Domestic Violence Against Married Women: A Comparative Analysis of Northern and Southern States of India Based on NFHS-2 Data

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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Certificate

I Prerna Kumar, declare that the Dissertation entitled **"Domestic Violence Against Married Women: A Comparative Analysis of Northern and Southern States of India Based on NFHS-2 Data"** in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) of the University, is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for examination.

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CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Development is a multidimensional process, which involves social change towards a more conducive structure, change in dominant social values and attitudes. It is about equal opportunities, active participation, social justice and protection of human rights (Subadra, 1999). However, today we experience distorted development, which manifests itself in discrimination, exploitation, marginalization and violation on the basis of caste, creed, race, religion and sex. Gender based exploitation and discrimination is widespread and ever growing. This is evident by the increasing number of cases of violence against women, which ranges from female foeticide to rape and murder.

In India women are in an inferior position to men and are seen as a property in the patriarchal system (Jejeebhoy, 1998). The stringent views of Manusmriti clearly defines that a woman has to be under the protection and control of her father in childhood, her husband in youth and her sons in widowed old age, and furthermore that a woman does not deserve independence. In a woman's lifetime she is to be restricted to the role of a dutiful and obedient wife and mother. Every phase of her life is marred by violations-emotional, physical, mental and sexual (Kosambi, 1998; Subadra, 1999).

Often it is debated that domestic violence is a modern phenomenon and the main cause is the new consciousness and intolerance of the educated women. This argument often overlooks the clever amalgamation of traditions and modernity (Womenspeak, 2000). Earlier a girl child was eliminated after birth; the modern technology has made it easier by eliminating the foetus, for the age old son preference. The life of a girl child is marred by discrimination at every stage. The subordinate position is reinforced through the process of differential socialization. On the contrary men are socialized to think that they are superior to women and have the right to control their behaviour. Domestic violence is seen as a tool to control women and suppress their rights as equal partners.

1.2 CONCEPT OF VIOLENCE

The concept of violence ranges from simple suppression to abuse, aggression, exploitation and severe oppression. Webster's Dictionary (1991) defines it as 'physical force used so as to injure, damage or destroy' or 'extreme roughness of action'. According to Collin's Dictionary violence is 'behaviour which is meant to hurt or kill people' or 'a great deal of energy used in doing something usually because you are very angry' or 'words, actions or other forms of expression which are critical or destructive'.

A recent Indian report of a study on Women and Violence sponsored in India and in Korea by UNESCO states "Violence, in general, is a coercive mechanism to assert one's will over another, in order to prove or feel a sense of power. It can be perpetuated by those in power against the powerless, or by the powerless in retaliation against coercion by others to deny their powerlessness. Any hierarchical system of social organization is inevitably accompanied by the victimization of the latter through various means- subtle pressures, power of ideology, through mechanism of socialization that rewards compliance and punishment of non-compliance and also through open force." (Chitnis, 1998: 11)

According to Chitnis (1998) "[e]ssence of violence - a feeling of violation, of the transgression of what is considered to be human...Concept of violence has several corollaries...Transgression implies a transgressor...caused by one human being to another...Transgression or violation by one of another, in a manner which is socially unacceptable." (p.15-16)

This implies that violence is a negative social act, resorted to intimidate, injure, damage or destroy other human beings. It contains elements as:

- One who commits violence- Transgressor
- One against whom it is committed- Victim
- Negative act
- Social act

Both overt and covert and physical and non-physical act of violence qualifies for the above given definition (Karlekar, 1998). In case of a woman it ranges from denial to fulfillment of basic requirements like food, nutrition, education, health, differential opening of opportunities to rape, abduction, wife battering, sexual assault, dowry death, murder (Vora, 2004).

The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women defines violence against women as ' any act of gender based violence that results in, or likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women' (Jejeebhoy, 1998: 855).
Article 1 of the Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women defines discrimination against women as 'any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition or enjoyment or exercise by women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic and social, cultural, civil or any other field' (Sakshi, 2001: 5). It addresses the need to tackle power relationships between men and women at all levels from family, to community, market and state. In particular it discards division between the private and the public spheres by recognizing violations of women in the private sphere i.e. the home as violations of women's human rights.

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) observed: "[v]iolence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over, and discrimination against, women by men; violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position." (Mathur, 2004: 22). It also recognized that violence against women is all pervasive.

A United Nations Report on 'Violence in the family' stated that violence is a result of the dominant belief that men are superior to women they possess and have the right to treat them as they wish and find appropriate.

According to a report by Sakshi (2001) domestic violence involves the intent by the husband to intimidate, either by threat or by use of physical force on the wife's person or property. The purpose of the assault is to control her behaviour by the inducement of fear. Underlying all abuse is a power imbalance between the victim and the offender. It may include:

- Beating with hands and fist and with stick or an iron rod, with utensils, knives or ladles.
- Kicking one's stomach.
- Throwing the women against objects or bashing her head against a wall.
- Burning private parts with cigarette.
- Excessive sexual demands or sexual perversion.
- Verbal abuse.
- Confining the woman in any enclosed space.
- Turning the woman out of the house.
- Denying access to children.
- Denying access to food.
- Taunting a woman about her family, her giving birth to only female children, her appearance etc.

The report also indicates that domestic torture constitutes 30.4 percent of the total crimes committed against women in 1996.

Domestic violence is referred to as physical violence perpetrated by the adult intimate partner against another. It describes the threat or use of physical force to coerce and control an adult intimate partner regardless of sexual orientation or marital status (International Women's Encyclopaedia, 2000). The effect of violence is seen as threat i.e. the fear of being hurt in order to control the partner. This emphasizes not the act but what is accomplished by that act.

In broadest connotation, domestic violence is a behaviour- emotional, psychological, physical or sexual abuse that one person in an intimate relationship uses in order to control the other. It can take different forms like threats, name calling, isolation,

withholding of money, power or privileges, actual or threatened physical harm or sexual assault. (www.snbw.com)

In recent years there has been an increasing concern over violence against women and specifically domestic violence. Experience of violence by family members is seen as a family matter, which is shrouded in silence. The patriarchal psyche of submission by woman and ownership by man teaches a woman to accept, tolerate and rationalize the acts of violence. However due to the sacrosanct image of family it is the least reported act of violence and is socially legitimate (Mahajan, 1990; Subadra, 1999). Also the connotation as understood by many is restricted to severe battering and not other forms. All this implies that the data available on domestic violence against women is limited, but its prevalence is widespread and deeply rooted in the social structure (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Kosambi, 1998).

1.3 Existing Theories Related to Domestic Violence

Various theories have been developed to explain domestic violence. Initially the individual level theories viewed wife abuse to be associated with personality disorders of the battered women. Some others stressed that mental and psychological disorder in the batterers lead to wife abuse.

The Resource Theory propounded by William J. Goode (1973) assumes that all social systems rest on some degree of force or threat. Similarly family also tries to maintain the equilibrium by economic variable, respect, love and force. As a child the batterer learns to use the force or threat in order to maintain the stability in the family.

Lenore Walker's 'The Cyclic Theory of Violence' (1973) encompasses three distinct phases of violence based on the psychosocial theory of learned helplessness which reinforces in her to accept the situation.

- The tension building stage in which minor battering occurs, the woman tolerates, adapts and rationalizes to avoid violence. This validates her belief that he has power over her.
- The acute battering stage is marred by brutal episodes of violence which has severe repercussions on the woman.
- The last stage of kindness, love and tranquil follows where the husband promises not to repeat it again and uncontrolled love follows.

However, E.W.Gondolf and E.R.Fisher in their proposed Survivor Theory do not see women as "helpless victims", rather as proactive help-seekers and survivors. This theory views women as survivors who have the capacity to develop newer coping strategies from various available resources. It appreciates the ability of women to adapt to the situation and focus on nurturing their self. Gondolf and Fisher have emphasized the need to have effective and accessible community resources in order to help the women.

The Exchange Theory, proposed by R.J.Gelles (1983) explains violence as a result of non reciprocity of the interaction between intimates. It describes interaction between intimates as an exchange of rewards for obliging each other, to fulfill emotional needs. When in a relationship reciprocity ceases to exist the relationship may break off or may lead to anger, resentment, conflict and violence. Thus violence i.e. release of anger and frustration becomes the reward for the perpetrator and for the victim it's the economic reward.

At the structural level Domestic Violence Theory by Strauss, Gelles and Steinmetz (1980) consider violent attacks on spouse as a result of inherent conflict of interests in family life. This implies that any of the spouses could be equally powerful. Thus wife abuse would occur in a family where husband holds the centre of power and husband abuse may occur where wife dominates. This behaviour is learnt and transmitted across generations.

Subculture Theory of violence proposed by Wolfgang and Ferrcuti (1982) emphasized that social norms give meaning and direction to violence in certain situations as specified under these norms and values.

Although these theories have tried to explain the behaviour of the battered or the batterer, they fail to explain the reason as to why woman is the victim and man is the perpetrator of violence. The Feminist Theories assert that inherent male domination in the patriarchal system pushes a woman into a subordinate and inferior status.

Patriarchy Theory developed by Dobash and Dobash (1979) explains that the patriarchal system traditionally puts women in subordinate position owing to the biological differentiation. This has lead to a systematic pattern of violence against women, as men hold all the resources and restrict women through the institution of marriage and family.

Firestone (1972) argues that "Women busy with bearing and nursing children became dependent on men for their survival. The dependence on men resulted in unequal distribution of power relations in the family." The women are engaged in the uneconomic and unpaid work which made their position inferior.

Theories related to violence against women have been categorized into three by Anjali Maydeo of Nari Samanta Manch:

- Psychoanalytical Theories focus on the emotions inculcated during child rearing which makes men and women behave in a particular manner.
- Social Learning Theories consider violence as a result of socialization process which teaches men to be aggressive and women to be submissive.
- Sociopolitical Critique emphasizes the role of patriarchy which pushes women into a subordinate and inferior position.

Agnes (1999) views women's inferior position as a consequence of controlling her sexuality. The patriarchal system by way of marriage aims at forcing the woman to confirm to the societal norms of chastity. The women are often abused for frivolous

reasons as meals not being served on time or upto their satisfaction, nagging, fighting with in laws, children not been taken care of, suspecting the wife of infidelity and various other reasons like drinking which has catalyst effect on violence, frustration in social life and inability to achieve the desired goals. It is all the more alarming as women themselves justify the use of force uniformly. (Mahajan, 1998; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Subadra, 1999; Visaria, 2000; Pillai, 2001).

Despite an effort by various scholars to theorize the concept of wife abuse or wife battering, the phenomenon lacks empirical support. This view has been reiterated by Mahajan (1998), Viswanathan (2001), Pillai (2001) and others. Mahajan (1998) stated that there is paucity of research on intra family violence due to number of factors: semi sacred nature of violence, over emphasis on changing family pattern diverted attention from family conflict, apathetic attitude of society which does not see it as problem and low status of victim does not give them opportunity to express their views.

1.4 Area of Study

According to the National Family and Health Survey conducted by International Institute of Population Studies, Bombay and ORC Macro, in 1998-99 there are wide variations in the prevalence of violence against women across states. The percentage of ever married women beaten or physically mistreated since the age of 15 years varies from 5.8 percent in Himachal Pradesh to almost 40 percent in Tamil Nadu. The average percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated in India is 21 percent (Table1.1). Therefore it is important to study the inter-state variations in order to verify the determinants of violence. Moreover, to examine the regional differences in the prevalence and the factors affecting the prevalence it is required to analyze the data for northern and southern states simultaneously. Table 1.1 shows the state wise prevalence of beating or physical mistreatment meted out to ever married women for various indicators of domestic violence against women.

TABLE 1.1

Statewise Percentage of ever married women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by husband, in-laws or other persons and beaten or physically mistreated in the past 12 months

State	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 by in-laws	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 by other persons	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated in the past 12 months.
India	21.0	18.8	1.8	3.1	11.0
Delhi	14.1	9.8	1.1	5.1	7.6
Haryana	13.2	10.8	2.3	3.4	5.1
Himachal Pradesh	5.8	3.9	1.2	1.5	2.1
Jammu & Kashmir	22.0	15.4	4.8	7.1	9.3
Punjab	13.7	11.7	1.3	4.4	6.4
Rajasthan	10.9	9.8	1.5	0.9	5.4
Madhya Pradesh	21.2	19.7	1.9	1.6	11.8
Uttar Pradesh	22.4	20.8	1.9	2.2	13.5
Bihar	26.6	24.9	2.4	3.1	18.5
Orissa	28.9	22.9	3.0	7.9	13.6
West Bengal	17.6	15.7	1.7	2.4	8.7
Arunachal Pradesh	26.4	18.8	1.6	10.1	16.2
Assam	15.5	14.1	0.8	2.3	8.6
Manipur	19.7	8.3	3.7	9.3	5.6
Meghalaya	31.1	2.8	0.9	28.8	9.6
Mizoram	20.1	11.5	0.0	9.5	9.5
Nagaland	19.0	12.8	0.7	7.8	15.2
Sikkim	11.4	6.9	0.5	4.6	7.6
Goa	17.9	13.9	2.4	4.0	6.4
Gujarat	10.1	8.6	0.9	1.6	5.8
Maharashtra	18.1	16.7	2.0	2.1	7.3
Andhra Pradesh	23.2	21.1	2.8	2.0	12.8
Karnataka	21.5	19.7	1.1	2.2	9.9
Kerala	10.2	7.5	0.2	3.2	3.5
Tamil Nadu	40.4	36.0	0.5	9.0	16.1

Source: NFHS-2, India, 1998-99

Women in the northern states are viewed as more vulnerable compared to their southern counterparts. The north south division is supported by various empirical studies that have indicated that women in south India have relatively better status as compared with their northern counterparts. As Jejeebhoy (1998) observed that women in north have relatively little autonomy or freedom of movement, limited inheritance rights in practice, limited support from their natal family after marriage (since girls are married at a young age, in distant families) and limited opportunities for control over economic resources. In contrast, women in south India have relatively more autonomy in all these areas- they have closer natal ties and greater decision making authority, they are less secluded and more likely to work and control resources. Therefore two states each from north and south with the highest and the lowest prevalence of violence have been selected as the study area.

In North India, Bihar has the highest percentage of ever-married women of age 15-49 years beaten or physically mistreated since age fifteen at 26.6percent. All other indicators like percentage of ever-married women of age 15-49 years beaten or physically mistreated since age fifteen by husband, by in-laws, by others and beaten or physically mistreated in past 12 months are similar to Uttar Pradesh at 19.7percent, 1.9percent, 1.6percent and 11.8percent respectively. Since Bihar has the highest prevalence in one of the indicators, it has been chosen as the study area. On the other hand Himachal Pradesh shows the lowest percentage (5.8percent) of ever-married women of age 15-49 years beaten or physically mistreated since age fifteen. Similarly only 3.9percent women have reported to have been beaten or physically mistreated by husband which is the second lowest in India after Meghalaya at 2.8percent. 1.2percent women have been beaten or physically mistreated by in laws and 1.5percent by others which ranks next to Rajasthan where 0.9percent have been beaten or physically mistreated by others, which is the lowest. Only 2.1percent respondents reported that they have been beaten or physically mistreated in past twelve months which is the lowest in the country. The overall indicators explain the reason for selecting Himachal Pradesh as an area of study.

In southern region Tamil Nadu has the highest percentage of respondents (40.4percent) beaten or physically mistreated since age 15. Similarly 36 percent respondents beaten or physically mistreated by husband in Tamil Nadu is the highest percentage reported in India. On the other hand 0.5percent have been beaten or physically mistreated by in-laws which is second lowest after Kerala. 9percent have been beaten or physically mistreated by others and 16.1percent have been beaten or physically mistreated in past 12 months. Overall the prevalence is highest in Tamil Nadu which makes it suitable for an investigation. On the contrary Kerala reports 10.2percent respondents have been beaten or physically mistreated since the age of 15 which is among the lowest in the country. The percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband (7.5percent) and the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated in past 12 months (3.5percent) is the second lowest, next to Himachal Pradesh. Only 0.2percent respondents have been beaten or physically mistreated by in laws, which is the lowest in India. However 3.2percent women have been beaten or physically mistreated by others, which is higher than a few other states like Karnatka and Andhra Pradesh. Since the other indicators show less prevalence as compared to other states, Kerala has been selected as one of the states for the analysis.

1.5 Objectives:

- To analyze the various social, economic and demographic factors that influence violence against women.
- To bring out differences as regards these factors that influence violence against women in Northern and Southern region.
- To compare the factors that influence domestic violence in the selected states of the two regions.

1.6 Organisation of the Study:

The First chapter gives an introduction of violence and discrimination against women. It further explores the background, prevalence, concept and existing theories of domestic violence. It also gives a brief account of the objectives of the study. The second chapter focuses on the previous studies and review of literature in context of the present study. The third chapter presents a conceptual framework of the present study. This Chapter also comprises of the research questions, source of data, sample size, dependent and independent variables and methodology. The fourth chapter consists of comparative socioeconomic analysis of the data on domestic violence and findings of the study. The last chapter concludes the study with discussion and policy mechanisms to combat domestic violence.

Chapter-2

Review of Literature

The all pervasive nature of domestic violence makes it essential to study the phenomenon. The recognition of domestic violence as an issue of human rights violation in the international community in recent years has put it forth for public scrutiny. In India, family is a sacred institution; however it is the site of unequal gender relations and oppression of women. As Subadra (1999) mentions '[v]iolence against women within the family does not constitute an occasional, rare incident, but is a regular systematic and structural manifestation of social control' (p.WS28). She states that violence against women is deeply entrenched in the patriarchal system, where a man owns her body, rights and identity. Women are socialized to be dependent on men throughout their lives and are treated as their property. The qualitative analysis by Rao (1998) shows that mild forms of wife battering are widespread and justified in the social context of India.

However, due to lack of empirical studies, the body of knowledge related to the topic seems to be inadequate. Some studies have stated that there is paucity of research on intra family violence due to number of factors (Mahajan, 1990; Rao, 1998). The unavailability of the statistics hampers the process of arousing public conscience and revealing the prevalence of domestic violence. Studies conducted have either verified or contradicted the effect of various indicators on the incidence of domestic violence. Thus it is important to review the available literature on the issue in order to have an understanding of the subject. The review of literature is arranged according to the variables that have been considered as important factors that influence domestic violence.

Age of the respondent:

The identity of woman is dependent on age, maternal status, position in hierarchy and even wealth (in form of dowry). However, with old age the dependence increases leading to compounding of problems. Food discrimination, lack of health care, living space,

excessive expectations and neglect makes their situation worse. Among this group widows are the most vulnerable physically and sexually. The emphasis on docility, compliance and shame predisposes a woman to accept a range of physical, mental and sexual aggression (Karlekar, 1998). However Jejeebhoy (1998) in her study of two districts each from Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh shows that incidence of violence among older women is relatively low. An in-depth study of 90 respondents in Chennai that focused on the phenomenon and trend of crime and violence against women during the period of 1986-96, found that women below the age of 30 years are more vulnerable (Subadra, 1999). The incidence of cases among young women was found to be higher. Similarly, Koenig et al. (2003) in their study of women's status and domestic violence in rural Bangladesh, observe that women between age 20-29 years (but not older ones) are relatively experiencing higher risk of violence as against women younger than 20 years. Swain (2002) also found that as compared to older cohort, younger women face more risk of violence. On the other hand Gulati and Dutta (2004) and Visaria (2000) found that the relation between age of respondent and age of husband and some form of violence was statistically insignificant. Neelima (2005) reported that as women age and are married longer, domestic violence increases. This is in contradiction to what has been revealed in studies by Subadra (1999), Koenig (2003) and Jejeebhoy (1998).

Age at marriage:

According to Jejeebhoy (1998) women married at the age of eighteen or older are less likely to suffer intimidation and beating. This influence is stronger in Tamil Nadu than in Uttar Pradesh. Visaria (2000) reported that nearly three fourth of recently married women reported some form of abusive behaviour. The proportion of women experiencing only verbal abuse declined somewhat with increase in duration of marriage, but the use of physical abuse increased.

Education of respondent:

Various studies have found that education has a protective influence against the risk of violence. (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Visaria, 2000; Swain, 2002; Koenig et al., 2003, Schuler et al., 2004). However, Jejeebhoy (1998) has observed that the influence of education is stronger in Tamil Nadu as compared to Uttar Pradesh. Also Visaria (2000) mentions that educated women are subjected to more verbal than physical abuse. Numerous women expressed a desire to educate their daughters and termed women's education as an important determinant of women's experience and substitute for dowry. (Schuler, et al., 2004). In contrast Gulati and Dutta's study (2004) reveals that education of the wife does not have any significant relation with physical aggression. This they attribute to a relatively low educational status of women in poor families.

Education of the husband:

As Jejeebhoy (1998) observed, the gap between the levels of women and their husbands seem to be more important than education of women alone. Women whose educational attainment are equal or exceed that of her husband's are less likely to suffer beating and intimidation than women whose educational attainment levels are inferior. Similarly, Neelima's (2005) study conducted in Patnipunk village of Orissa reveals that husband's education has a bearing on the extent of violence; higher the educational qualification of the husband, lesser is the incidence of violence. In Koenig et al's (2003) study higher levels of education (only six or more years) among men seem to have a protective effect. Swain (2002) also found a similar relationship in his study of Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. This is also validated by Gulati and Dutta's study who have found a significant inverse correlation between husband's education level and his expression of physically violent behavior towards his wife. Rao (1998) has presented a contradictory view that husband's education seems to increase the probability that he will beat his wife because of a large dowry demand, while wife's education reduces this probability.

Marital Duration:

Visaraia's (2000) study reveals that with increase in duration of marriage verbal abuse declines, whereas physical abuse increases. On the other hand, the study by Gulati and Dutta (2004) found that different marital discords except verbal aggression were negatively correlated to number of years of marriage. As the marital duration increases husbands become significantly less aggressive and violent.

Spousal Communication:

Communication between the partners has been found to be an important factor in issues related to reproductive health. A study conducted by Feyisetan (2000) among youth of Nigeria found that because of lack of spousal communication, negotiation for individual reproductive preferences has been limited. This could be true for other day to day decisions which men and their kinsmen take without consulting the women. However, it was revealed that with economic autonomy women get an opportunity to take independent decisions on certain issues. Spousal communication has direct relationship with education, autonomy, status and age of woman in the family.

Place of Residence:

Studies have indicated that violence is prevalent in all sections irrespective of rural urban divide. Jejeebhoy (1998) and others have observed that wife beating is widely prevalent in all settings, irrespective of region, religion and age.

Caste:

Many studies have indicated that the phenomenon of violence is prevalent in all castes (Subadra, 1999). Infact violence against women is used as an instrument of revenge in situation of ethnic violence (Kosambi, 1998; Agnes, 1999). Mahajan studied frequency

and intensity of conjugal violence, mode of violence, instigators of violence and consequences of violence in a village in the district of Jullunder. The results show that 22 percent of higher caste men admitted being violent, whereas only 13 percent high caste women reported being beaten by their husbands, whereas among scheduled castes approximately 75 percent husbands reported being violent and only 30 percent women reported that their husbands resorted to beating. Visaria (2000) has found out that widespread violence (77 percent) was reported by women of backward castes and scheduled castes (71 percent) whereas only 45 percent high caste women reported violence.

Religion:

Religion has been termed as having relatively insignificant influence. Violence has permeated through all sections (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Subadra, 1999). According to Visaria (2000) 56 percent of Muslim women reported being abused by their husbands. A study by Koenig et al (2003) based in rural Bangladesh found that Muslim households have significantly higher risks of violence as compared with others.

Autonomy:

Autonomy in terms of right to use money and unrestricted mobility seems to have a positive influence. As Jejeebhoy (1998) has mentioned that access to and control of resources appears to reduce chances of violence and mobility appears to have a similar protective influence. In Tamil Nadu control over resources appear to reduce chances of violence considerably. In Uttar Pradesh mobility seems to have a similar protective influence. Similarly Swain (2002) found that autonomy has an inverse relationship with domestic violence, i.e. women with low autonomy have a higher risk of violence. Contrary to this view, Koenig's (2003) study reveals that the index of women's autonomy which includes mobility, familial decision making power and control over resources is of

border line significance. Higher women's autonomy is associated with an increased risk of violence.

Gender composition of children:

In India number of sons elevate the status of women. There is high premium and value placed on sons. (Karlekar, 1998 and Kosambi, 1998). In Rao's (1998) study of three villages in Southern Karnataka, women who are less valued in the family because of less education, not bearing male children or have ended their reproductive careers are prone to abuse. Another highly significant correlate is whether the wife has been sterilized. The number of living male children reduces the incidence of wife beating while the number of living female children has a positive but insignificant effect. However, Jejeebhoy's (1998) study does not support this statistically. Parity and sons do not have a strong influence on domestic violence. This is also supported by Koenig et al. (2003) in their study of rural Bangladesh, where they could not find any significant relation between number of sons and risk of violence.

Work for cash:

Many authors agree that the employment status of men and women are likely to affect the risk of violence (Allen and Strauss, 1980; Johnson, 1995). As Viswanathan (2001) has observed, women have less control in determining whether to work or not, choosing work environment, influence the manner in which income earned is spent. She has highlighted the issue of systematic underestimation of women's work. Unpaid work which is arduous and time consuming does not have a market value. It is also assumed that income ensures control of resources and power in familial relations. However, women have less control in determining whether to work or not, where to work, how to utilise their income as compared with men in similar positions. Even though laws have been formulated, acute gender bias in wages and nature of work persists. The tendency is to marginalize women who perform unskilled tasks and work in poor working conditions. They are further

marginalized by creating women's cooperatives. All this makes them more vulnerable to violence which is pervasive. Also Subadra (1999) indicates that 70 percent were forced to quit work by their husbands after marriage. In a study of Asian immigrants in New Zealand, it was found that immigrants face economic hardships during initial period which pushes women to be a part of paid labour force along with her traditional role. The family and community isolates the woman due to fear of westernization and losing control over her. (Pillai, 2001). Rao (1998) has observed that wife's income has a greater effect on reducing wife beating than the rest of the family's income. Similarly, Gartner and Macmillan (1999) found that women's employment lowers her risk of violence when their male partners are also employed but substantially increases risk when male partners are unemployed.

However, Gulati and Dutta's (2004) mention that wife's occupation is directly associated with all aspects of marital conflict. The results show that husband's aggression is positively related with wife's work. The women reported that husbands demand money for alcohol and in turn provokes a response of aggression in order to control the partner. This view is also supported by Almeida et al. (1999) where they found out that when wives are not working there is less transmission of anger between marital dyads. Swain's (2002) analysis shows that domestic violence is higher among women who are working as compared to non working women. Schuler et al (2004) studied domestic violence in six Bangladeshi villages. They find that in poverty and deprivation, women's economic contribution may increase the risk of violence by undermining male authority and establishing gender roles. However, there is an insignificant relationship between wife beating and wage work in both Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh.

Household Composition:

Jejeebhoy (1998) has not found any evidence to suggest that women co residing with mother in-law are more prone to beating as compared to others. But Visaria (2000) found that 53 percent women living in joint families reported some form of abuse compared to 73 percent women in nuclear families. This is also supported by Koenig et al. (2003) who have found that women residing in extended families have significantly lower risk of

violence. However, women living in joint families reported more violence than those living in nuclear families (Neelima, 2005). Men living in joint families are more aggressive and violent as compared with their counterparts in nuclear families (Dutta and Gulati, 2004). Some studies have also suggested that household standard of living is not an indicator of women's position and refutes the belief that middle class women do not face violence at home (Agnes, 1999). Jejeebhoy (1998) found an inverse relation between household status and violence.

Media:

Some studies have been conducted to study the effect of mass media on fertility and contraceptive use. Also they have discussed how media affects the change process. Westoff and Bankole (1997) have argued that modern western ideas about consumer values, control over one's life and non familiar roles of women can be communicated through media and influence people even in rural settings and with little education. Similarly, Hornik and McAnany (2001) opined that mass media content may say what it means to be modern and that to be modern is good. Also it fosters a positive regard for values like female equality, small families and other issues may be learned from media.

Other Factors:

Dowry has shown a significant effect on domestic violence in most of the studies. Karlekar (1998) has argued that the conjugal home serves as a site of violence, which enjoys social sanction due to the universal nature of marriage. Moreover the unequal power relationship between spouses and their families is determined by sanctified nature of dowry. However, Jejeebhoy's (1998) study does not find any significant influence of dowry on domestic violence.

Schuler et al. (2004) found that dowry demand is an important consideration for marriage formation and is considered to be necessary for daughter's well being. Women with outstanding dowry debt had significantly elevated odds of violence. The multivariate

logistic regression analysis shows that women with dowry agreement were more likely to experience violence. This is due to the assertion that a woman gains as a result of bringing in dowry which is registered. According to Subadra's analysis of the trend of crime and violence against women in Chennai during 1986-96 the highest increase is in the area of torture i.e. harassment for dowry. In Rao's (1998) study severe wife beating appeared to be result of inadequate dowry. The quantitative analysis discloses that the net dowry is the most significant correlate of the incidence of wife beating. The smaller the size of the dowry, the greater the possibility that she will be beaten.

To sum up, the review of literature does not provide us with a clear picture as various empirical studies have found varied effects of the above mentioned factors on violence. Most of the studies that have been reviewed here are based on small sample size and specific to particular region. In the present study we make use of the data from a nationally drawn sample of ever married women for analyzing the factors that influence domestic violence. For this purpose we first develop a conceptual framework given in the next chapter. This chapter is followed by an analysis of the data.

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Chapter – 3

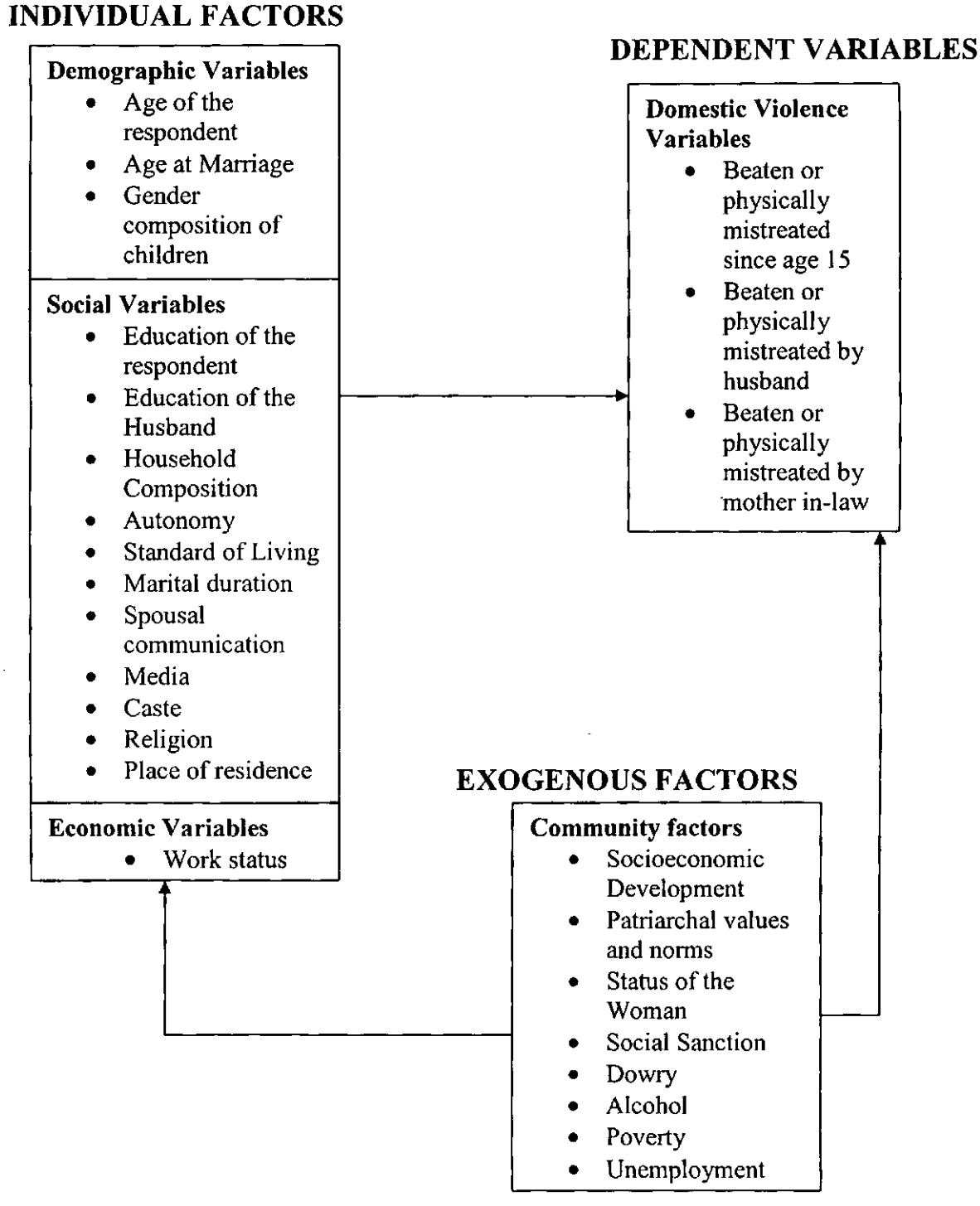
Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Domestic Violence in India

3.1 The conceptual framework given in figure 1 has been constructed to gain a better understanding of the issue of domestic violence in context of various factors like individual and community factors. Domestic violence is seen here as a function of interaction between individual characteristics and community variables. The individual characteristics of a woman determine her risk of physical abuse. These individual factors are categorized into demographic variables, social variables and economic variables. They include age of the respondent, age at marriage, gender composition of children, education of the respondent, education of the husband, household composition, autonomy, standard of living, marital duration, spousal communication, media, caste, religion, place of residence and work status of the woman. Some of the individual characteristics like caste, religion and place of residence have an impact on the community factors. The community factors include socioeconomic development, patriarchal values and norms, social sanction and status of women along with other factors like dowry, alcohol, poverty and unemployment. These community factors have an impact on individual characteristics and violence variables. This interaction between individual variables and societal i.e. community variables directly and indirectly influences violence against woman. However, it is difficult to capture all the relationships and this framework should be considered to be indicative. The interrelationship of these variables is discussed below.

The individual factors which have been mentioned above directly affect the risk of domestic violence a woman faces. All these factors are also affected by the community factors. There are diverse views on the relationship between current age and risk of violence. Studies have revealed that older women are relatively less prone to violence, whereas others give contradictory findings of older women being at a higher risk. As the

Figure 1

Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Domestic Violence in India



age increases the women learn to be assertive and gain status in family based on dowry, maternal status and position in the hierarchy. The effect of age at marriage is similar to current age of respondent. With various studies supporting contradictory views, it is difficult to determine the specific effect of age at marriage on violence. However, marriage itself exposes the woman to a number of relationships in which her status is low in the marital family. Higher age at marriage plays a role because women married at older ages are more likely to have other supporting factors like education, standard of living and education of the family. Also exogenous factors like status of women, patriarchal values and norms and socioeconomic development affect age at marriage and other related factors, working as a protective cover against abuse. In India, a woman's status in her marital family is also determined by her maternal status. This means that a woman who is able to produce sons for the family has a comparatively better status than her counterparts. This is so because a high premium is attached to sons.

Education is considered to be an important tool of empowering women. Education equips a woman with decision making ability, assertiveness, conflict resolution and other life skills. Women who are educated are more likely to have educated husbands; thus having a protective effect. This view is supported by empirical studies as mentioned in the review of literature. Husband's education also reflects on the education of the wife, as educated men are more likely to marry women who are educated. This has a similar effect on risk of violence as education of the woman. Most of the studies endorse this view, except Rao (1998) whose study reveals that men with higher education have larger dowry demands and thus are more likely to be aggressive and violent. A woman's autonomy is a reflection of her status and values and norms of the family. Autonomy in terms of mobility and use of money has a protective influence as it negates the influence of a woman's dependence on the man as shown in some studies. Therefore, it becomes an important factor in determining the risk of violence.

Household composition of the family is decided by the patriarchal values and norms thus affecting the status of the woman in the family. Presence of elderly in joint families might be a protective factor. It can work otherwise also (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Dutta & Gulati,

2004; Neelima, 2005). Therefore, it is difficult to determine the specific effect of household composition on violence. The overall standard of living is affected by the socioeconomic development at macro level. Increase in standard of living can be seen as a result of increase in income. The effect of increase in standard of living is contrary to the effect of poverty and unemployment. Poverty and unemployment leads to frustration in men due to their inability to perform the social role and need to assert their position in the family (Visaria, 2000; Pillai, 2001). With increase in income and standard of living the frustration and need of aggression and violence decreases.

As the marital duration increases, the status of woman changes owing to factors like age, maternal status and her position in the hierarchy. The available literature supports that women in longer period of marriage are less vulnerable to the risk of violence. In patriarchal societies men have the authority to decide for the family. Women usually are not consulted owing to their complete submission and dependence on men. Marital partners hardly discuss issues. This is evident in an empirical study where Feyisetan (2000) has revealed that educated partners are more likely to discuss and take joint decisions on reproductive issues. Women who are consulted in taking decisions are relatively more educated and have more autonomy than their counterparts who have no say. Therefore, the chances of violence against such women are less likely.

As discussed in the literature survey, work for cash also has a dual effect on domestic violence. Woman's work status and especially working for cash is decided by the socioeconomic development of the society, values and norms and status of woman in that setting. Working and earning can be seen as one of the components of empowerment of women as it provides them economic independence. Moreover employment has crucial symbolic importance for identities, self esteem and mental health (Gecas, 1989; Kohn and Schuler, 1983). However, in cases where the husband is inadequate in providing for the family and wife is fulfilling the role, the vulnerability of woman increases. Also, alcohol plays a role, as these men tend to drink due to frustration and use force and violence to acquire money from the wife. Various authors have noted that women's economic contribution increases the risk of violence. The socioeconomic and political

development of a country determines the development of mass media. This means that the overall scenario decides what message would be conveyed and how would it be conveyed. In this case media becomes a tool in the hands of the élite ruling class who propagate their ideas. This thus helps in forming a mass opinion regarding general values and norms of the population. In case of domestic violence change in perceptions regarding violence might challenge the social endorsement it enjoys.

Caste, religion and urban rural differentials have not shown any significant effect on domestic violence, but differences can be observed in the incidence of violence (See Chapter 2 for details). Caste and socioeconomic characteristics can be found to be interrelated. As discussed earlier lack of resources put stress on the marital relationship. Similar is the effect of urban rural differential on violence through socioeconomic development at macro and micro level. Religion shapes the norms, values and even formulates the personal laws. This defines the role and status of women and how they should be treated. The macro level factors which in turn have an impact on the individual characteristics consequently affect the risk of violence faced by a woman.

Although the community factors are exogenous to the present study, their effect on the individual characteristics and vice versa has to be acknowledged. The concept of development encompasses economic as well as social development which includes equal opportunities, participation, protection of human rights and social justice. However, discrimination on the basis of gender is the most common form of marginalization women face worldwide and women are not being integrated in the process of development. Empirical evidence supporting the impact of socioeconomic development on domestic violence at macro level is limited. Socioeconomic development indirectly affects violence through education, work status and standard of living.

The social norms discourage women to be independent and promote strong dependence on male members of the family. This hampers the autonomy and decision making of the woman, owing to the unequal power equation in conjugal relations. The patriarchal psyche of submission by woman and ownership by man teaches a woman to accept,

tolerate and rationalize the acts of violence. The low social status of women and rigid patriarchal norms has an impact on the education, autonomy and work status of the woman. These values and norms do not encourage any investment in girls' education. Also it leads to early marriages for girls and attach her value with the number of sons she bears. (Kosambi, 1998; Rao, 1998).The patriarchal values and norms vary from community based on caste, religion or even place of residence (rural or urban). However, not many studies have validated this view. Researchers have found that the issue of domestic violence is wrapped under covers due to the sacrosanct image of family and enjoys social sanction (Mahajan, 1990; Subadra, 1999; Pillai, 2001). This view does not permit the issue of domestic violence to be discussed in public forum and also gives it social legitimacy.

As mentioned in the review of literature, dowry has shown a significant effect on domestic violence in most of the studies. Studies have mentioned that wife beating is a consequence of inadequate dowry as dowry determines the power relation between the spouses (Karlekar, 1998; Rao, 1998; Subadra, 1999). Drinking has always been seen as a catalyst in context of wife battering. Alcohol pushes an individual into a vicious cycle of dinking, poverty and frustration, thus leading to a higher risk of violence for women of such households. Poverty and frustration due to unavailability of resources is an important factor affecting women's vulnerability to risk of violence. Poverty is a major cause of frustration among men as they are not able to fulfill the social role of a bread earner, thus manifesting it in aggression and violence. Also it is a way to control the partner where she has economic independence and has a more important role in the family (Mahajan, 1998; Visaria, 2000; Pillai, 2001).

The conceptual framework is useful in identifying the relationships between the variables and their direct and indirect influence on domestic violence. Although, the conceptual framework shows schematically the relationship of variables affecting domestic violence, some variables cannot be measured easily. Only a smaller set of variables is available in the NFHS 2 data that we wish to use for the analysis. Taking into consideration the conceptual framework and the data set we describe the data set and the variables.

3.2 Research Questions

Based on the objectives and the conceptual framework which explains the relationship of various variables, following research questions have been framed.

- What is the impact of various social, economic and demographic factors that influence violence against women?
- How does the impact of these variables on violence against women differ in northern and southern regions?
- What is the difference in the influence of the factors between the states of the two regions?

3.3 Source of Data

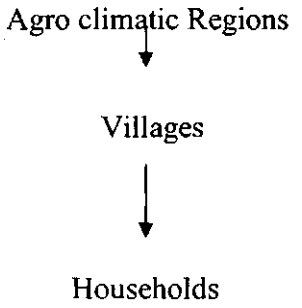
The present study is based on National Family and Health Survey 1998-99 (NFHS-II). NFHS-II provides a comprehensive portrait of population and health conditions in India. It surveyed more than 90,000 women in 1998 and 1999. The first NFHS was conducted in 1992-93 and proved to be a major landmark in the development of a comprehensive demographic and health database for India. The second NFHS further expands the database, providing the information on trends overtime and making emerging needs in new areas of population and health.

The International Institute of Population Studies (IIPS), Mumbai served as the nodal agency for both NFHS-I and NFHS-II. The project funding was provided by United States Agency for International Development, with additional funds for nutrition data collection in NFHS-II from UNICEF. Technical guidance was provided by ORC Macro and East West Centre, Honolulu. Thirteen organizations were responsible for data collection, including Population Research Centres and eight research companies. These were state level surveys. In each state a survey was conducted using essentially Demographic and Health Survey's (DHS) instruments i.e. questionnaires etc. with slight modifications. In NFHS-II all states were covered, but Tripura was not included in the

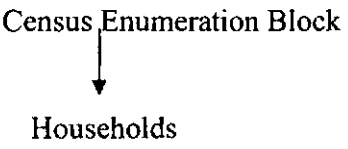
report. In the survey 92,486 households were covered and 90,303 women were interviewed.

The sampling design was quite elaborate. The sample size varied from state to state. The states were divided in rural and urban areas. The samples drawn from each state was proportional to the size of the state. For instance, for large states like Uttar Pradesh sample size was 10,000 women approximately. For moderately sized states like Punjab, Haryana etc. 3000 women approximately constituted the sample size. And for small states like North Eastern states the sample drawn was 1000 women approximately.

After the rural urban divide, further stratified sampling is done. Within the identified rural areas, agro climatic regions were marked and then villages were chosen. The primary sampling unit is the village and the probability is proportional to the size. In these villages roughly 30-40 households were chosen.



Similarly, the urban areas i.e. cities and towns were stratified into Census Enumeration Blocks and out of these 100 to 150 households were finally selected.



The sampling was done in a way so that the sample is self weighting i.e. all households had equal probability of selection within each region.

Instruments of Data Collection

There were three basic instruments which were used for data collection. These are as follows:

- Household Schedule: This provides basic information about household, list of members, usual residents, visitors, age, sex, marital status, education, assets owned, housing conditions, living conditions, births and deaths in the reference period.
- Woman's Schedule: This schedule was for women in reproductive age i.e. for women between the age of 15-49 years. The schedule covered the background characteristics like age, marital relations and duration, age at marriage, residence, education, employment, fertility history, maternal and child health – immunization, information on anthropometric measures, pregnancy care, sex preference, information on women's nature of work and their husbands' nature of work, autonomy of women, domestic violence, food consumption and nutrition, knowledge and awareness on HIV/AIDS.
- Village Schedule: It collects information on available basic amenities, access to facilities like school, health facilities, communication networks and other infrastructure.

The questions on domestic violence against women were included in the women's questionnaire. Following were the questions asked to women in order to ascertain the incidence of violence and experience and attitudes of women towards it:

- Sometimes a wife can do things that bother her husband. Please tell me if you think that a husband is justified in beating his wife in each of the following situations:

If he suspects her of being unfaithful?	Yes	No	DK
If her natal family does not give expected money, jewellery or other items?	Yes	No	DK
If she shows disrespect for in-laws?	Yes	No	DK

If she goes out without telling him? Yes No DK

If she neglects the house or children? Yes No DK

If she doesn't cook food properly? Yes No DK

- Since you completed 15 years of age, have you been beaten or mistreated physically by any person? Yes No

- Who has beaten you or mistreated you physically?

  Mother

  Father

  Step mother

  Step father

  Son

  Daughter

  Brother/Sister

  Boyfriend

  Husband

  Ex-husband

  Son-in-law

  Daughter-in-law

  Mother-in-law

  Father-in-law

  Brother-in-law

  Sister-in-law

  Other relative

  Friend/Acquaintance

  Teacher

  Employer

  Stranger

  Other

- How often have you been beaten or mistreated physically in the last 12 months:

  Once

  A few times

  Many times

  Not beaten

3.4 In order to analyze the domestic violence and variables affecting it only two questions have been used for ever married women. The responses from these questions have been used as dependent variables and the variables that influence the dependent variables are the independent variables.

3.4.1 Dependent Variables

There are three dependent variables are as follows.

- Beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 = 0- No
  1-Yes
- Beaten or physically mistreated by husband = 0- No
  1-Yes
- Beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law = 0-No
  1-Yes

3.4.2 Independent Variables

The independent variables have been recoded for the purpose of analysis. The coding scheme is as follows:

- Age of respondent: Women have been classified into three categories.

  1- < 24

  2- 25-34

  3- 35 and above

The third category of 35 and above has been used as the reference category for the analysis.

- Age at marriage: Based on the age at start of current marriage, women have been grouped into three categories.

  1- married at age <14

  2- married between 15-24

  3- married at age 25 and above

The group married at age 25 and above has been used as the reference category.

- Gender Composition of children: The women have been grouped into four categories based on the total children they have according to the sex composition.

  1- No children

  2- Only daughter(s)

  3- Only son(s)

  4- Both son(s) and daughter(s)

The women who have both son(s) and daughter(s) are the reference category. This helps us in examining the influence of maternal status on the risk of violence. However, we would not be able to study the effect of girl child/children vs. boy child/children.

- Education of the Respondent: Based on the educational attainment level of the respondent four categories have been formed.

  0- illiterate

  1- Literate, < middle school complete

  2- Middle school complete

  3- High school and above

The last category of high school and above is the reference category.

- Education of the Husband: Based on the educational attainment level of the respondent's husband four categories have been formed.

0- illiterate

1- Literate, < middle school complete

2- Middle school complete

3- High school and above

The last category of high school and above is the reference category.

- Household Composition: Women were asked whether their mother in law co resides with them or not.

0- No

1- Yes

Women whose mother in law resides with them have been used as the reference category, while interpreting the data.

- Autonomy: Based on four variables autonomy index has been developed. These four variables are who decides on obtaining health care, permission needed to go to market; permission needed to visit relatives and friends and allowed to have money set aside. (See Appendix 1).

1- Low autonomy

2- Medium autonomy

3- High autonomy

Women who have high autonomy are the reference category.

- Standard of Living: The standard of living index is based on the economic well being of the respondent. (See Appendix 2).

1- Low

2- Medium

3- High

Respondents belonging to the households of high standard of living are used as the reference category.

- Marital Duration: Based on the duration of marriage the respondents have been classified into three categories.

1- 0-9years

2- 10-19 years

3- 20 years and above

The last category of marital duration 20 and above is the reference category.

- Spousal Communication: In order to assess the communication between the marital partners, proxy variable has been used. The proxy variable asks the woman whether she has discussed family planning with the partner.

0- No

1- Yes

The women who have discussed family planning with partner are taken as the reference category.

- Media: In the survey women were asked whether they listen to radio once a week, read newspaper once a week or watch television once a week. All these variables were combined in order to form a cumulative index of exposure to mass media. (See Appendix 3).

1- No media exposure

2- Low media exposure

3- High media exposure

The last category of high media exposure has been used as the reference category.

- Work for cash: Based on whether women earn cash for work or not two categories were made.

0- No

1- Yes

The women who earn cash for work were taken as the reference category.

- Caste: We have grouped caste into four categories.

1- Scheduled caste

2- Scheduled tribe

3- Other backward caste

4- None of them

The last category of women has been used as the reference category in order to compare the results of analysis.

- Religion: The women belonging to various religions have been regrouped as

0- Others

1- Hindu

2- Muslim

The category of Muslim women is the reference category.

- Place of residence: The women have been grouped into urban and rural based on the type of place of residence.

1- Urban

2- Rural

The rural women are used as the reference category.

3.5 Methodology:

The present study uses the following statistical techniques to empirically analyze the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

First, the Karl Pearson bivariate correlation analysis has been carried out among the independent variables to understand the nature of relationship between them. Also this helps in finding out the colinearity among these variables.

After this a multivariate logistic regression analysis has been used to examine the relationship between each of the independent variable. This is used in case of dichotomous variable. When data are analyzed by logistic regression, for each variable

the log odds are given. The log odds indicate the change in the response variable with respect to the independent variable. If p is the probability of the variable, then the logistic regression coefficient gives the change in log (p/ (1-p)) when the variable changes by one unit. As the interpretation of these values is difficult, the odds ratios have been worked out. These ratios give the proportionate change in the odds of the variable occurring when there is a unit change in the variable. As logistic regression is used for categorical variables the interpretation of the log odds is with reference to a category of the variable for which the log odds is one.

Having discussed the conceptual framework, the data used and the dependent and independent variables we next present the analysis of the data.

Chapter – 4

Analysis and Interpretation

In this chapter we will analyze and interpret the results of the analysis based on the conceptual framework. Firstly, we will analyze the percentage of women by their background characteristics and responses. Then, we explain the correlation between the determinants of violence. In the last section of this chapter we interpret and explain the impact of determinants on the violence variables by way of logistic regression analysis.

4.1 Percentage distribution of women by independent variables

This section deals with the percentage distribution of women who have been beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, beaten or physically mistreated by husband and beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law by the independent variables. This would help us in knowing the association between the independent and dependent variables. The tables show the percentage distribution also present chi square values.

Current age

In both the northern states Bihar and Himachal Pradesh percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 is highest in the age group of 25-34 years (Table 4.1). This is also true for the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband. However, in Bihar percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law decreases with increase in age. But this does not hold true for Himachal Pradesh, where percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law is highest in 25-34 age group and the increase seems to be sharp as nobody in the age group of less than 24 reports violence by mother in law.

However, in the southern states there is an increase in percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 25 and by husband as the age increases. Tamil Nadu

Table 4.1

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to current age

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Current age	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
< 24	22.7	92.0	7.8	5.2	48.1	0.00	6.4	52.2	0.00	35.7	83.5	1.2
25-34	30.4	94.6	5.1	6.2	70.7	16	9.2	68.5	2.7	42.9	92.3	0.2
35 and above	26.4	94.2	3.7	5.1	70.8	12.3	13	85.2	0.8	44.9	93.7	0.7
Chi square	35.180	3.851	9.586	1.469	5.219	4.832	14.492	15.433	1.679	15.397	22.601	2.872
Significance	.000	.146	.008	.480	.074	.089	.001	.000	.428	.000	.000	.238

Table 4.2

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to age at marriage

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Age at marriage	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
<14	30	93.6	6.0	8.2	76.9	15.4	9.0	70.0	0.00	56.1	96.7	1.4
15-24	23.3	94.5	4.5	5.4	66.9	11.7	10.7	78.4	1.5	40.4	90.5	0.4
25 and above	24.5	58.3	8.3	6.0	55.6	11.1	9.2	60.0	0.00	33.3	77.8	2.8
Chi square	40.323	26.515	2.362	2.390	1.114	.158	.752	3.613	.470	36.874	16.542	5.625
Significance	.000	.000	.307	.303	.573	.924	.687	.164	.790	.000	.000	.060

shows a similar trend of decreasing percentages of women being beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law, whereas in Kerala the highest percentage of women being beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law is in the age group of 25-34.This is similar to the scenario in Himacahl Pradesh.

The data does not show a uniform pattern. High incidence of violence in the middle age group can be explained by the fact that women in this age group do not attain an important status in the family hierarchy and have been more exposed to violence as compared to the younger age groups (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Koenig et.al., 2003). On the other hand the increase in incidence of violence with increase in age could be seen as a result of stronger assertion by women of older age groups as compared with younger women, which in turn could increase their risk of violence (Neelima, 2005)

Age at Marriage

Table 4.2 shows that in the northern states of Bihar and Himachal Pradesh percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 is highest in the group of women who got married at age less than 14 years, followed by women married after age 25 and then by women who got married between age 15 and 24 years. However women married after age 25 and above also seem to be prone to violence. In Himachal Pradesh the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband decreases with increase in age at marriage. However, women whose age at marriage is 25 and above are prone to being beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law in Bihar. Contrary to this women in Himachal Pradesh who were married at age less than 14 report high incidence of violence by mother in law.

In Kerala women married in the age group 15-24 are most exposed to violence, whereas in Tamil Nadu percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 and by husband decreases with increase in age at marriage. But in case of beating by mother in law women married after age 25 have the highest reporting of violence. This is similar to the incidence in Bihar.

Women who are married at young age and report high incidence of violence can be explained in terms of exposure to violence as they are more exposed. However, decrease

Table 4.3

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to marital duration

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Marital duration	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
0-9	22.7	92.4	7.6	5.1	56.1	3.5	5.8	51.1	0.00	35.4	83.7	1.00
10-19	31.6	94.7	4.7	6.6	71.6	20.9	12.4	81.1	2.2	45.4	95.1	0.2
20 and above	26.4	94.1	3.6	4.9	74.4	9.3	14.1	84.3	1.1	47.0	94.4	0.7
Chi square	50.266	3.346	10.017	3.079	4.768	9.225	30.067	20.090	1.173	34.460	42.133	1.909
Significance	.000	.188	.007	.214	.092	0.010	.000	.000	.556	.000	.000	.305

Table 4.4

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to the respondent's education attainment

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Education of respondent	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Illiterate	30.2	94.4	5.3	6.8	83.3	9.1	18.3	83.0	1.9	49.9	94.5	0.6
Literate, <middle school complete	17.6	91.9	7.4	7.6	61.0	13.6	12.2	79.5	2.4	39.1	87.7	1.1
Middle school complete	16.7	90.9	6.8	5.0	52.6	5.3	10.0	65.7	0.00	30.8	85.2	0.00
High school complete	10.5	83.9	3.2	2.6	47.8	21.7	6.5	71.7	0.00	20.7	74.6	0.00
Chi square	159.140	12.720	1.809	24.108	14.532	3.553	35.280	4.593	2.034	122.726	43.001	2.124
Significance	.000	.005	.613	.000	.002	.314	.000	.204	.565	.000	.000	.547

in incidence of violence with increase in age could be an effect of education and autonomy which increase with delayed age at marriage.

Marital Duration

In Bihar and Himachal Pradesh percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age is the highest for women in the marital duration of 10-19 years (Table 4.3). This is true in case of percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband in Bihar and percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law in Himachal Pradesh. In Bihar beating and physical mistreatment by mother in law decreases with increase in marital duration. On the other hand the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband increase with increase in marital duration. The increase is high from 0-9 years to 10-19 years (15.5 percent points).

In Kerala and Tamil Nadu there is an increase in percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 as the duration increases. This increase is also in case of percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband in Kerala as against Tamil Nadu where women in the category of 10-19 years experience the most of beating and physical mistreatment.

Marital duration does not show a uniform association with any of the dependent variables. Highest incidence in case of women married for a period of 10-19 years can be a consequence of high exposure to violence but not enough for her to gain an important status in the family (Visaria, 2000).

Education of the Respondent

In all the states except Himachal Pradesh the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 uniformly substantially decreases with increase in education. In Himachal Pradesh also it decreases, but with an abrupt increase among women who are literate but have not completed middle school (Table 4.4).

The percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband also follows with

Table 4.5

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to husband's educational attainment

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Education of the husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Illiterate	33.2	94.3	5.2	8.3	76.5	8.8	21.7	89.7	5.1	49.9	94.5	0.6
Literate, <middle school complete	27.6	93.9	4.2	7.0	72.5	12.5	11.9	78.6	1.0	44.8	87.7	1.1
Middle school complete	25.2	95.1	9.2	5.3	87.5	16.7	11.9	63.6	0.00	37.8	85.2	0.00
High school complete	17.1	91.5	5.4	4.4	52.2	11.6	5.6	72.1	0.00	28.4	74.6	0.00
Chi square	164.588	4.192	5.919	12.396	13.361	.841	46.358	8.510	5.494	78.651	43.001	2.124
Significance	.000	.381	.205	.015	.004	.840	.000	.037	.139	.000	.000	.547

Table 4.6

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to autonomy

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Autonomy	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Low	32.6	92.3	7.5	3.6	69.2	11.5	7.5	70.0	0.00	37.8	91.3	1.0
Medium	26.3	95.1	4.8	6.1	63.6	18.2	10.8	80.2	3.7	38.1	86.0	0.8
High	22.0	93.0	3.8	7.9	67.1	9.8	12.0	75.7	0.00	45.0	92.9	0.5
Chi square	54.666	5.004	7.797	21.169	.286	1.598	7.277	1.596	5.368	14.883	11.829	.631
Significance	.000	.082	.020	.000	.867	.450	.026	.450	.068	.001	.003	.730

increase in education in Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Contrary to this in Kerala it decreases only for women with middle school complete, but increases for women who have completed high school and above. This could be a consequence of stronger assertion by the woman and her unwillingness to be in an exploitative relationship which provokes the man and increases the woman's vulnerability (Subadra, 1999).

All the states show an abrupt increase among women who are literate, but have not completed middle school and have been beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law. This implies that education of this level does not have a protective effect for women. Infact in Himachal Pradesh the highest percentage of physical abuse is among women who have completed high school and above.

Education of the husband

In all the states there is a consistent decline in the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 with rise in education of the husband. This implies that husband's education has a protective effect for women (Table 4.5).

Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu show a similar trend of decreasing percentages upto husband is literate, but has not completed middle school in case of violence by husband. But there is an abrupt increase in incidence with husbands who have completed middle school, which again declines in case of husbands who have done high school and above. However, in Kerala the abrupt increase is being experienced among the group of women whose husbands are educated till high school and above.

Among the women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law the highest percentage is found among those whose husbands have completed middle school, in Bihar and Himachal Pradesh. This means that substantially higher education has a protective influence unlike the effect of middle school education. Table 4.5 shows that Kerala has a consistent decline with rise in education of husband. Tamil Nadu does not show any variation among the women beaten or physically mistreated with increase in education of husband.

Table 4.5 shows that education of the husband has a significant effect on the risk of

Table 4.7

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to standard of living

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Standard of living	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Low	31.6	94.3	5.1	8.5	70.0	15.0	21.2	82.3	2.5	48.9	93.4	0.6
Medium	23.9	93.6	5.8	6.5	70.2	10.6	9.8	71.8	0.9	40.6	89.9	0.7
High	10.8	86.8	6.6	3.6	57.1	14.3	4.8	78.6	0.00	22.2	81.7	0.00
Chi square	148.126	6.786	.570	14.856	2.400	.575	66.169	2.958	1.438	78.326	13.277	0.542
Significance	.000	.034	.762	.001	.301	.750	.000	.228	.487	.000	.001	.763

Table 4.8

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to type of residence

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Type of residence	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Rural	27.5	95.4	5.6	5.9	68.0	13.3	10.8	76.4	1.4	42.8	92.0	0.6
Urban	18.9	93.6	2.3	4.7	64.1	7.7	3.9	75.0	0.00	37.6	85.9	0.6
Chi square	23.211	.639	2.613	1.684	0.202	0.886	4.999	0.004	0.055	4.250	6.570	0.001
Significance	.000	.424	.106	.194	.653	.347	.25	.949	.814	.039	.001	.971

violence for women. There is a decrease in percentage of physical abuse with increasing education of the husband, but this relationship does not hold true for husbands who are literate and more than literate.

Autonomy

Table 4.6 shows that except Bihar in all the other states with increase in autonomy the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age15 increases. In Bihar the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 decreases with increase in autonomy. This relationship shows that women who have greater autonomy have a higher status in the family. However in other states the association can be understood as a consequence of assertion gained by woman who has greater autonomy.
Among the women who have been beaten or physically mistreated by husband, both Bihar and Kerala show a similar trend with highest percentage of women in the medium autonomy category. However, Himacahal Pradesh shows a decline in beating and physical mistreatment by husband as autonomy of woman increases. In Tamil Nadu highest percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband is in the high autonomy group in Tamil Nadu. Also, it is noticeable that the decrease or increase in the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated is not substantially influenced by autonomy.
Table 4.6 shows that there is a pattern among the developed and developing states of both the regions. In Kerala and Himachal Pradesh highest percentage of women who suffer beating by mother in law have medium autonomy, whereas Bihar and Tamil Nadu show a declining percentage of violence by mother in law with increase in autonomy.

Standard of Living

Table 4.7 reveals that the prevalence of violence since age 15 decreases substantially with increase in standard of living. The sharp variation can be observed between low and high standard of living in all the states.

Table 4.9

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to religion

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Religion	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Hindu	26.2	93.8	5.5	5.2	64.4	13.0	11.8	76.8	0.8	43.2	91.2	0.7
Muslim	29.0	94.1	5.6	15.0	81.3	6.3	9.1	78.3	2.9	29.1	94.6	0.00
Others	26.2	85.7	0.00	4.4	100.0	0.00	9.4	70.0	0.00	30.0	87.9	0.00
Chi square	3.560	3.151	1.634	18.902	4.388	1.327	3.987	.823	1.952	16.622	.985	.473
Significance	.169	.207	.442	.000	.111	.515	.136	.663	.377	.000	.611	.789

Table 4.10

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to caste

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Caste	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Scheduled caste	34.6	92.8	5.8	7.8	68.0	18.0	15	82.8	0.00	52.7	94.5	0.8
Scheduled tribe	23.6	94.7	4.6	9.1	100.0	0.00	16	50.0	0.00	60.0	94.4	0.00
Other backward castes	26.5	94.8	5.4	6.3	57.6	6.1	8.5	77.2	1.3	38.3	89.7	0.6
None of them	19.7	91.4	4.9	4.5	69.9	10.8	11.2	75.0	1.8	21.1	50.0	0.00
Chi square	82.500	5.267	0.469	10.698	2.154	3.054	9.315	2.343	0.620	55.173	16.318	0.245
Significance	.000	.153	.926	.013	.541	.383	.025	.504	.892	.000	.001	.970

Except Kerala all other states show a similar trend of decrease among the percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by husband. In Kerala the percentage of women who are beaten or physically mistreated by husband decreases with increase in standard of living i.e. from low to medium, but shows a small increase for women belonging to high standard of living.

The percentage of women who belong to high standard of living and have been beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law is highest in Bihar. This could be because of the fact that women who belong to high standard of living probably also belong to higher caste, where the patriarchal values are implemented very strongly. In Himachal Pradesh also the proportion of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law increases for the category high standard of living. Also it is noticed that there is little variation in the proportion women from low and high standard of living (0.7 percent points). In the southern state of Kerala percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law falls with increase in standard of living unlike Tamil Nadu where it declines only for women of higher standard of living.

Type of place of residence

Women belonging to urban areas are less likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by husband and mother in law as compared with their rural counterparts in all the four states (Table 4.8). Except in Tamil Nadu where the proportion of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law remains the same. However this proportion is low (0.6 percent).

Religion

Table 4.9 reveals that in the northern state of Bihar Muslim women are more likely to experience beating or physical mistreatment since age 15, by husband and by mother in law; followed by Hindus and others. Himachal Pradesh follows the suit, except in case of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law where Hindu women are more

Table 4.11

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to gender composition of children

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Children by sex composition	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
No children	19.1	86.2	13.3	7.4	55.6	16.7	7.0	68.8	0.00	34.5	81.3	0.00
Only daughters	25.6	92.9	4.9	3.5	61.5	0.00	8.7	75.0	2.8	40.5	91.5	0.00
Only sons	25.3	92.9	6.4	5.1	62.9	17.1	12.7	71.2	1.7	39.6	88.6	0.4
Both	29.2	95.4	3.9	5.9	71.3	10.9	10.9	80.5	0.9	45.7	93.9	1.1
Chi square	43.612	24.165	28.556	5.435	2.355	3.144	7.031	2.512	1.014	17.594	22.062	4.640
Significance	.000	.000	.000	.143	.502	.370	.071	.473	.798	.001	.000	.200

Table 4.12

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to media exposure

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Media exposure	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
No	29.3	94.5	5.6	7.9	81.3	15.6	17.9	76.9	1.9	45.0	94.0	0.8
Low	24.3	90.7	3.3	6.9	69.1	10.9	14.6	79.3	1.7	44.8	92.1	0.5
High	14.9	90.5	6.8	4.4	60.0	11.3	7.8	74.6	0.9	38.0	88.2	0.6
Chi square	91.290	7.449	2.555	11.388	4.825	.504	35.227	.493	.383	13.939	9.156	.400
Significance	.000	.024	.279	.003	.090	.777	.000	.782	.826	.001	.010	.819

compared with their other sisters. Kerala and Tamil Nadu have the highest number of Hindu women who have been beaten or physically mistreated since age 15. However, Muslim women are more likely to be beaten or physically mistreated by husband and mother in law in Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Caste

There is little variation in the proportion of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 according to their ethnicity (Table 4.10). In Bihar 19.7 percent women not belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes have been beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, which is much less than the proportion of women belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes. Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu also show a similar trend. In Kerala women from other backward castes are less vulnerable to being beaten compared with other ethnic groups.

Percentage of women who have been beaten or physically mistreated varies from state to state. In Bihar the percentage is less than other groups and women belonging to none of them report relatively less incidence of physical abuse. In Himachal Pradesh all women report being beaten or physically mistreated by husband among scheduled tribes. In Kerala and Tamil Nadu scheduled caste women are relatively more vulnerable to physical abuse by their husbands.

In Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu women belonging to scheduled caste are prone to being beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law. Table 4.10 shows that in Kerala highest percentage of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law are in the category of others.

Gender composition of children

Table 4.11 shows that in Bihar and Tamil Nadu women who have both sons and daughters have the highest incidence of beating, whereas in Himachal Pradesh women

Table 4.13

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to earning cash for work

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Earns cash for work	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Yes	38.1	95.7	5.3	6.8	76.9	15.4	16.1	79.5		48.8	93.6	0.7
No	41.0	94.3	3.9	4.3	66.7	8.3	14.5	77.8		45.1	90.4	0.6
Chi square	1.423	.680	.629	1.905	.445	.357	.109	.014		1.576	1.977	.007
Significance	.233	.410	.428	.168	.505	.550	.741	.905		.209	.160	.935

Table 4.14

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to spousal communication

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Earns cash for work	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Yes	29.2	93.3	6.7	4.5	55.9	10.2	8.2	60.0	0.00	42.4	89.0	1.5
No	26.3	93.8	5.2	6.3	73.1	13.0	10.9	78.9	1.5	42.1	91.5	0.5
Chi square	3.593	.092	.994	4.643	5.120	.282	2.419	5.120	.470	.012	1.012	1.688
Significance	.060	.762	.319	.031	.024	.595	.120	.024	.493	.913	.315	.194

who do not have any children and in Kerala women who have only son(s) report the highest incidence of physical abuse since age 15.

All the states show a similar trend of highest incidence of physical abuse by husband among women who have both son(s) and daughter(s). Unlike Bihar and Himachal Pradesh in Kerala and Tamil Nadu women who have only daughter(s) report higher violence compared with women who have only son(s) or have no children.

In Bihar women who have no children report highest incidence of violence by mother in law. In Himachal Pradesh the incidence is highest among women who have only sons, whereas Kerala shows highest incidence among women who have only daughters. Tamil Nadu shows that among women who have both sons and daughters the incidence of abuse by mother in law is the highest. Table 4.11 reveals that in case of physical abuse by husband there is a similar trend. However, with respect to other dependent variables there is no uniform pattern.

Media exposure

Table 4.12 shows that with increase in media exposure the proportion of women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 and by husband declines substantially in all the states. This holds true in case of women beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law in the southern states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. However, in Bihar and Himachal Pradesh it decreases when media exposure increases from no to low but again an increase can be seen among women who have high media exposure.

Earns cash for work

Except Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu show high incidence of physical abuse since age 15 among women who earn cash for work (Table 4.13). In all the states women who have cash earnings report highest incidence of violence by husband. Similarly, violence by mother in law is highest among the group of women who earn cash for work.

This implies that women who have cash earnings report high incidence of violence.

Table 4.15

Percentage of ever married women who were beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, by their husband and by mother in law, according to presence of mother in law

Background characteristics	Bihar			Himachal Pradesh			Kerala			Tamil Nadu		
Presence of mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by husband	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law
Yes	20.7	85.7	71.1	0.00			5.0	100.0	0.00	0.00		
No	26.9	94.1	5.3	5.6	67.1	12	10.6	76.1	1.4	42.2	91.2	0.6
Chi square	6.370	7.993	.432	1.480			1.298	.625	.027	5.830		
Significance	.012	.005	.511	.224			.255	.429	.860	.016		

Studies have suggested that woman's cash earnings do not have a protective effect (Gulati and Dutta, 2004; Singh, 2005).

Spousal Communication

Table 4.14 reveals that in Bihar and Tamil Nadu the percentage of women betaen or physically mistreated since age 15 is high among those who have discussed family planning with partner, unlike Himachal Pradesh and Kerala where women who have not discussed family planning report high incidence of violence.

Except Bihar where both the categories report similar violence by husband, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu show that violence by husband is highest for those who have not discussed family planning.

Table 4.14 shows that there is a pattern among the developed and developing states of both the regions. Bihar and Tamil Nadu show high incidence of physical mistreatment and beating by mother in law among women who have discussed family planning, whereas in Kerala and Himachal Pradesh incidence is high among those who have not discussed family planning.

In the developed states of Himachal Pradesh and Kerala spousal communication has a protective effect on women, which is also true in case of physical abuse by husband in Bihar and Tamil Nadu.

Presence of Mother in law

In all the states women co residing with mother in law report high incidence of physical abuse since age 15 (Table 4.15). However, women who co resides with mother in law have higher incidence of violence by mother in law compared with those who do not co reside with mother in law.

Beating by husband does not show any uniform pattern among the states. In Bihar women whose mother in law does not co reside with them report high incidence of violence by husband, unlike Kerala where all women whose mother in law resides with them report high incidence.

Table 4.16
Correlation Matrix of Bihar

Correlations

		age at marriage grouped	autonomy regrouped	current age grouped	Discussed FP with partner	Earns cash for work	Education	Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Household standard of living index	Husband's education	marital duration regrouped	media regrouped	Presence of mother-in-law	religion regrouped	total children by sex	Type of place of residence
age at marriage grouped	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.057**	-.036**	.026*	.045	.286**	.136**	.183**	.175**	-.167**	.193**	.016	.016	-.130**	-.130**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.003	.030	.055	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.174	.191	.000	.000
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
autonomy regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.057**	1.000	.230**	-.070**	.065**	.022	.008	.007	-.023	.221**	.026*	-.015	-.030*	.146**	-.093**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.000	.000	.005	.066	.481	.557	.054	.000	.029	.198	.011	.000	.000
	N	7023	7023	7023	7023	1847	7023	7023	7015	7023	7023	7023	7022	7023	7023	7023
current age grouped	Pearson Correlation	-.036**	.230**	1.000	-.044**	-.047*	-.087**	.054**	.063**	-.024*	.887**	-.016	-.108**	-.017	.503**	-.059**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.000	.	.000	.042	.000	.000	.000	.046	.000	.178	.000	.149	.000	.000
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
Discussed FP with partner	Pearson Correlation	.026*	-.070**	-.044**	1.000	-.024	.126**	.045**	.089**	.113**	-.068**	.084**	-.009	-.049**	.101**	-.025*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.030	.000	.000	.	.299	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.456	.000	.000	.037
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
Earns cash for work	Pearson Correlation	.045	.065**	-.047*	-.024	1.000	.045	-.156**	-.219**	-.108**	-.060**	-.004	.023	.105**	-.021	-.093**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.055	.005	.042	.299	.	.055	.000	.000	.000	.010	.868	.326	.000	.374	.000
	N	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1846	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847	1847
Education	Pearson Correlation	.286**	.022	-.087**	.126**	.045	1.000	.247**	.519**	.535**	-.158**	.614**	-.003	-.106**	-.072**	-.269**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.066	.000	.000	.055	.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.816	.000	.000	.000
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Pearson Correlation	.136**	.008	.054**	.045**	-.156**	.247**	1.000	.337**	.292**	.027*	.228**	-.003	.255**	.027*	-.090**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.481	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.024	.000	.778	.000	.023	.000
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
Household standard of living index	Pearson Correlation	.183**	.007	.063**	.089**	-.219**	.519**	.337**	1.000	.558**	.008	.584**	-.013	-.050**	.006	-.262**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.557	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.527	.000	.262	.000	.602	.000
	N	7016	7015	7016	7016	1846	7016	7016	7016	7016	7016	7016	7016	7016	7016	7016
Husband's education	Pearson Correlation	.175**	-.023	-.024*	.113**	-.108**	.535**	.292**	.558**	1.000	-.077**	.454**	.003	-.098**	-.021	-.182**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.054	.046	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.806	.000	.078	.000
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
marital duration regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.167**	.221**	.887**	-.068**	-.060**	-.158**	.027*	.008	-.077**	1.000	-.061**	-.105**	.000	.490**	-.028*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.010	.000	.024	.527	.000	.	.000	.000	.987	.000	.019
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
media regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.193**	.026*	-.016	.084**	-.004	.614**	.228**	.584**	.454**	-.061**	1.000	-.014	-.068**	-.020	-.310**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.029	.178	.000	.868	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.243	.000	.091	.000
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
Presence of mother-in-law	Pearson Correlation	.016	-.015	-.108**	-.009	.023	-.003	-.003	-.013	.003	-.105**	-.014	1.000	.026*	-.080**	.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.174	.198	.000	.456	.326	.816	.778	.262	.806	.000	.243	.	.030	.000	.089
	N	7023	7022	7023	7023	1847	7023	7023	7016	7023	7023	7023	7023	7023	7023	7023
religion regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.016	-.030*	-.017	-.049**	.105**	-.106**	.255**	-.050**	-.098**	.000	-.068**	.026*	1.000	.030*	-.038**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.191	.011	.149	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.987	.000	.030	.	.012	.001
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
total children by sex	Pearson Correlation	-.130**	.146**	.503**	.101**	-.021	-.072**	.027*	.006	-.021	.490**	-.020	-.080**	.030*	1.000	-.019
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.374	.000	.023	.602	.078	.000	.091	.000	.012	.	.106
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024
Type of place of residence	Pearson Correlation	-.130**	-.093**	-.059**	-.025*	-.083**	-.269**	-.090**	-.262**	-.182**	-.028*	-.310**	.020	-.038**	-.019	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.037	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.019	.000	.089	.001	.106	.
	N	7024	7023	7024	7024	1847	7024	7024	7016	7024	7024	7024	7023	7024	7024	7024

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.17
Correlation Matrix of Himachal Pradesh

Correlations

		age at marriage	autonomy regrouped	current age regrouped	Discussed FP with partner	Earns cash for work	Education	Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Household standard of living index	Husband's education	marital duration regrouped	media regrouped	Presence of mother-in-law	religion regrouped	total children by sex	Type of place of residence
age at marriage	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.024	-.040*	.090**	.161**	.250**	.128**	.145**	.192**	-.221**	.108**	.001	-.031	-.139**	-.136**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.181	.028	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.971	.092	.000	.000
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
autonomy regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.024	1.000	.207**	-.096**	.380**	.072**	.041*	.079**	.078**	.182**	.113**	.021	-.038*	.079**	-.168**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.181	.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.023	.000	.000	.000	.000	.241	.036	.000	.000
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
current age regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.040*	.207**	1.000	-.214**	.098*	-.230**	.047**	.064**	-.130**	.810**	-.025	-.036*	-.046**	.445**	-.065**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.028	.000	.	.000	.012	.000	.009	.000	.000	.000	.175	.048	.012	.000	.000
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
Discussed FP with partner	Pearson Correlation	.090**	-.096**	-.214**	1.000	.050	.187**	.041*	.104**	.124**	-.238**	.156**	.001	.020	-.062**	-.049**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.	.202	.000	.023	.000	.000	.000	.000	.947	.276	.001	.007
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
Earns cash for work	Pearson Correlation	.161**	.380**	.098*	.050	1.000	.456**	-.010	.318**	.274**	-.018	.384**	.004	-.129**	-.127**	-.529**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.012	.202	.	.000	.806	.000	.000	.647	.000	.916	.001	.001	.000
	N	664	664	664	664	664	664	664	655	664	664	664	664	664	664	664
Education	Pearson Correlation	.250**	.072**	-.230**	.187**	.456**	1.000	.268**	.511**	.631**	-.356**	.486**	.025	-.056**	-.238**	-.331**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.179	.002	.000	.000
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Pearson Correlation	.128**	.041*	.047**	.041*	-.010	.268**	1.000	.249**	.287**	-.019	.152**	.023	.037*	-.027	-.075**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.023	.009	.023	.806	.000	.	.000	.000	.305	.000	.208	.042	.134	.000
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
Household standard of living index	Pearson Correlation	.145**	.079**	.064**	.104**	.318**	.511**	.249**	1.000	.478**	-.013	.455**	.010	-.040*	-.060**	-.382**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.486	.000	.591	.028	.001	.000
	N	2987	2987	2987	2987	655	2987	2987	2987	2987	2987	2986	2986	2987	2987	2987
Husband's education	Pearson Correlation	.192**	.078**	-.130**	.124**	.274**	.631**	.287**	.478**	1.000	-.210**	.430**	.015	-.044*	-.142**	-.224**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.423	.015	.000	.000
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
marital duration regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.221**	.182**	.810**	-.238**	-.018	-.356**	-.019	-.013	-.210**	1.000	-.076**	-.036*	-.031	.420**	.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.647	.000	.305	.486	.000	.	.000	.048	.087	.000	.529
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
media regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.108**	.113**	-.025	.156**	.384**	.486**	.152**	.455**	.430**	-.076**	1.000	.027	-.109**	-.090**	-.277**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.175	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.136	.000	.000	.000
	N	3011	3011	3011	3011	664	3011	3011	2986	3011	3011	3011	3010	3011	3011	3011
Presence of mother-in-law	Pearson Correlation	.001	.021	-.036*	.001	.004	.025	.023	.010	.015	-.036*	.027	1.000	.001	-.034	-.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.971	.241	.048	.947	.916	.179	.208	.591	.423	.048	.136	.	.966	.062	.632
	N	3011	3011	3011	3011	664	3011	3011	2986	3011	3011	3010	3011	3011	3011	3011
religion regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.031	-.038*	-.046**	.020	-.129**	-.056**	.037*	-.040*	-.044*	-.031	-.109**	.001	1.000	-.020	.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.092	.036	.012	.276	.001	.002	.042	.028	.015	.087	.000	.966	.	.265	.542
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
total children by sex	Pearson Correlation	-.139**	.079**	.445**	-.062**	-.127**	-.238**	-.027	-.060**	-.142**	.420**	-.090**	-.034	-.020	1.000	.042*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.001	.001	.000	.134	.001	.000	.000	.000	.062	.265	.	.021
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012
Type of place of residence	Pearson Correlation	-.136**	-.168**	-.065**	-.049**	-.529**	-.331**	-.075**	-.382**	-.224**	.011	-.277**	-.009	.011	.042*	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.007	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.529	.000	.632	.542	.021	.
	N	3012	3012	3012	3012	664	3012	3012	2987	3012	3012	3011	3011	3012	3012	3012

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

4.2 Correlation Analysis

In this section we discuss the results of the correlation for independent variables of domestic violence. In tables 4.16, 4.17, 4.18 and 4.19 the correlation coefficients are shown with their statistical significance. We discuss the correlations which are statistically significant.

Table 4.16 shows that current age shows a strong relationship with marital duration (r = 0.887). This is an obvious relationship as it implies that women who are in the older age groups also have longer duration of marriage. Current age also has the expected high covariance with total number of sons (r = 0.520). Education shows a significant positive relationship with standard of living (r = 0.519): families which have higher standard of living are more likely to educate their women. Also educated women tend to marry educated men. This can be inferred from the positive correlation between education of the respondent and education of the husband (r = 0.535). Education also shows high covariance with media (r = 0.614), thus showing that women with higher education have higher media exposure. Household standard of living is correlated with husband's education. Women from households of higher standard of living tend to be married with educated men. Household standard of living also has high covariance with media. This shows that women from households of high standard of living have access to various mediums of mass media like newspaper, radio and television.

Table 4.17 show the correlation matrix of determinants of violence for Himachal Pradesh. Like Bihar, current age shows high covariance with marital duration (r = 0.810). Education as expected has a positive correlation with husband's education (r = 0.631). Household standard of living also shows a strong correlation with education (r = 0.511), as in Bihar, implying that women from households of high standard of living are better educated. However, type of place of residence shows a negative correlation with cash earnings.

Table 4.18

Correlation Matrix of Kerala

Correlations

		age at marriage regrouped	autonomy regrouped	current age regrouped	Discussed FP with partner	Earns cash for work	Education	Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Household standard of living index	Husband's education	marital duration regrouped	media regrouped	Presence of mother-in-law	religion regrouped	total children by sex	Type of place of residence
age at marriage regrouped	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.010	.084**	.034	-.019	.214**	.008	.047*	.159**	-.180**	.108**	-.009	-.277**	-.171**	-.067**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.633	.000	.114	.664	.000	.721	.031	.000	.000	.000	.682	.000	.000	.002
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
autonomy regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.010	1.000	.192**	-.059**	.131**	-.043*	-.036	-.050*	-.011	.179**	.024	-.044*	-.117**	.104**	-.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.633	.	.000	.007	.002	.045	.092	.022	.614	.000	.258	.043	.000	.000	.663
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
current age regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.084**	.192**	1.000	-.288**	.022	-.312**	-.009	.000	-.228**	.790**	-.102**	-.055*	-.164**	.386**	-.012
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.	.000	.606	.000	.689	.983	.000	.000	.000	.011	.000	.000	.594
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
Discussed FP with partner	Pearson Correlation	.034	-.059**	-.288**	1.000	-.033	.176**	.028	.050*	.108**	-.300**	.088**	-.026	.019	-.135**	-.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.114	.007	.000	.	.441	.000	.201	.021	.000	.000	.000	.229	.371	.000	.709
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
Earns cash for work	Pearson Correlation	-.019	.131**	.022	-.033	1.000	-.119**	-.133**	-.135**	-.087*	.046	-.106*	-.004	.097*	-.094*	-.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.664	.002	.606	.441	.	.006	.002	.002	.041	.282	.014	.920	.024	.027	.216
	N	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545	545
Education	Pearson Correlation	.214**	-.043*	-.312**	.176**	-.119**	1.000	.137**	.407**	.590**	-.435**	.430**	-.015	-.276**	-.203**	-.082**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.045	.000	.000	.006	.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.488	.000	.000	.000
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Pearson Correlation	.008	-.036	-.009	.028	-.133**	.137**	1.000	.236**	.119**	-.029	.071**	-.032	.060**	.002	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.721	.092	.689	.201	.002	.000	.	.000	.000	.178	.001	.145	.006	.944	.283
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
Household standard of living index	Pearson Correlation	.047*	-.050*	.000	.050*	-.135**	.407**	.236**	1.000	.427**	-.020	.361**	-.036	-.043*	-.023	-.159**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.031	.022	.983	.021	.002	.000	.000	.	.000	.360	.000	.097	.045	.289	.000
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
Husband's education	Pearson Correlation	.159**	-.011	-.228**	.108**	-.087*	.590**	.119**	.427**	1.000	-.296**	.335**	-.028	-.203**	-.171**	-.097**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.614	.000	.000	.041	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.194	.000	.000	.000
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
marital duration regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.180**	.179**	.790**	-.300**	.046	-.435**	-.029	-.020	-.296**	1.000	-.152**	-.035	.018	.404**	.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.282	.000	.178	.360	.000	.	.000	.105	.395	.000	.140
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
media regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.108**	.024	-.102**	.088**	-.106*	.430**	.071**	.361**	.335**	-.152**	1.000	-.085**	-.236**	-.092**	-.091**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.258	.000	.000	.014	.000	.001	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
Presence of mother-in-law	Pearson Correlation	-.009	-.044*	-.055*	-.026	-.004	-.015	-.032	-.036	-.028	-.035	-.085**	1.000	.060**	-.046*	.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.682	.043	.011	.229	.920	.488	.145	.097	.194	.105	.000	.	.006	.032	.491
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
religion regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.277**	-.117**	-.164**	.019	.097*	-.276**	.060**	-.043*	-.203**	.018	-.236**	.060**	1.000	.009	.001
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.371	.024	.000	.006	.045	.000	.395	.000	.006	.	.688	.974
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141
total children by sex	Pearson Correlation	-.171**	.104**	.386**	-.135**	-.094*	-.203**	.002	-.023	-.171**	.404**	-.092**	-.046*	.009	1.000	.052*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.027	.000	.944	.289	.000	.000	.000	.032	.688	.	.016
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2884	2141
Type of place of residence	Pearson Correlation	-.067**	-.009	-.012	-.008	-.053	-.082**	.023	-.159**	-.097**	.032	-.091**	.015	.001	.052*	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.663	.594	.709	.216	.000	.283	.000	.000	.140	.000	.491	.974	.016	.
	N	2141	2141	2141	2141	545	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141	2141

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.19

Correlation Matrix of Tamil Nadu

Correlations

		age at marriage regrouped	autonomy regrouped	current age grouped	Discussed FP with partner	Earns cash for work	Education	Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Household standard of living index	Husband's education	marital duration regrouped	media regrouped	Presence of mother-in-law	religion regrouped	CHIL	Type of place of residence
age at marriage regrouped	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.036*	-.052**	.071**	-.019	.238**	.149**	.140**	.214**	-.248**	.110**	.012	-.068**	-.136**	-.077**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.048	.004	.000	.428	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.518	.000	.000	.000
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
autonomy regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.036*	1.000	.170**	-.029	.010	-.078**	-.029	-.085**	-.093**	.171**	-.106**	-.002	-.090**	.092**	.061**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.048	.	.000	.107	.658	.000	.116	.000	.000	.000	.000	.920	.000	.000	.001
	N	2996	2996	2996	2993	1808	2996	2996	2968	2996	2996	2995	2995	2996	2996	2996
current age grouped	Pearson Correlation	-.052**	.170**	1.000	-.230**	-.016	-.202**	.020	.024	-.114**	.842**	-.145**	-.020	-.051**	.361**	-.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.000	.	.000	.484	.000	.284	.188	.000	.000	.000	.275	.006	.000	.206
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
Discussed FP with partner	Pearson Correlation	.071**	-.029	-.230**	1.000	.015	.148**	.006	.055**	.099**	-.246**	.101**	-.018	-.004	-.011	-.057**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.107	.000	.	.515	.000	.740	.003	.000	.000	.000	.326	.845	.535	.002
	N	2994	2993	2994	2994	1806	2994	2994	2966	2994	2994	2993	2993	2994	2994	2994
Earns cash for work	Pearson Correlation	-.019	.010	.016	.015	1.000	-.077**	-.156**	-.309**	-.062**	.006	-.086**	-.007	.026	-.020	-.090**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.428	.658	.484	.515	.	.001	.000	.000	.008	.800	.000	.766	.264	.394	.000
	N	1808	1808	1808	1806	1808	1808	1808	1792	1808	1808	1808	1807	1808	1808	1808
Education	Pearson Correlation	.238**	-.078**	-.202**	.148**	-.077**	1.000	.150**	.455**	.532**	-.278**	.421**	.036*	-.071**	-.129**	-.172**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.048	.000	.000	.000
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
Ethnicity (scheduled caste or tribe)	Pearson Correlation	.149**	-.029	.020	.006	-.156**	.150**	1.000	.246**	.129**	-.047**	.120**	.030	.112**	-.031	-.072**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.116	.284	.740	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.010	.000	.099	.000	.088	.000
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
Household standard of living index	Pearson Correlation	.140**	-.085**	.024	.055**	-.309**	.455**	.246**	1.000	.448**	-.047**	.404**	.026	.000	-.001	-.182**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.188	.003	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.010	.000	.154	1.000	.965	.000
	N	2969	2968	2969	2966	1792	2969	2969	2969	2969	2969	2968	2968	2969	2969	2969
Husband's education	Pearson Correlation	.214**	-.093**	-.114**	.099**	-.062**	.532**	.129**	.448**	1.000	-.187**	.328**	.012	-.031	-.089**	-.163**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.008	.000	.000	.000	.	.000	.000	.503	.094	.000	.000
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
marital duration regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.248**	.171**	.842**	-.246**	.006	-.278**	-.047**	-.047**	-.187**	1.000	-.178**	-.019	.010	.370**	.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.800	.000	.010	.010	.000	.	.000	.302	.568	.000	.425
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
media regrouped	Pearson Correlation	.110**	-.106**	-.145**	.101**	-.086**	.421**	.120**	.404**	.328**	-.178**	1.000	.015	.007	-.101**	-.157**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.	.410	.710	.000	.000
	N	2996	2995	2996	2993	1808	2996	2996	2968	2996	2995	2996	2995	2996	2996	2996
Presence of mother-in-law	Pearson Correlation	.012	-.002	-.020	-.018	-.007	.036*	.030	.026	.012	-.019	.015	1.000	-.001	-.009	.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.518	.920	.275	.326	.766	.048	.099	.154	.503	.302	.410	.	.954	.619	.244
	N	2996	2995	2996	2993	1807	2996	2996	2968	2996	2996	2995	2996	2996	2996	2996
religion regrouped	Pearson Correlation	-.068**	-.090**	-.051**	-.004	.026	-.071**	.112**	.000	-.031	.010	.007	-.001	1.000	.001	-.110**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.006	.845	.264	.000	.000	1.000	.094	.568	.710	.954	.	.950	.000
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997
CHIL	Pearson Correlation	-.136**	.092**	.361**	-.011	-.020	-.129**	-.031	-.001	-.089**	.370**	-.101**	-.009	.001	1.000	-.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.535	.394	.000	.088	.965	.000	.000	.000	.619	.950	.	.817
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	4676	2997
Type of place of residence	Pearson Correlation	-.077**	.061**	-.023	-.057**	-.090**	-.172**	-.072**	-.182**	-.163**	.015	-.157**	.021	-.110**	-.004	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.206	.002	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.425	.000	.244	.000	.817	.
	N	2997	2996	2997	2994	1808	2997	2997	2969	2997	2997	2996	2996	2997	2997	2997

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The southern states show similar results as the northern states. However, in Tamil Nadu and Kerala results are similar with few exceptions.

Table 4.18 and 4.19 shows that in Kerala and Tamil Nadu current age group is highly correlated with marital duration. Similarly, education has high covariance with husband's education as in other states.

4.3 Multivariate analysis

The present section examines the results of logistic regression analysis. Tables 4.20, 4.21 and 4.22 show the results of logistic regression for women beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, beaten or physically mistreated by husband, beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law and frequency of beating. The exponential parameter in the tables, exp(b) is the odds ratio. It represents proportional increase (if greater than 1.0) or decrease (if less than 1.0) of the likelihood of being beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, beaten or physically mistreated by husband and beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law.

Beaten or physically mistreated since age 15

In table 4.20 we present the result of logistic regression analysis. Education has a significant effect on the likelihood of women being beaten or physically mistreated since age 15. However, it varies with level of education of respondent and differs for all the states.

In Bihar women who are illiterate are 300 times more likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 as compared with their counterparts who are educated till high school and above. This is also consistent with the findings in Tamil Nadu and Himachal Pradesh. In Himachal Pradesh women who are literate, but have not completed middle school are at a higher odds ratio of violence (exp(b) =5.780) with reference to women who are high school and above educated. However, in Kerala women who have completed middle school are at higher odds ratio of being beaten. The corresponding

Table 4.20

Results of Logistic regression for "Has been beaten or physically mistreated since age 15"

Variables	Bihar		Himacahl Pradesh		Kerala		Tamil Nadu	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Age at marriage		.930	**	.013		.842		.239
<14	1.292	.706	3.253	.218	1.198	.830	.785	.478
15-24	1.280	.715	.585	.476	.856	.701	.669	.203
Autonomy	***	.000		.349		.578	**	.038
Low	1.894***	.000	.499	.151	.746	.429	.977	.866
Medium	1.312**	.021	.674	.480	.769	.373	.728**	.012
Current age	*	.052		.272		.364		.656
<24	1.071	.655	.001	.672	.390	.179	.942	.706
25-34	1.307**	.019	1.870	.121	1.054	.854	1.071	.535
Spousal communication	.997	.986	.811	.663	.507	.167	1.217	.300
Earns cash for work	.928	.516	1.983	.176	1.129	.781	.979	.876
Education of respondent	**	.018		.161	**	.014	***	.001
Illiterate	4.109***	.008	5.192**	.049	1.912	.230	3.065***	.000
Literate, <middle school complete	2.940*	.056	5.780**	.025	2.251*	.099	2.353***	.004
Middle school complete	1.613	.482	2.726	.289	4.582***	.002	2.167**	.018
Caste		.277		.807		.369	***	.003
Scheduled castes	1.053	.833	1.543	.370	.875	.714	3.044	.316
Scheduled tribe	.773	.344	.000	.947	1.516	.595	3.664	.273
Other backward castes	.898	.639	.911	.879	.619	.122	2.066	.512
Standard of living		.148		.786		.709	***	.006
Low	2.332	.121	1.290	.743	1.302	.629	2.543***	.001
Medium	2.621*	.073	.879	.825	1.026	.958	2.201***	.004
Education of husband		.780		.555		.534		.984
Illiterate	.005	.691	.624	.473	813.202	.671	.005	.694
Literate, <middle school complete	.005	.691	.664	.478	627.661	.683	.005	.696
Middle school complete	.004	.682	.333	.152	902.053	.666	.005	.693
Media exposure		.352		.980	*	.100	**	.012
No	1.586	.148	.906	.873	2.077**	.043	.668***	.003
Low	1.522	.231	.910	.854	1.049	.886	.836	.158
Presence of mother in law	.813	.427	.001	.927	.006	.679	.008	.466
Religion		.488	***	.001		.800		.643
Others	1.442	.330	.077***	.010	.804	.638	1.117	.807
Hindu	1.218	.283	.099***	.000	.779	.508	1.309	.456
Total children by sex		.316		.405		.289	**	.044
No children	.745	.127	2.808	.137	2.176	.118	.658**	.018
Only daughters	.886	.489	.833	.790	1.260	.511	.886	.381
Only sons	1.083	.571	.813	.669	1.619	.138	.755**	.032
Type of place of residence	1.284	.339	1.119	.823	.415	.409	1.227	.214
Constant	4.893	.907	.214	.147	.000	.585	20.876	.823

***** - 0.01 level of significance**

**** - 0.05 level of significance**

*** - 0.10 level of significance**

odds ratio is 4.582. This finding implies that with lower education the risk of violence persists until a threshold of high school education is crossed which has a strong protective influence against violence. This result is supported by various studies. (Schuler, 2004; Koenig, 2003 and Swain, 2002).

Autonomy has a significant effect on violence only in the states of Bihar and Tamil Nadu. Table 4.20 shows that in Bihar women who have low autonomy are 89.4 percent more likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 compared with women who have high autonomy. Women with medium autonomy are 31.2 percent more vulnerable to violence since age 15 with reference to women with high autonomy. Jejeebhoy (1998) also found a similar relationship. However, in Tamil Nadu the results are contradictory to the results of Bihar. In Tamil Nadu women with medium autonomy are 27.1 percent less likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 in comparison with their counterparts who have high autonomy. Koenig (2003) supports this view as higher autonomy seems to be associated with higher risk.

In Tamil Nadu and Bihar violence since age 15 is also significantly associated with household standard of living. Table 4.20 shows that in Bihar women from households of medium standard of living have significantly higher odds ratio of violence, odds ratio is 2.621; compared with women from households of high standard of living. The results of logistic regression for the state of Tamil Nadu show that women from low and medium household standard of living are significantly more likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 in comparison with those of high standard of living. This result is different from what Jejeebhoy (1998) has reported.

Religion is an important determinant of violence in Himachal Pradesh. Table 4.20 shows that Hindus and other women have significantly lower odds ratio of violence as compared with women belonging to Muslim community. The corresponding odds ratio are .100 and .077 respectively. However, this factor has no significant effect on the dependent variable in other states. Koenig (2003) also shows that Muslim women are relatively at a higher risk of violence.

Table 4.21

Results of Logistic regression for "Has been beaten or physically mistreated by husband"

Variables	Bihar		Himacahl Pradesh		Kerala		Tamil Nadu	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Age at marriage		.277				.974	***	.004
<14	.001	.938			53.679	.902	9.496***	.002
15-24	.002	.944			.727	.851	6.098***	.002
Autonomy		.461				.322	*	.073
Low	.555	.255			4.260	.272	.828	.655
Medium	.593	.278			.544	.567	.463**	.023
Current age		.227			*	.078		.155
<24	2.696*	.100			.008	.163	.455*	.065
25-34	1.591	.277			.051**	.034	.863	.674
Spousal communication	3.190	.269			.626	.900	1.302	.622
Earns cash for work	1.472	.360			.512	.705	1.469	.301
Education of respondent		.885				.955		.267
Illiterate	1.174	.936			2.835	.634	3.380	.121
Literate, <middle school complete	.546	.775			1.813	.773	2.159	.327
Middle school complete	4968.959	.881			1.393	.869	1.569	.589
Caste		.400				.743		.842
Scheduled castes	1.169	.883			.944	.968	2324.130	.898
Scheduled tribe	1.099	.935			.666	.875	1867.593	.901
Other backward castes	2.351	.412			.365	.374	1698.540	.902
Standard of living		.506				.339		.825
Low	1.265	.909			.098	.335	.713	.736
Medium	2.363	.676			.049	.178	.623	.621
Education of husband		.371				.170		.850
Illiterate	.003	.971			64.370	.181	1.697	.993
Literate, <middle school complete	.005	.974			1.261	.872	1.737	.993
Middle school complete	1.627	.998			.050	.124	2.964	.986
Media exposure		.811				.432		.767
No	1.783	.605			.569	.724	1.250	.598
Low	2.355	.520			.226	.195	.942	.863
Presence of mother in law	1640.654	.796						
Religion		.378			**	.042		.790
Others	.216	.231			.008**	.032	.002	.683
Hindu	.739	.766			.494	.698	.003	.702
Total children by sex		.110				.267		.327
No children	.841	.836			4.360	.700	.491	.127
Only daughters	.748	.669			1.400	.807	.914	.832
Only sons	.340**	.016			.101	.106	.597	.178
Type of place of residence	741.744	.817			.000	.824	.439**	.027
Constant	2250033.990	.938			6815.052**	.037	.182	.984

***** - 0.01 level of significance**

**** - 0.05 level of significance**

*** - 0.10 level of significance**

Unlike northern states, in southern states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu media also has a significant influence on violence variable. In Kerala women who have no media exposure are relatively more likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 in comparison with their counterparts who have high media exposure. This could be so because of the difference in perception of women regarding violence, which is influenced by media. Women who have no media exposure might report violence only when they have been physically tortured to a great extent as against women who report violence even in case of subtle inflictions. However, Tamil Nadu shows an opposite influence of media exposure. In Tamil Nadu women who have no media exposure are relatively at a lower risk of violence as compared with their counterparts who have high media exposure.

Table 4.20 reveals that only in Tamil Nadu gender composition of children shows a significant influence. Women who have no children or have sons only are significantly less likely to be beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 compared with their counterparts who have both son(s) and daughter(s). Women who daughters are also less likely to be physically abused, however it is not statistically significant. This implies that sons have a protective influence for women (Kosambi, 1998; Karlekar, 1998; Rao, 1998).

Beaten or physically mistreated by husband

Table 4.21 shows that results of Bihar do not indicate any determinant to be significantly influencing the incidence of beating or physical mistreatment by husband, except total children by sex composition. Women who have only sons are at significantly lower odds ratio (exp(b)=.340) in comparison with those who have both son(s) and daughter(s).

In Himachal Pradesh 94.5 percent data is missing for this variable. This shows a clear non reporting of violence by husband. Therefore, it implies that either non reporting is a result of social sanction enjoyed by violence inflicted by husband or could also mean that the perception regarding violence varies.

Table 4.22

Results of Logistic regression for "Has been beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law"

Variables	Bihar		Himacahl Pradesh		Kerala		Tamil Nadu	
	Exp(b)	Sig.					Exp(b)	Sig.
Age at marriage		.336					*	.087
<14	1301.230	.900					.031	.151
15-24	707.317	.908					.005**	.031
Autonomy		.832						.874
Low	1.336	.559					.412	.604
Medium	1.097	.844					.850	.934
Current age		.715						.103
<24	.663	.479					75.473**	.033
25-34	1.027	.950					.000	.868
Spousal communication	.459	.320					152.960*	.080
Earns cash for work	1.703	.255					2.613	.672
Education of respondent		.970						.985
Illiterate	371.709	.877					3513.941	.975
Literate, <middle school complete	536.714	.869					1735.879	.977
Middle school complete	.352	.985					.276	.997
Caste		.496						.468
Scheduled castes	1.710	.576					.000	.988
Scheduled tribe	3.751	.206					.000	.985
Other backward castes	2.172	.383					.000	.989
Standard of living		.780						.943
Low	74.905	.916					2187.537	.979
Medium	104.095	.910					1396.650	.980
Education of husband		.155						.500
Illiterate	701.363	.948					.000	.997
Literate, <middle school complete	448.846	.951					.005	.998
Middle school complete	2564.575	.937					.000	.992
Media exposure		.918						.798
No	.618	.680					2.199	.659
Low	.623	.713					.679	.804
Presence of mother in law	.638	.681						
Religion		.140						.999
Others	.001	.755					.245	.998
Hindu	.317	.049					7603.173	.981
Total children by sex		.119						.997
No children	3.777**	.023					.000	.937
Only daughters	.856	.844					.000	.880
Only sons	1.495	.427					.000	.877
Type of place of residence	.961	.970					.000	.950
Constant	.000	.834					5015.037	.998

*** - 0.01 level of significance

** - 0.05 level of significance

* - 0.10 level of significance

In southern states analysis of the data reveals that current age of the respondent is an important factor influencing violence by husband in both Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Table 4.21 shows that in Kerala women in the age group of less than 24 and 25-34 years have significantly lower odds ratio of violence with reference to the women belonging to the age group of 35 and above. This indicates that women in higher age groups are relatively more vulnerable to the risk of violence. Neelima (2005) also found that as women age, domestic violence increases. However, women in younger ages i.e. age group less than 24 years are at significantly lower odds ratio of violence.

Table 4.21 shows that in Tamil Nadu age at marriage is highly significant in determining the risk of violence. With increase in age at marriage the odds ratio of violence by husband declines. Therefore, women who were married at age less than 14 or in age group of 15-24 are significantly more vulnerable to violence by husband in comparison with their counterparts whose age at marriage was delayed to 25 and above. None of the other states show this relationship to be significant.

Autonomy also has an impact on violence. Women who have medium level of autonomy are 53.4 percent less likely to be beaten by husband as compared with women who have high autonomy. This reaffirms the findings by Koenig (2003) who found that higher autonomy increases the risk of violence. Also urban women are at lower odds ratio as compared with their rural counterparts

In Kerala religion also has an impact on the dependent variable. Results show that women of other religions are relatively less vulnerable to the risk of violence by husband as against women belonging to Muslim community. The corresponding odds ratio is 0.008.

Table 4.23
Summary of Findings

Variables	Beaten since age 15				Beaten by husband				Beaten by mother in law			
	Bihar	Himachal Pradesh	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Bihar	Himachal Pradesh	Kerala	Tamil Nadu	Bihar	Himachal Pradesh	Kerala	Tamil Nadu
Age at marriage								-				-
Autonomy	-			+				+				
Current age	-				-		+	+				+
Spousal communication												+
Earns cash for work												
Education of respondent	-	-	-	-								
Caste												
Standard of living	-			-								
Education of husband												
Media exposure			-	+								
Presence of mother in law												
Religion		(O & H-)+					(O -)+					
Gender composition of children				+	+				-			
Type of place of residence						-		+				

O- Others
H- Hindus

Beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law

Since a large data is missing this variable has not been analysed for Himachal Pradesh and Kerala (94.5 percent and 89.5 percent respectively). Table 4.22 shows that in Bihar total children by sex composition is a significant predictor of violence by mother in law. Table 4.22 shows that women who have no children are significantly vulnerable to the risk of violence by mother in law as compared with those who have both son(s) and daughter(s). The corresponding odds ratio is 3.777. This is in consonance with the findings of Rao (1998).

In Tamil Nadu age at marriage has an impact on the vulnerability of women to risk of violence. Women who were married in the age group of 15-24 have significantly less likelihood to be beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law as compared with women who married at age 25 and above. Current age also shows a significant effect on risk of violence. Women in the age group less than 24 have higher odds ratio compared with women of age 35 and above. The corresponding odds ratio is 75.473.
Spousal communication shows a significant influence on risk of violence by mother in law. Women who have not discussed family planning issues with the husband are more likely to be beaten or physically mistreated by mother in law. This could be viewed as an important factor influencing the woman's role in decision making thus influencing her risk of violence.

4.4 Summary of findings

Table 4.23 summarizes the empirical findings of the present study. Among the three dependent variables beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 is influenced by the independent variables to a large extent. It indicates that education of the respondent has a consistent effect on the risk of violence since age 15 in all the four states. This implies that education has a protective effect on the vulnerability of women, as with increase in level of education, the risk of violence reduces. However the effect is stronger in Bihar, Kerala and Tamil Nadu compared with Himchal Pradesh. Various authors have found

similar relationships between violence and education of the respondent (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Visaria, 2000; Koenig et al., 2003 and Schuler et al., 2004). The standard of living has a similar effect in both Bihar and Tamil Nadu which are the developing states, whereas in Himachal Pradesh and Kerala standard of living has no significant influence. Differential influence of standard of living according to the development of the states emerges from our analysis. Eventhough we have not been able to study it empirically the exogenous influence cannot be denied. The effect of autonomy and media exposure is positive in some states and negative in others. In Bihar women with greater autonomy face lesser risk of violence, while in Tamil Nadu greater autonomy translates into greater risk. This contradictory result reflects on the influence of independent variables on the risk of violence in two regions. Similarly, in Kerala with increase in exposure to media the women's risk of violence since age 15 declines, whereas in Tamil Nadu increase in exposure to media surprisingly implies greater risk of violence. The result in the developed states is as expected and appears to be the influence of socioeconomic development.

In contrast to beaten or physically mistreated since age 15, only a small set of variables are important in case of the other two dependent variables, beaten or physically mistreated by husband and by mother in law the results are better in Tamil Nadu compared with other states. The positive effect of autonomy, current age and spousal communication is unexpected. However, this points out the difference in influence of independent variables according to the development of the state as envisaged in the conceptual framework. The impact of socioeconomic development can only be felt if a certain threshold is crossed as in case of Kerala.

Chapter - 5

Conclusions

Domestic violence against women is not a new or recent concept. Infact women have been victims of violence since ages. It is the most insidious and pernicious form of violence present in the society. It takes place behind the closed doors of the home, which is the haven for its members. The women suffer in silence due to the existing social system and economic dependence on the perpetrators of violence. The social norms and values place the burden of family honour on the shoulders of women, which does not allow them to report the matter, leave aside taking a legal action. Moreover, the lack of natal family support, owing to the lower status allocated to them and lack of other alternatives forbid them from moving out of the violent relationships. Thus, the only option they are left with is to suffer in silence.

The impact of domestic violence is not alone on the individuals who are the victims, but has an extensive effect on the society and nation as a whole. Domestic violence is not alone a human rights violation, but has increasing health burden and demographic consequences. In the past studies have suggested that 40 percent to 75 percent of women who are physically abused by a partner are injured by this abuse at some point of time in life. Worldwide an estimated 40 percent to over 70 percent of homicide of women are committed by intimate partners often in context of violent relationships. Physical consequences are not the most common outcome of violence. Mental and other physiological manifestations like chronic pain syndrome, irritable bowl syndrome, depression, stress disorders are often linked with history of physical or sexual abuse. At ICPD, Cairo 1994 and Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995 it was recognized that gender violence is a major barrier in achieving the goal of reproductive and sexual health and rights of women. Domestic violence and rape together accounts for 5 percent of the total disease burden among women of reproductive age group in developing countries (Sakshi, 2001). All this implies that half of the population is under a constant threat of violence and is not able to contribute to the process owing to the

existing situation. Moreover, it is against the very notion of development which aims at providing equal opportunities, social justice and human rights irrespective of gender.

In our study the variables which have been considered provided us with an overview of domestic violence with respect to the factors affecting domestic violence. We have also analyzed the data in order to gain an understanding of the north south divide. This has helped us in gaining insight about how regional differences affect the incidence of physical abuse against women. As mentioned in the previous chapters earlier studies have clearly indicated a difference in the influence of the socioeconomic variables between the two regions. Our study has also confirmed that the effect of variables vary with the region. This is evident in the contradictory influence of autonomy in Bihar and Tamil Nadu which are both relatively, demographically and socially under developed states of the respective regions. In Bihar, women with greater autonomy are less likely to be abused as against women in Tamil Nadu who are increasingly vulnerable to violence with increase in autonomy. Similarly, current age also has a diverse effect in north and south. This could be explained by the two fold effect of assertion gained by increasing autonomy and current age. Assertion helps a woman in gaining status in the family and on the other hand could instigate the man as his authority is threatened. The results of our study outline the varied effect of the same variables with change in region. This implies that there is a need to have a culturally sensitive programme for curbing domestic violence.

Along with the regional differences the results are evident of the effect of the independent variables which also vary with the development of the two states of both the regions. The findings show that the effect of gender composition of the children has similar effect in Bihar and Tamil Nadu, whereas there is no significant effect in the developed states of Himachal Pradesh and Kerala. This can easily be deciphered as the effect of development in these states, better status of women and dominant social norms. In both Himachal Pradesh and Kerala women enjoy a better position and girl children are relatively safer compared to Bihar and Tamil Nadu. This implies that the process of social change could be accelerated with the help of socioeconomic development.

The results of the present study and previous experiences have clearly indicated the importance of education with regard to violence. Thus, the need is to increase not alone the literacy rates, but the education level of both women and men; as the study outlines that education has a protective effect only when a threshold of high school education is crossed. Similarly age at marriage has shown a significant effect implying that delayed age at marriage also results into lesser risk of violence for women. Eventhough the legal age at marriage is 18 years for girls, a large number is married before the stipulated age. Therefore, the focus of governmental and non governmental programmes should be to delay the age at marriage, which can easily translate into a protective cover against abuse.

In this study there is some evidence that the gender composition of the children is an important factor in determining the incidence of violence. Although the results do not clearly show the difference in likelihood of being beaten or mistreated by gender of children, it surely points towards the fact that women who have daughters are more likely to be beaten as compared with those who have sons only or both sons and daughters. This is a reflection on the dominant bias against girl child in our society. It is important to change the mindsets of the people in order to change the patriarchal social norms and values and enhance the status of women. The literature survey shows that media plays an important role in changing the prevailing values by promoting the elitist views. In our study media has shown a contradictory effect in the southern states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In Kerala high media exposure ensures less vulnerability, whereas in Tamil Nadu it increases the risk of abuse. This could be a consolidated effect of socioeconomic development of the two states and also the fact that media before or at the time of the survey did not focus on the issue of domestic violence which has gained impetus in recent years. Infact various authors have explored how media can be used to generate awareness on sensitive issues. Kothari (1997) has explored how women writers used popular soap operas in Pakistan to raise awareness on sensitive topics. Also Faud et al. (1996) discusses the use of soap operas to introduce sensitive topics in Brazilian society.

The results from the study indicate that socioeconomic variables which are affecting women's risk of violence are related to women's overall empowerment and change in the

dominant social system. Eventhough the findings are not conclusive, the results indicate lack of reporting which has translated into missing data affecting the analysis. This itself is evident of the fact that domestic violence is a private matter and is out of the public purview. Along with this family honour, lack of support systems and lack of governmental and non governmental services for the victims discourage women from reporting violence and seeking help. (ICRW, 2000).

The present study is based on the secondary data from National Family and Health Survey –II. The operational definition of violence is limited to only beating or physical mistreatment. This limits the scope of the study, because meaning of violence which is endorsed by various international forums is much wider and encompasses not only physical, but also emotional, mental and sexual violence. Since violence is a sensitive issue and is shrouded in silence, the possibility of non reporting is extremely high. Because of this a large data is missing, making it difficult to analyze the effect of independent variables on the dependent variables. The influence of the community factors is well recognized in the conceptual framework discussed earlier. Despite the significance of the variables in the analysis, we have not accounted for these factors because of data. As shown above, the findings of the study are however useful in understanding the reasons for domestic violence and deriving policy implications on the issue of domestic violence.

The above aspects along with overall socioeconomic development of the country and improved legal machinery can ensure a better future for the women. The need of the hour is to address the issue of domestic violence. The extensive laws and legal machinery in India have adopted various approaches to deal with the issue of domestic violence. However, the basic aim behind all approaches is to maintain family as the sanctuary of harmony. The amended bill was recently passed by the cabinet to be introduced in parliament titled "The Protection from Domestic Violence Bill". It is an improvement on the previous version which was not supported by the women's groups and was referred to the standing committee for reconsideration and recommendations. The definition now is more comprehensive and covers not only actual abuse but also the threat of abuse that is

physical, sexual, verbal, emotional or economic. Harassment by way of unlawful dowry demands to the woman or her relatives would also be covered by this definition. The bill provides the right to reside in the matrimonial or shared household, whether the woman has any title or rights in the household. Unlike its previous version, the bill also seeks to cover those women who are or have been in a relationship with the abuser where both parties have lived together in a shared household and are related by consanguinity, marriage (not necessarily legal) or a relationship in the nature of marriage or adoption. It also provides for appointment of protection officers and NGOs to provide assistance to woman in regard to medical examination, legal aid, safe shelter etc.

The amended bill is being seen as a progressive step for the women's cause. Moreover it is expected that legal remedies will provide the victims with an alternative to their existing situation. However, a law is just a tool for change in dominant social structure but alone cannot ensure change. Therefore, along with it coordinated efforts for improving the factors mentioned above in our study is required in order to break the norms and mindsets, which sanction the use of violence against women.

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Appendix 1

The autonomy index has been formulated by combining four variables related to health seeking, movement and monetary aspects.

Scores for the variables used in computation of Autonomy Index.

Variables	Scores
1) Who decides on obtaining health care	Respondents-1 Others-0
2) Permission needed to go to market	No-1 Yes-0
3) Permission needed to visit relatives or friends	No-1 Yes-0
4) Allowed to have money set aside	Yes-1 No-0
Autonomy index	Scores 0-4
Categories of Autonomy index Low autonomy Medium autonomy High autonomy	Range Less than or equal to1 2 3 and above

Appendix 2

Standard of living (Roy & Jayachandran, 1995) has been calculated to understand the standard of living of households of the interviewed women. Calculation is given below.

Scores for the variables used in computation of Standard of living Index.

Variables	Scores
1) Separate room for cooking	Yes-1 No-0
2) Type of house	Pucca-2 Semi Pucca-1 Kachcha-0
3) Source of lighting	Electricity- 2 Kerosene or gas or oil-1 Other-0
4) Fuel for cooking	Electricity or gas or biogas-2 Coal or charcoal or kerosene-1 Other-0
5) Source of drinking water	Well or pipe or hand pump (own)-2 Well or pipe or hand pump (public)-1 Other-0
6) Toilet facility	Own flush toilet-3 Flush toilet (public or shared) or own pit toilet- 2 Shared pit toilet or public pit toilet-1 Other-0
7) Ownership of livestock	Bullock-2 Cow-2 Buffalo-2 Goat-1 Sheep-1 Camel-1
8) Ownership of goods	Sewing machine-2 Clock or watch-1 Sofa set-2 Fan-2 Radio or Transistor- 2 Refrigerator-3 Television-3 VCR or VCP-3 Bicycle- 2 Motorcycle or Scooter-3 Car-4
Standard of Living Index (SLI)	Score Range 0 to 48
Categories of SLI Low standard of living Medium standard of living High standard of living	Range 0-9 10-19 20 and above

Appendix 3

The media exposure index has been formulated by combining three media related variables.

Scores for the variables used in computation of Media exposure Index.

Variables	Scores
1) Reads newspaper once a week	Yes-1 No-0
2) Listens to radio every week	Yes-1 No-0
3) Watches TV every week	Yes-1 No-0
Media exposure index	Scores 0-3
Categories of Media index Low media exposure Medium media exposure High media exposure	Range Less than or equal to1 2 3

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