

## **Does Spousal violence decline with urbanization? Indian Perspective**

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### **Abstract:**

The paper explores the levels and determinants of spousal violence ever experienced by currently married women in urban and rural residential size class. Ambiguity exists related to association of women's experience of violence with urbanization. Scholars argue that with urbanization and modernization, spousal violence declines. However, researches do exhibit the opposite trend. Using the Indian National Family Health Survey-3 (2007) data, this article looked into the prevalence of physical, emotional and sexual violence by rural and urban size class and in slums and non-slum areas of urban India. It also examines the determinants of spousal violence; hypothesizing that larger urban area will experience lesser chances of violence. Results show that levels of spousal violence is maximum in rural areas. Yet women from small cities and towns are experiencing more spousal violence than the large cities. Non-slum areas of urban India experience less spousal violence than slum dwellers. However, probability of experiencing violence is remarkably higher especially in towns and cities when effect of other significant factors determining violence are controlled. Policy needs better intervention of violence in rural area, smaller towns and cities, the level being high. Urbanization in India has not been able to erode patriarchal norms of gender inequality and women's subordination.

### **Key words:**

**Spousal violence, Residential size class, India**

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### **Introduction**

Urbanization has been rapid in most countries of the world since the middle of the twentieth century. The proportion of population living in urban areas globally is just 13percent in 1900 which surpassed 50percent in 2009 (United Nations, 2010), supporting about 3.9 billion population in 2014 (UN, 2017). The pattern of urbanization, however, remained quite uneven in the developed and developing nations (Cohen, 2004). The largest urban growth is predicted to take place in India, China and Nigeria, as per UN projection (UN 2017). Needless to say, urbanization has brought massive transformation of social life and its roots by changing dominant rural culture to predominantly urban culture. It is closely associated with the reorganization of society based on industrialization and modernization. The process of

urbanization creates enormous social, economic, political and environmental changes in which people strive to adapt themselves and provides ample livelihood opportunities to its population. Traditional modernization theories argue that large urban areas have a positive effect on economic development and offer a better quality of life through higher income level than non-urban areas, leading to development of certain values and attitudes deemed necessary for economic development (Mera, 1973; Bradshaw and Fraser, 1989). On the other hand, emergence of large cities, a characteristic of the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, also hinders balanced development and leads to unequal distribution of income and resources creating severe social inequality, leading to violence. Urban violence is the by-products of series of factors, like inequality, social exclusion, eroding moral values, collapse of social institutions like family and neighbourhood and fragmented social relations (Brennan, 1999).

India's urban landscape is dominated by large cities. Urbanization process in India is mainly a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural - urban migration (Datta, 2006), often described as pseudo urbanization ( Raza and Kundu 1978). Onset of economic reforms in India has occasioned a spectacular change in the urbanization scenario of the country in recent decades. According to 2011 census, urbanization has increased faster in the last decade. This in turn has reversed the declining trend of urbanization experienced during 1980s and 1990s. The faster urbanization in the country is not only due to increased rural to urban migration but also due to high rate of population growth in cities and also due to the emergence of smaller towns (Bhagat, 2012). This speedier urbanization process in the country faced a number of challenges in terms of civic amenities, affordable housing and health-care facilities. People living in abject poverty and deteriorating living conditions within the urban setting are indicative of this negative association between city size and quality of life (Bradshaw and Fraser, 1989).

Spousal violence is an important issue for its tremendous impact on the quality of family life, health and wellbeing of men, women and children. Ideally, urbanization is associated with declining patriarchal restrictions, increased employment opportunities for women making them economically independent, availability of institutional support to seek help for and deal with gender violence along with better exposure to mass media, educational achievement and income. Spousal violence is defined as any abuse or violent action that occurs between two individuals in an intimate relationship as marriage and has many forms including physical aggression or assault, sexual and emotional abuse, controlling or domineering (WHO, 2012). Although the term spousal violence involves both men and women, with either sex as the perpetrator, men against their female partners (Krug, Dalhberg, Mercy et al., 2002) perpetrate majority of abuses. Underlying causes of spousal violence are deeply rooted in the patriarchal form of social system. Men using violence on their partners have 'impaired masculinities' (Pickup, Williams and Sweetman, 2001) which they have internalized through witnessing violence as the norm when they grew up and have learnt to use violence as the ultimate means to assert power and control. The factors inducing gender violence, more specifically spousal violence, are universal in nature but there are few 'risks' and 'triggers' which may lead to variations (McIlwaine, 2013). In general, incidence of spousal violence and justification of spousal abuse are more in rural areas compared to the urban (Corinne, 2011). In a patriarchal society, violence can be a means of restoring the husband's authority over his wife, particularly when women's independence challenges the hegemonic gender norms in a society (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller, 2002). For instance, the empowering effect of paid employment does not necessarily reduce abuse as it leads to a 'backlash' (Chant and McIlwaine 1995). Experiences of domestic abuse also depends on the type of work that women are engaged in and with irregular, low-paid and casual works

they remain more at risk (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano, 2002) as in the case of urban slum dwellers. McIlwaine (2013) has outlined a few risk factors related to urban areas that can exacerbate gender violence namely urban poverty, slum dwelling, widespread sale of alcohol and fragmented social support system. Females in Indian labor market are mainly absorbed in unorganized sector. Bhattacharya's assessment, using NFHS-2005-06 data, suggests that married women who experienced spousal violence are more likely to be employed and are more likely to work for cash remuneration and be employed year-round. A study in Philippines stated that when women earned major share of the household income they faced more spousal violence than those who earned less and when women dominated decision-making, they are more likely to experience violence (Hiddin and Adair, 2002). Similarly, Pallitto and O'Campo (2005) argued that "women's autonomy" did not necessarily lead to a reduction in abuse, because in societies where "women's status" is improving, men assert themselves violently. The typical indicators of development need to be analyzed with caution as there exists no uniformity of these indicators as empowerment tool for women (Bhattacharya, 2015). Therefore, empirically it would be interesting to know the magnitude and determinants of spousal violence with the levels of urbanization in India. Against this backdrop, an attempt has been made to measure the residence size class differentials in levels and determinants of spousal violence in India.

## **Data and methods**

The article used data from the third round of Indian Demographic Health Survey (DHS) known as National Family Health Survey-3 or NFHS3 2005–2006 (IIPS and Macro International, 2007). It is the only large-scale national survey available that gives information on three forms of spousal violence; namely physical, sexual and emotional violence. NFHS-3 categorized urban

areas in mega city (5 million and more), large city (1-5million), medium city (1 lakh to 1 million), large towns (50 thousand to 1 lakh) and small towns (less than 50 thousand). The total sample size in the present study is 72,732 ever-married women aged 15-49 years, of which 22,691 are urban and 50,042 are rural. The sample includes all major states that are further categorized into six regions; North, South, East, West, Central and North-East (IIPS and Macro International, 2007).

***Outcome Variable: Physical/sexual/emotional violence***

Experience of any form of spousal violence faced by ever married women aged 15-49 years in their lifetime is the outcome variable. In the spousal violence module of NFHS-3, women were asked about their experience of 12 forms of physical, sexual and emotional violence perpetrated by their husbands. The questions on seven forms of physical violence are: spouse ever pushed, shook or threw something, spouse ever slapped, spouse ever punched with fist or something harmful, spouse ever kicked or dragged, spouse ever tried to strangle or burn, spouse ever threatened or attacked with knife/gun or other weapon and spouse ever twisted her arm or pulled her hair. Two forms of sexual violence included: spouse ever physically forced sex when not wanted and spouse ever forced other sexual acts when not wanted to. In case of emotional violence, three questions were asked: spouse ever humiliated her, spouse ever threatened her with harm and spouse ever insulted or make feel bad. Respondents, who said 'yes' to any of the 12 forms of physical/sexual/emotional violence are considered as abused women; abused are given a code of '1' and '0' for the non-abused women (IIPS and Macro International, 2007).

In NFHS-3, ever-married women reporting spousal physical or sexual violence were also questioned about the physical consequences of the violence, based on which 'severe' violence is

measured in this article. Specifically, they were asked if, as a consequence of what their husbands did to them, they ever had any of four different sets of injuries: 1) cuts, bruises or aches; 2) severe burns; 3) eye injuries, sprains, dislocations, or minor burns; and 4) deep wounds, broken bones, broken teeth or any other serious injury. At least one in seven ever-married women age 15-49 in India have suffered injury resulting from acts of spousal violence (IIPS and Macro International, 2007).

***Covariates:***

In the present study a range of spatial, economic, relationship components along with socio-economic and demographic factors that are likely to be associated with the experience of spousal violence are controlled. Characteristics of the respondents included are age, religion, caste, household structure, , educational attainment, working status, wealth quintile, number of children ever born and number of household members, besides residential size class or place of residence and regions. Place of residence is classified into four groups: large city, small city, town and villages. Among the relationship components, we have considered alcohol consumption behavior of respondents' husbands (No=0; Yes=1), marital relationship of the respondent and experience of/witnessing parental violence (No=0; Yes=1) . A composite index of marital relation is created based on six items regarding husbands' controlling attitude of women. The six items are: husband becomes jealous if she talks with other men, husband accuses her of unfaithfulness, husband does not permit her to meet her friends, husband tries to limit her contact with family and husband insists on knowing where she is, husband does not trust her with money. If respondents said 'yes' to the items, code '1' is assigned otherwise '0'. Increasing score of the index indicated poor marital relation among respondents.

### ***Analysis:***

Bivariate analysis is applied to capture levels of spousal violence by ever-married women in various residential classes. Prevalence of violence is calculated by urban size class and in villages. Four logistic regressions are applied to explore the determinants of women's experience of spousal violence. In first three models, the effects of place of residence on physical, sexual and emotional violence are mainly focused upon, when other cofounders are controlled. While in fourth model, we explored the determinants of spousal violence through set of variables categorized in four groups; i.e. spatial component (place of residence and region), economic parameters (wealth quintile and women's work status), behavioural component (marital relation, husband's alcohol consumption and witnessed parental violence) and socio-demographic components (age, children born, household structure, education, religion and caste).

### **Results**

#### ***a) Level of violence by place of residence:***

Proportion of ever-married women experiencing spousal violence by residential class (Table 1) reveals that, overall, around 40 percent of the women experienced any form of spousal violence in their lifetime and the main form of violence is physical. Proportion of women experiencing spousal violence in any form is higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas. On the other hand, a considerable variation is observed within the urban hierarchy with women from small towns and cities are experiencing more spousal violence than the large cities. For instance, 44 percent women reported to experience spousal violence in villages, while in towns and small cities it is reported by 40 percent and 33 percent women respectively as against 30 percent in large cities. Figure 1 depicts the trends of experience of spousal violence by ever-married women by residential class. It is observed that while around 36 percent of the women

residing in rural areas experienced less severe spousal violence, the incidence is less (nearly 26 percent) in the large urban areas. Within the urban hierarchy it is found that spousal violence is more prevalent in towns (33percent). In large and small cities, less than one third of the women (33 and 29 percent) experienced spousal violence. Overall 12 percent married women experienced severe forms of violence. Severity of violence is more in the villages followed by towns (more than 10percent). In small and large cities around 7-8percent of women experienced severe forms of violence. The situation of spousal violence in the metro cities of the country is presented in Table 2. Women residing in the urban slums are more prone to experience spousal violence than the women in non-slum areas. Slums of Chennai, Meerut and Indore has highest incidence of spousal violence ( 64, 51 and 42 percent respectively) followed by Nagpur, Kolkata, Mumbai and Delhi. Among all metro cities, lowest prevalence of spousal violence is observed in Delhi (17 percent).

***b) Determinants of spousal violence:***

Table 4 presents the odds of experiencing various forms of spousal violence by residential class after controlling for all other confounding factors. Interestingly, compared to women residing in villages, women from towns are 1.6 times more likely to experience physical violence (OR=1.61,  $p<0.001$ ); women of small cities and large cities have higher odds of experiencing physical violence (OR=1.26,  $p<0.001$  and OR=1.24,  $p<0.001$  respectively). Likewise, women from towns and large cities are more likely to face emotional violence than those belonging to villages (OR=1.26,  $p<0.001$  and OR=1.29,  $p<0.001$ ). However, effect of residential class on women's experience of sexual violence is not significant.



In addition to the prior regression models, we applied binary logistic regression showing the odds of ever experience of any spousal violence in India (table 5).

**Spatial component:** Compared to the South, women from North-Central, East and North-East regions of India are more likely to experience spousal violence. The residence class, supporting our previous finding of multivariate model; reveals that towns, small cities and large cities of urban India are significantly more likely to experience spousal violence (OR=1.53,  $p<0.001$ ; OR=1.17,  $p<0.001$  & OR=1.23,  $p<0.001$  respectively) compared to the villages. The odds of facing spousal violence are highest in towns followed by small cities.

**Economic component:** Wealth quintile is one of the strong predictor of spousal violence. Better the wealth stratum, lesser is the spousal violence. Interestingly, working women are more likely to experience violence than non-working women (OR=1.25,  $p<0.001$ ). Respondents who has poor marital relation with their husbands are 3 times more likely to experience spousal violence (OR=3.01,  $p<0.001$ ).

**Behavioural component:** Alcohol consumption by husband and witnessing parental violence during childhood are two other important determinants of experience of spousal violence in married life. Both these factors have increased the risk significantly by more than 2 times (OR=2.24,  $p<0.001$ ; OR=2.81,  $p<0.001$  respectively). Similarly, poorer marital relation increases the risk of violence 3.0 times (OR=3.005,  $p<0.001$ ).

**Socio- demographic component:** Women living in non-nuclear families (OR=0.89,  $p<0.001$ ), having secondary (OR=0.86,  $p<0.001$ ) and higher (OR=0.55,  $p<0.001$ ) educational attainment, are significantly less likely to experience spousal violence. In case of social groups, it is observed that Muslim women are more at risk of experiencing spousal violence (OR=1.50,

p<0.001) than the Hindus whereas Christian women and those belonging to other religious groups are less likely to experience violence. Similarly, scheduled tribe, other backward classes and other caste groups are significantly less likely to experience spousal violence compared to scheduled caste women.

## **Discussion**

The paper examines the prevalence of spousal violence ever experienced by currently married women in India according to urban and rural areas by residential size class. We also looked into the variation of physical, emotional and sexual violence by rural and urban size class of residence and the determinants of such violence. We expected that spousal violence should decline with increasing urbanization as urbanization is likely to lead to modernization and erode social norms and values promoting gender equality and gendered power relationship.

The level of spousal violence is higher in the rural areas and slums of urban areas. Such prevalence is often attributed to the higher indigenous nature of the population (Owen and Carrington, 2014) where domestic and family violence needs to be understood in the context of its historical and cultural background (Campo and Tayton, 2015). Traditional gender norms in rural communities may be more narrowly example where masculinity is often constructed in a way that privileges strength, courage and domination (Carrington and Scott, 2008). Patriarchal family structures in rural communities may act to normalize male control and abuse; violence may be justified as a part of men's dominant/patriarchal role in the family (George and Harris, 2015) resulting in higher incidence of family violence. It is also evident in other studies that rural women experience higher rates of partner violence and severity of physical abuse yet live much farther away from available resources (Corinne, 2011). Patriarchal power hegemony is stronger in rural parts where women accept domestic violence as a part of norm. So, women

living in rural communities accept such attitudes (Deyessa, 2010) and thus in general, violence against women is more prevalent in rural communities. Similarly, slums of urban India are hubs of poor migrant population. Distress migration from rural to urban India (Jaleel and Chattopadhyay, 2018), distinct inequality of resource distribution in cities are typical character of urban India. Many of India's major cities face significant deficits in the provision of basic amenities, including shelter, safe drinking water, improved sanitation and electricity. Demographic and health conditions in these cities lag far behind the goals set forth in national policies (Chattopadhyay and Roy, 2005; Goli, Arokiasamy, Chattopadhyay 2011). As evident from other studies, early marriage, working status of women, justified wife beating and husband's use of alcohol are significantly associated with domestic violence in slums of India (2015). Although intimate partner violence occurs in all settings in India, abused women from the slums face distinct barriers in obtaining support and services, like poor basic facilities, poor income, higher stress levels, and, therefore, are especially at risk for poor health outcomes of intimate partner violence.

Contrary to our expectation, we find in this paper that though level of violence is highest in rural areas, yet changes of experiencing spousal violence is more with urbanization, as evident in multivariate analysis. It means, when effect of all factors are nullified, urban residences of different size class have more changes of facing domestic violence. Factors that strongly enhance chances of violence other than place of residence are poorer wealth, northern, eastern and north eastern geographic region, nuclear family, poorer marital quality, besides having lesser education and belonging to Muslim religion and Scheduled castes community.

The study presents strong evidence that rural to urban transition is not linearly related to spousal violence but increases initially with urban residential size class ( in towns) and then declines relatively to small and large cities. The relationship between urbanization and spousal violence is not uniform across India but rooted in the patriarchal cultural realms, which has been reshaped by the process of urbanization. This is evident in the fact that when other socio-economic conditions are controlled statistically, all urban areas and especially smaller towns are showing highest chances of spousal violence compared to rural areas. This indicates that the transition from rural to urban way of living has not been able of erode patriarchal norms of gender inequality and women's subordination. Basically, cultural norms rooted in history and social structure play an important role in shaping spousal violence. This also raises a question about the ability of urbanization to modernize and democratize Indian society. In fact, most of the Indian cities are mosaic of caste, religious and linguistics groups. People live in their own social grooves and struggle to survive and derive solace and security adhering to cultural norms which they have brought with them from their respective rural areas either recently or in the past when their forefathers migrated. Indian cities have also shown a dependent development in the trajectory of world urbanization due to its root in colonial heritage (Raza and Habeeb 1976). In this situation, we cannot expect Indian urbanization to promote gender equality and empowerment of women. In fact, the conditions in many cities of India create vulnerability to women as they cannot move in the city without an escort (Bhagat 2017).

Our results also reiterates the fact that witnessing parental violence during childhood acts as a significant precursor to the occurrence of spousal violence within marriage. As stated in social learning theory (Bandura, 1971), alternatively terms as 'cycle of violence theory' or

‘intergenerational transmission theory’, violent behaviour is learnt as a result of being witness to abusive and aggressive behaviours as children. Spousal violence perpetration or victimization in adult life occurs through role modelling where by witnessing parents hitting each other; children fail to learn appropriate mechanisms to manage conflicts and violence become the ultimate resource. (Heise, 1998; Kalmuss & Straus, 1984; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Zhu and Dalal, 2010). Alcohol consumption by husbands is also associated with increased risk of violence. Alcohol use directly affects cognitive and physical function, reducing self-control and leaving individuals less capable of negotiating a non-violent resolution to conflicts within relationships (Abby, Ross and McDuffie, 1995; Jewkes, 2002; WHO, 2006). Our study also reveals that women in nuclear family are more likely to experience violence. Allendorf’s research (2013), with the assumption of, urbanization, and educational expansion leading to rise in nuclear families with better women’s health concluded that in India, nuclear family leads to poorer health of women.

In spatial terms, southern India has been better followed by western India in terms of lower probability of experiencing spousal violence. Women’s status is relatively higher in southern states (Sinha and Chattopadhyay, 2016). However, typical indicators of women’s empowerment may not necessarily coincide with lesser spousal violence. As revealed in our study, working women experience higher level of spousal violence. It could also be due to the fact that women in India are mainly engaged in low paid jobs, especially in informal sector of urban India. At the same time, it is also true that rising cost of urban living and aspiration bring various types of tension in the family, which might perpetrate violence. Thus, the tradition gender roles may surface at any place, especially in small towns where recourse of such violence is negligible.

Thus, the effect of urbanization on spousal violence is contradictory (McIlwaine 2013). In one hand the level of violence is much higher in rural India, while when other factors are controlled, urbanization fails to erode spousal violence. If urbanization is associated with progressive human values of modernity and justice and better social development, it is likely to reduce family and spousal violence. While there has been immense change in the social and family relations with increasing urbanization, yet violence has not been eliminated from human society. On the contrary, it has re-emerged and persisted in new, organized and spontaneous forms. As well said by Weitzman (2014) when pervasive inequalities exist in patriarchal society, women with better social indicators may be seen as threats to gender norms, and thus may experience spousal violence, irrespective of their backdrop of rural or urban community. Thus, the relationship between urbanization and gender violence is one such area that needs to be explored both from a theoretical and empirical perspectives over space and time.

To conclude, India needs better redress system of domestic violence and associated interventions targeting to rural women and women of small urban centres due to high prevalence of this social malaise. Irrespective of rural or urban stay, there is a need to bring change in conduct in the community, as urbanization fails to negate spousal violence.

**Table 1 Proportion ever married women experienced Spousal violence by residential class, 2005-06**

| <b>Experience of violence</b>    | <b>Large city</b> | <b>Small city</b> | <b>Towns</b> | <b>villages</b> | <b>total</b> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <b>Ever Experienced violence</b> | 29.4              | 32.5              | 36.9         | 43.7            | 40.4         |
| <b>Physical violence</b>         | 27.0              | 30.4              | 34.5         | 41.0            | 37.8         |
| <b>Sexual violence</b>           | 5.7               | 7.6               | 8.2          | 11.3            | 10.0         |
| <b>Emotional violence</b>        | 11.8              | 12.2              | 15.5         | 17.1            | 15.9         |
| <b>n</b>                         | <b>7764</b>       | <b>6012</b>       | <b>8915</b>  | <b>50042</b>    | <b>72734</b> |

**Table 2 Proportion women ever experienced violence in selected metro cities in India**

| City      | Total<br>(percent) | n   | Slum<br>(percent) | n   | Non-<br>slum(percent) | n   |
|-----------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| Delhi     | 16.8               | 763 | 28.9              | 149 | 13.8                  | 614 |
| Meerut    | 39.0               | 84  | 51.4              | 37  | 29.8                  | 47  |
| Kolkata   | 26.4               | 318 | 36.1              | 108 | 21.4                  | 210 |
| Indore    | 45.5               | 110 | 41.7              | 24* | 46.5                  | 86  |
| Mumbai    | 21.8               | 971 | 25.5              | 561 | 16.8                  | 410 |
| Nagpur    | 25.0               | 172 | 37.7              | 61  | 18.0                  | 111 |
| Hyderabad | 29.0               | 279 | 29.6              | 54  | 28.9                  | 225 |
| Chennai   | 44.3               | 359 | 63.8              | 69  | 39.7                  | 290 |

**Table 3: Results from binary logistic regression showing the odds of ever experience of various forms of spousal violence by ever-married women (15-49 years) by residential class in India.**

| Residential class    | Physical violence | Sexual violence | Emotional violence |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <b>Villages</b>      | Ref.              | Ref.            | Ref.               |
| <b>Towns</b>         | 1.614***          | 1.073           | 1.259***           |
| <b>Small city</b>    | 1.257***          | 1.011           | 1.066              |
| <b>Large city</b>    | 1.244***          | 1.053           | 1.294***           |
| <b>Constant</b>      | 0.182             | 0.016           | 0.043              |
| <b>R<sup>2</sup></b> | 0.198             | 0.077           | 0.113              |

**Note:** Controlled for respondent' age, education, work status, household structure, wealth quintile, religion, caste, parental violence, marital relationship, husband's alcohol consumption, husbands' education, children ever born and regions.

Ref. - Reference category; \*\*\* p<0.001

**Table 4 Results from binary logistic regression showing the odds of ever experience of any spousal violence by ever married women (15-49 years) in India.**

|  | <b>Exp. (B)</b> |
|--|-----------------|
| <b><u>Spatial Component</u></b>            |                 |
| <b>Residence:</b>                          |                 |
| Villages ®                                 |                 |
| Town                                       | 1.532***        |
| Small City                                 | 1.165***        |
| Large City                                 | 1.229***        |
| <b>Region</b>                              |                 |
| South ®                                    |                 |
| North/Central                              | 1.185***        |
| East                                       | 1.327***        |
| North-East                                 | 1.134**         |
| West                                       | 0.966           |
| <b><u>Economic components</u></b>          |                 |
| <b>Wealth Quintile:</b>                    |                 |
| Lowest ®                                   |                 |
| Low  | 0.888**         |
| Medium                                     | 0.728***        |
| High                                       | 0.638***        |
| Highest                                    | 0.418***        |
| <b>Work Status:</b>                        |                 |
| Not working ®                              |                 |
| Working                                    | 1.251***        |
| <b><u>Behavioural Components</u></b>       |                 |
| <b>Marital Relation ©</b>                  |                 |
| Better ®                                   |                 |
| Worse                                      | 3.005***        |
| <b>Husband's alcohol consumption</b>       |                 |
| No ®                                       |                 |
| Yes  | 2.238***        |
| <b>Witnessing parental violence:</b>       |                 |
| No ®                                       |                 |
| Yes  | 2.813***        |
| <b><u>Socio-demographic components</u></b> |                 |
| <b>Age:</b>                                |                 |
| 15-24 ®                                    |                 |
| 25-34                                      | 1.037           |
| 35 and above                               | 0.980           |
| <b>Children ever borne ©</b>               | 1.090***        |
| <b>Household structure:</b>                |                 |
| Nuclear ®                                  |                 |
| Non-nuclear                                | 0.888***        |
| <b>Education:</b>                          |                 |
| No Education ®                             |                 |



|                            |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Primary                    | 1.030        |
| Secondary                  | 0.857***     |
| Higher                     | 0.548***     |
| <b>Husband's education</b> |              |
| No Education ®             |              |
| Primary                    | 1.113**      |
| Secondary                  | 0.994        |
| Higher                     | 0.953        |
| <b>Religion:</b>           |              |
| Hindu ®                    |              |
| Muslim                     | 1.498***     |
| Christian                  | 0.716***     |
| Others                     | 0.805***     |
| <b>Caste:</b>              |              |
| Scheduled Castes ®         |              |
| Scheduled Tribes           | 0.701***     |
| Other Backward Classes     | 0.919**      |
| Others                     | 0.725***     |
| <b>Constant</b>            | <b>0.213</b> |
| <b>R<sup>2</sup></b>       | <b>0.200</b> |

**Note:** ® Reference category; © Continuous variable; \*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p<0.10

**Figure:1 Proportion married women experiencing severe and less severe violence by place of residences**

