[0.0357,0.825]		0.638[0.147,2.765]
5+		0.184[0.0340,1.002]		0.778[0.164,3.686]
Respondent Occupation				
Not working [®]				
professional/technical				
Clerical		1.026[0.119,8.821]		0.568[0.0688,4.691]
Sales		0.689[0.241,1.969]		0.593[0.251,1.398]
Agricultural		0.985[0.428,2.266]		0.683[0.343,1.361]
services/household		0.799[0.332,1.925]		0.691[0.339,1.407]
Manual- skilled and unskilled		0.971[0.435,2.165]		0.818[0.426,1.572]
Partner education level				
No education [®]				
Primary		0.929[0.355,2.430]		1.255[0.490,3.214]

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Covariates	Sexual Violence		Emotional Violence	
	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)
Middle		1.199[0.427,3.362]		1.284[0.477,3.458]
Secondary		1.13[0.371,3.442]		1.679[0.595,4.741]
Higher		2.022[0.562,7.279]		1.014[0.297,3.463]
Media exposure				
No®				
Yes		1.619[0.993,2.641]		1.226[0.814,1.848]
Wealth index				
Poorest®				
Poorer		0.553*[0.321,0.954]		0.755[0.476,1.197]
Middle		0.71[0.390,1.292]		0.656[0.383,1.124]
Richer		0.444*[0.214,0.923]		0.73[0.401,1.328]
Richest		0.417[0.169,1.024]		0.396*[0.183,0.856]
Respondent's father ever beat her mother				
No				
Yes		2.437***[1.684,3.525]		2.634***[1.920,3.615]
Partner/husband drinks alcohol				
No®				
Yes		3.438***[3.209,3.683]		3.026***[2.877,3.183]
Eligible women in house				
1®				
2		1.139[0.691,1.877]		1.079[0.715,1.630]
3		-		-
Marital Duration				
less than 2 years®				
2-4 years		3.882[0.337,44.71]		0.745[0.146,3.800]
5-9 years		8.809[0.724,107.2]		0.971[0.182,5.185]
10+years		12.50*[1.010,154.8]		1.588[0.293,8.616]

Note: level of significant: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ®= reference category; value in the parenthesis are the confidence interval at 95% level; UOR= Unadjusted odds ratio; AOR= Adjusted odds ratio

Table 3: Determinant of physical and any violence in last 12 months in India, 2015-16

Covariates	Physical Violence		Any Violence	
	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)
Couple jointly decision making				
No®				
Yes	0.532***[0.393,0.719]	0.513***[0.365,0.722]	0.529***[0.394,0.709]	0.513***[0.365,0.722]
Schooling differential				
Equal level of schooling®				
Husband has more schooling	1.428*[1.057,1.928]	0.948[0.641,1.404]	1.633***[1.226,2.176]	0.948[0.641,1.404]
Wife has more Schooling	1.002[0.724,1.388]	0.837[0.559,1.252]	1.034[0.757,1.412]	0.837[0.559,1.252]
Both have no schooling	2.346***[1.627,3.383]	0.974[0.459,2.067]	2.398***[1.681,3.421]	0.974[0.459,2.067]
Respondent earning				
More than him®				
Less than him	0.977[0.741,1.287]	0.82[0.603,1.114]	0.904[0.697,1.172]	0.82[0.603,1.114]
About the same	0.747[0.542,1.029]	0.610**[0.428,0.869]	0.641**[0.473,0.868]	0.610**[0.428,0.869]
Husband/partner doesn't bring in money	0.975[0.507,1.875]	0.757[0.359,1.598]	0.805[0.426,1.522]	0.757[0.359,1.598]
Desire for child				
Both want same®				
Husband want More	1.575**[1.178,2.107]	1.450*[1.050,2.003]	1.651***[1.248,2.183]	1.450*[1.050,2.003]
Husband want fewer	0.812[0.493,1.339]	0.869[0.510,1.480]	0.93[0.589,1.467]	0.869[0.510,1.480]
Age Group				
<20 years®				
20-24 years		0.917[0.234,3.601]		0.917[0.234,3.601]
25-29 years		0.673[0.168,2.698]		0.673[0.168,2.698]
30-39 years		0.54[0.132,2.213]		0.54[0.132,2.213]
40 +years		0.451[0.107,1.898]		0.451[0.107,1.898]
Place of residence				
Urban®				
Rural		0.993[0.746,1.323]		0.993[0.746,1.323]

Covariates	Physical Violence		Any Violence	
	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)	UOR (CI-95%)	AOR (CI-95%)
Caste				
SC®				
STs		0.656*[0.462,0.932]		0.656*[0.462,0.932]
OBC		0.798[0.591,1.077]		0.798[0.591,1.077]
Others		0.757[0.530,1.083]		0.757[0.530,1.083]
Religion				
Hindu®				
Muslim		0.681[0.460,1.008]		0.681[0.460,1.008]
Others		0.918[0.647,1.303]		0.918[0.647,1.303]
Respondents education level				
No education®				
Primary		0.987[0.650,1.498]		0.987[0.650,1.498]
Middle		0.99[0.632,1.548]		0.99[0.632,1.548]
Secondary		0.997[0.568,1.750]		0.997[0.568,1.750]
Higher		0.62[0.305,1.260]		0.62[0.305,1.260]
Living child				
0®				
1-2		1.093[0.327,3.655]		1.093[0.327,3.655]
3-4		1.398[0.409,4.781]		1.398[0.409,4.781]
5+		1.597[0.442,5.774]		1.597[0.442,5.774]
Respondent Occupation				
Not working®				
Professional/technical				
Clerical		0.444[0.0921,2.144]		0.444[0.0921,2.144]
Sales		0.883[0.494,1.579]		0.883[0.494,1.579]
Agricultural		0.999[0.616,1.619]		0.999[0.616,1.619]
Services/household		0.93[0.570,1.520]		0.93[0.570,1.520]
Manual- skilled and unskilled		1.004[0.635,1.590]		1.004[0.635,1.590]
Partner education level				
No education®				
Primary		0.685[0.375,1.250]		0.685[0.375,1.250]
Middle		0.879[0.463,1.670]		0.879[0.463,1.670]
Secondary		0.869[0.439,1.720]		0.869[0.439,1.720]
Higher		0.736[0.324,1.668]		0.736[0.324,1.668]
Media exposure				
No®				
Yes		1.226[0.913,1.647]		1.226[0.913,1.647]
Wealth index				
Poorest®				
Poorer		0.811[0.583,1.129]		0.811[0.583,1.129]
Middle		0.620*[0.420,0.915]		0.620*[0.420,0.915]
Richer		0.506**[0.325,0.789]		0.506**[0.325,0.789]
Richest		0.313***[0.183,0.537]		0.313***[0.183,0.537]
Respondent's father ever beat her mother				
No®				
Yes		2.975***[2.347,3.771]		2.975***[2.347,3.771]
Partner/husband drink alcohol				
No®				
Yes		3.341***[3.215,3.472]		3.164***[3.050,3.282]
Eligible women in house				
1®				
2		0.963[0.712,1.303]		0.963[0.712,1.303]
3		0.705[0.173,2.875]		0.705[0.173,2.875]
Marital Duration				
less than 2 years®				
2-4 years		1.931[0.439,8.501]		1.931[0.439,8.501]
5-9 years		2.041[0.451,9.235]		2.041[0.451,9.235]
10+years		2.984[0.653,13.64]		2.984[0.653,13.64]

Note: level of significant* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001; ®= reference category; value in the parenthesis are the confidence interval at 95% level; UOR= Unadjusted odds ratio; AOR= Adjusted odds ratio.

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In the unadjusted model, the risk of physical violence was 47% less likely among those who jointly take decision compared to their counterparts. After adjusting for demographic and socio-economic variables, joint decision-making (AOR= 0.51; CI=0.36-0.72; Table 3) was still found to be associated with a lower risk of experiencing spousal violence. In the unadjusted model, the risk of physical violence was more if women had either less or more level of education than her husband. Even the risk of physical violence was 2.3 times more likely if both were illiterate. However, in the adjusted model peculiar result has been found. As far as economic equality is concerned, the risk of physical violence was less if both (respondents and their partners) their earnings were the same, in both unadjusted and adjusted models.

After adjustments for demographic and socio-economic variables, the same level of earning (AOR=0.61; CI=0.47-0.86) was significantly associated with the physical violence, with a decline in odds ratio. Inequality in the desire regarding the number of children was also significantly associated with the physical violence, in both unadjusted and adjusted models. In adjusted model, the risk of physical violence was 1.45 times more likely when women had reported that their husbands wanted more number of children compared to when both wanted the same number of children. Although the risk of physical violence was less when husband wanted fewer number of children, but these relationships were not significant. The result of the adjusted model for any violence also showed similar results. The risk of any violence was 49% less likely (AOR=0.51; CI=0.36-0.72) in those who take joint decision compared to their counterparts. When the respondents and their partners earned equally, the risk of violence was 39 percent (AOR=0.61; CI=0.42-0.86) less likely compared to respondents earning more than their husbands. Similarly, the risk of any violence was 1.4 times (AOR=1.45; CI= 1.05-2.00) more likely in those respondents who reported that their husbands wanted more children. Apart from the gender status variables, women education, number of living children, wealth quintile, respondent's father beating her mother, partners being drunkard and marital duration were significantly associated with the all forms of spousal violence.

Discussion

The current study examined the association of relative gender status and spousal violence in India using large-scale national representative data. Study found that a large proportion of the ever married women experienced all forms of violence during the last one year, comprising 10.5% emotional, 20.5% physical and 5.5% sexual violence. This high prevalence rate is consistent with other previous studies conducted in India (Heise and Garcia, 2002; Kavitha, 2012; Nadda *et al.*, 2018). Spousal violence in India has been on a decreasing trend from NFHS 3 to NFHS 4. However, the pace of decline is very low. To accelerate the declining pace of violence against women, multi-sartorial efforts are needed. Studies have shown that women whose mothers experienced violence were more likely to experience violence. The intergenerational effect of violence on current violence has been very well documented in the literature (Widom and Wilson, 2015; Labella and Masten, 2018). However, some studies reported no association of mothers experiencing violence and their own violence. There is a greater need to undertaking studies examining the intergenerational effect of spousal violence in India.

In our current study, partner alcohol practice led to increased risk factor for spousal violence. Strong association of husbands' alcohol consumption and increased violence has been reported in previous literature (Berg, *et al.*, 2010; Greene, *et al.*, 2017; Wagman, *et al.*, 2018). It is essential to should consider the intimate partner while planning the intervention programmes to end spousal violence. The efforts to desecrate alcohol consumption will help in achieving both reduction in alcohol consumption and violence against women. Results also confirm that the wealth status of household is associated with the prevalence of violence. Women from rich households were less likely to face any form of violence compared to women from poor households. Some of past research findings also reported similar results in India and South Asia (Kimuna *et al.*, 2013; Sabri *et al.*, 2014). Certain studies have shown that household status alone may not be a protective factor against spousal violence. Several researchers were concerned about the underreporting of violence among the wealthy households due to social stigma (Mogford, 2011). Hence, more in-depth qualitative studies focusing on rich women may reveal some interesting factors related to violence.

Results indicated that rural women faced more violence compared to urban women in India. This may be due to the numerous reasons that need to be probed for further understanding. Plenty of studies reported vulnerability of rural women for violence compared to urban women (Nadkarni, *et al.*, 2015; Kalokhe *et al.*, 2017). The differences in the schooling and participation in the formal work in rural and urban women is evident. Women from urban areas have more opportunities for formal engagement in the workforce, subsequently economically empowered. In India, the factors determining violence against women are different for urban and rural areas. Moreover, some factors are similar for both urban and rural women.

The findings of the present research show the association between gender relative status in decision-making and spousal violence. The findings of this study are an important extension of earlier work, which shows the association between women autonomy and spousal violence in India (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Lamichhane, *et al.*, 2011; Eswaran and Malhotra, 2011). However, defining gender relative status is multidimensional, leaving greater scope to reach conclusion. This study has considered four dimensions of gender relative status and occurrence of spousal violence. Previous studies reported that acceptance of violence by women, men and society led to increased violence (Wang, 2016).

Placing this study' findings in the context of other international studies, we speculate that engaging perpetrators of violence to end the violence will be a practical strategy to reduce violence prevalence. This has been evident in many other studies that proved that interventions targeted at perpetrators were successful (Casey and Smith, 2010; Allen, *et al.*, 2018).Hence, strategies to end the violence programmes should consider perpetrators' factors so that the issues around violence are better addressed (Flood, 2006; Pease, 2008).This calls for government programmes to engage and educate men about the gender egalitarian approaches and their benefits.

Women participation in decision-making process in household matters have great role in empowering her voices. In a country like India where the majority of decisions are taken by household heads or male member in family, there is little scope for women's voice. In South Asia, the available research has shown this trend of women's role in decision-making in

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households and empowerment of women. Furthermore, empowered women were less likely to face spousal violence (Terrazas-Carrillo and McWhirter, 2015).

Conclusion

The present study's results show the significant association between relative gender status variables and spousal violence in India. Therefore, while developing the interventions for reducing the spousal violence, relative gender status needs to be incorporated as significant predictors. Moreover, exploration of the causal linkage between gender relative status and spousal violence will be crucial to develop the interventions to minimise the risk of spousal violence. Effective implementation of Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 and to abolish child marriage will bring down the prevalence of violence against women in India. Further, creating awareness among women about the available laws and their rights are also equally critical. Moreover, the Government should implement regulations to provide more equitable access to assets and services to improve women's socioeconomic status and thus improve their position, eventually reduce the risk of spousal violence.

Limitation of the study

The study used fourth round of NFHS data for analysis. Study used four variables i) couple decision-making in household chores and seeking health care, ii) differential in earning between husband and wife, iii) couple schooling differential and iv) differential desire for child as a relative gender status of wife and husband, these four variables may not be adequate to represent the gender relative status. However, these variables may not fully representative of spectrum of gender relative status or egalitarians norms, but due to data limitation we can assume these indicators as proxies of gender relative status and norms. Hence, results should be interpreted carefully.

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