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Infliction of physical violence within marriage by young married men in India:

Understanding its linkages with childhood socialization and gender attitude

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#### **Introduction**

Violence within marriage or more broadly intimate partner violence (IPV) has emerged as an important public health concern and has been acknowledged internationally as a threat to the rights of women as well as to national development, especially at the 1995 United Nations' Beijing World Conference on Women (United Nations, 1995a). Broadly defined as a pattern of abusive behaviour by one or both partners in an intimate relationship such as marriage, IPV may manifest itself through physical aggression or assault, sexual and emotional abuse, controlling or domineering (Jewkes, 2002; WHO, 2012). Although both men and women can be victims of IPV, its global burden is overwhelmingly borne by women (Krug et al., 2002). In societies with strong patriarchal foundations, IPV cuts across all socioeconomic, religious and cultural groups, mainly as a manifestation of the male dominance legitimated within family and society through authority and power (Krishnaraj, 1991). In such settings, women who are victims of physical, sexual or emotional abuse learn to accept it as the “husband’s right” (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Visaria, 2000). IPV has direct and strong adverse outcomes for physical, reproductive and mental health of women and has far reaching consequences on their children as well (Campbell, 2002; Ellsberg et al., 2008; Silverman et al., 2009; Devries et.al., 2011; Devries et.al., 2013; Sinha & Chattopadhyay, 2016; Sinha & Chattopadhyay, 2017).

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### ***Theoretical background***

A growing number of population based surveys confirm that IPV is widespread throughout South-east Asian, African and Latin American countries (WHO, 2012); the proportion of women who had ever experienced physical or sexual violence, or both, by an intimate partner in their lifetime, ranged from 15- 71 percent, with most sites falling between 29 percent and 62 percent (WHO 2005). The issue of intimate partner violence has been apprehended through various theoretical frameworks. The widely used model for understanding intimate partner violence is the ecological framework which conceptualizes that violence within marriage is an outcome of a complex interplay of factors operating at multiple levels, - individual, familial, relational, social, and community levels (Heise, 1998). At the individual level, witnessing parental violence as a child and being abused during childhood have been presented as the most important factors which might affect a child's psychology and personality and lead to aggression and violence in later life (Dutton, 1995). There is considerable evidence from studies in the United States and other developed countries that IPV is a learned social behaviour where sons of abused women are more likely to beat their intimate partners and daughters of abused women are more prone to be beaten by intimate partners (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Ellsberg et.al., 1999; Jewkes, Levin & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Martin et.al., 2002). On the other hand, in traditional families, where men have economic and decision-making authority and male dominance is encouraged, male aggression is more than in egalitarian families, where female autonomy is higher (Levinson, 1989; Yllo & Straus, 1990; Visaria, 2008). Male control over family wealth increases the risk of violence being inflicted on economically dependent female partners (Kalmus & Straus, 1984; Levinson, 1989; Schuler, Hashemi, Riley & Akhtar, 1996; Rao, 1997; Jewkes, 2000; Visaria, 2008). A study in Bangladesh revealed that women with more income are less vulnerable to domestic violence (Bates, Schuler, Islam & Islam, 2004). At the social level, violence against women is expected to be more prevalent among families in lower socioeconomic strata (Rennison &

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Welchans, 2000; Koeing, Ahmed, Hossain & Mozumder, 2003; Rahman, Hoque & Makinoda, 2011). This is because IPV is not merely an expression of male dominance but rather reflects ‘a crisis to the masculine identity’ in a society where males are expected to dominate (Gelles, 1974). For unemployed men, economic powerlessness may hinder the successful attainment of the socially desirable status and violence may be inflicted to an intimate partner in order to restore their dominant position (Jewkes, 2002). In societies where masculinity is defined by power and dominance, termed as ‘hyper-masculinity’ (Moscher & Sirkin, 1984), men are inherently encouraged to maintain an adversarial attitude and little empathy towards women (Moscher & Tomkin, 1988) and physical chastisement of women can then be culturally accepted and justified on various grounds (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Studies suggest that men who strongly adhere to masculine gender norms are more likely to inflict violence to their female partners (Santana, Raj, Decker, La Marche & Silverman, 2006; Reidy, Shirk, Sloan & Zeichner, 2009; Reidy, Berke, Gentile & Zeichner, 2014). Hyper-masculinity among men has been found to be a significant predictor of verbal, physical, and sexual aggression toward their intimate partners (Moore & Stuart, 2005; Vasquez Guerrero, 2009).

### ***IPV and the Indian context***

In spite of the various laws and national/international conventions in play, intimate partner violence remains a life changing reality for married women throughout the Indian sub-continent. According to a national survey, nearly 21 percent of married women between the ages of 15 and 24 years have experienced some form of physical violence in the previous 12 months (IIPS and Population Council, 2010). Another survey reveals that nearly 31 percent of ever-married women (15-49 years) have experienced physical/sexual/emotional violence from their husbands at some point in their lives (IIPS& ICF, 2017). An important gender norm prevailing in the Indian society is the ‘husband’s right’ to control their wives in various ways, including through violence (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Visaria, 2008). According to the same national survey around 52 percent of women and 42 percent of men aged between 15-49 years agreed

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that a ‘husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife’ on certain grounds (IIPS & ICF, 2017). Qualitative studies have highlighted a range of issues such as intergenerational effects, the culture of silence and the adherence to social norms that encourage tolerating, accepting and even rationalizing domestic violence as important predictors (Koeing et. al., 2006). IPV is most often attributed to the patriarchal foundation of Indian society, which is characterized by male dominance legitimated by society through superior rights, privileges, authority and power, and within the family through the socialization of women into subordinate positions, and of men into thinking that they are superior to women and have a right to control women’s behaviour (Krishnaraj, 1991; Visaria, 2000). In India, young boys and girls appear to learn early on to conform to the traditional codes of conduct prescribed according to their biological sex (Jejeebhoy, 1998; Visaria, 2008).

A study based on men’s reports in Uttar Pradesh found that witnessing parental violence in childhood and the controlling behaviour of husbands were significantly associated with elevated risk of wife beating (Martin et al., 2002). In a recent study in six Indian states (Nanda et.al. 2014) about one-third of men exhibited the most rigid ‘relationship control’ and ‘attitudes to gender norms’. They not only exercised excessive control in their intimate relationships, but also believed that women and men were unequal and held negative views about gender equality. In this study, an experience of discrimination/harassment, often during childhood, and rigid masculinity traits came out as significant predictors for IPV. Apart from that, in a wider context, community norms about the acceptance of wife beating is also an important correlate of IPV in India (Dalal *et. al.*, 2012; Koeing *et. al.*, 2006).

With respect to the cultural and community norms regarding women’s position and status in Indian society, there exists a distinct regional divide in India (Dyson & Moore, 1983). While gender imbalance, powerlessness among women is more acute in Northern part of the country, the Southern part is more open to gender equality and exhibits lesser gender power imbalance (Karve, 1965). Gender bias in family behaviour and adherence to traditional rituals

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perpetuated through generations, confine women to the domestic sphere and within four walls of a household dwelling, with activities centered on child-bearing and rearing and caring for the family, especially in Northern India (Chakravarti, 1993). Marriage of girls before the legal minimum age and dowry system, in particular reduce women's negotiating power and contribute to violence within marriage (Bloch & Rao, 1995; Rao, 1997; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Nanda et.al., 2014).

In understanding the mechanisms of IPV, socialization of both young boys and young girls constitutes an important factor behind gender based violence especially in the Indian context. However, empirical examination of the links between socialization and IPV has not been possible to date due to paucity of data. Considering the importance of examining socialization processes in the development of masculinity and partner violence, the present study attempts to bridge this gap and to empirically investigate how socialization during childhood and adolescence is linked to the infliction of violence. Moreover, very few studies have been carried out to examine IPV from the perspective of the perpetrators i.e., husbands. In this regard, the present study makes an important theoretical and practical contribution to the IPV research by studying young married men in India. Drawing from the ecological framework, we several potential individual-level determinants of IPV and tested the possible causal relationship between them.

The paper hypothesizes that young married men's childhood socialization would shape their gender attitude and eventually would lead to infliction of physical violence on their intimate partners.

## **Materials and methods**

### ***Data***

We used data from the "Youth in India: Situation and Need" study, the first ever sub nationally representative study on youth conducted in six States (Bihar, Jharkhand,

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Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu) between 2006 and 2008 jointly by the International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai and the Population Council, New Delhi. The six states, constituting 39 percent of the country's population, were purposively selected to represent the different geographic and socio-cultural regions within the country (IIPS & Population Council, 2010). The two southern States, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, and the single western State, Maharashtra, are clearly better developed than the three northern States, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan in terms of socio-economic realms (levels of poverty, literacy rate), demographic and health outcomes (life expectancy, infant mortality rate, fertility, contraceptive prevalence, skilled birth attendance etc.) (IIPS & Population Council, 2010). Within the typically patriarchal social setting of India, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan also represent the northern pattern of low female autonomy and unequal gender relations, whereas Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu represent the southern pattern with females having more autonomy, with Maharashtra in an intermediate position between these two poles (Karve, 1965; Dyson and Moore, 1983; IIPS & Population Council, 2010). A total of 50,848 young men and women both married and unmarried from the age group 15-24 were interviewed in this survey using separate questionnaires for each of the categories of respondents. For married males the age group was extended to 29 years as there was less number of married males in the previous age group. These youths were interviewed in their households.

The survey treated rural and urban areas as independent sampling domains and a systematic multistage sampling design was adopted to draw sample areas independently. In rural areas census list of villages formed the sampling frame. In rural areas the sample was selected in two stages. In the first stage, villages were selected from the stratified list with selection probability proportional to size (PPS) and a complete roster of households was established in each of the selected villages. This list of households provided the necessary frame for selecting households at the second stage. Households to be interviewed were

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selected with equal probability from the list using systematic sampling. In urban areas census enumeration blocks (CEB) provided the sampling frame. The sample was then selected in three stages. At the first stage of selection, wards were selected systematically with probability proportional to size. At the second stage, within each selected ward, CEBs were arranged by their administrative number and one CEB was selected using probability proportional to size. Given the sensitive nature of the topics covered under the study, different sets of PSUs were selected for young men and women. For each of these selected CEBs (designated as a male PSU), an adjacent CEB was chosen to represent the female PSU in the same ward. A complete mapping and household listing operation was carried out in each selected PSU and the resulting list provided the necessary frame for selecting households at the third stage. Households to be interviewed were selected with equal probability from the list using systematic sampling. In each PSU, households to be interviewed were selected by systematic sampling and only one youth per household was interviewed. Only 0.4 percent of household refused to be interviewed, though the design had incorporated 25 percent non-response rate.

Interviews were conducted by a group of young men and women who were recruited after rigorous training provided by the nodal agencies. All ethical protocols were adhered to. The contents of the questionnaire were thoroughly explained to the respondents prior to each interview and informed consent was obtained from each one of them before commencing the interviews. Complete confidentiality and privacy were ensured.

### ***Study sample***

Analysis in the present study was based on a sample of 5,573 young married men (15-29 years) who were currently cohabiting with their wives and whose parents were both alive at the time of survey.

### ***Conceptual framework***

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A conceptual framework (**Figure 1**) was developed to represent the possible linkages among different sets of variables included in the study. The main outcome of interest was infliction of physical violence in last 12 months preceding the survey. The framework represents two time phases: before marriage and after marriage. It was conceptualized that various experiences gained during a man's childhood may influence their gender attitude and violent behaviour in later life alongside different background characteristics of the respondents. The different variables included in the study are described below:

***Outcome variable:***

The outcome variable for the present study was physical Intimate Partner Violence (PIPV). Five out of seven different acts of physical violence were considered - slapping, twisting arm or pulling hair, pushing/shaking/throwing something, punching with fist or with something that could hurt and kicking/dragging/beating up. The other two acts of physical violence, i.e., choking or burning and threatening or attacking with knife, gun or any other weapon were not included in the construction of variable because less than 0.1 percent of the respondents reported these two kinds of actions. Men who reported use of any of the five acts of physical violence were coded as '1' and as '0' if otherwise.

***Covariates:***

In the present study, a range of socioeconomic and behavioural factors were controlled for. Background characteristics of the respondents included age, education, employment status, type of family, wealth index, religion, caste and place of residence. Two important behavioural characteristics were alcohol consumption and involvement in violent activities in the community in the last 12 months preceding the survey. Apart from these background information, some other important exposure and attitudinal variables were included, as explained below:

***Exposure variables: Childhood socialization***



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*Witnessing of inter-parental violence-* The respondents were asked whether they had ever witnessed their father beating their mother.

*Experience of physical abuse as a child -* Young men were asked whether they had ever been beaten up by either of the parents.

*Gender discrimination in family -* Respondents were asked whether, compared to their sisters or other girls present in the extended family, their education was given more importance, the respondent had more freedom to roam around or go out, or the respondent was expected to do little house work.

Witnessing parental violence in childhood, experiencing physical abuse as a child and gender discrimination in the family constituted three major indicators of pathways through which a child could internalize the prevailing norms and ideologies. Thus they were collectively termed ‘*socialization of young married men during their childhood*’.

***Attitudinal variable: young men’s gender attitude***

*Belief in husbands’ authoritarian role –* The respondents were asked whether they agree with the statements that only/mainly husbands should decide how to spend money in household matters and that women should always obtain husbands’ permission for most of the things they do.

*Justification of wife beating –* Young men were asked if they agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife if: she goes out without telling him, disagrees with her husband’s opinion, refuses to have sexual relations with her husband or is suspected to be unfaithful.

***Statistical analysis***

The analyses were conducted in two stages. In the first stage, we conducted descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis to provide an overall picture of young men’s socialization process during childhood, their attitude towards gender and the extent to which they had inflicted physical violence on their wives. We also estimated a binary logistic regression model to explore the confounding factors determining intimate partner violence at this stage.

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In the second stage of the analyses, we estimated a structural equation model (SEM) operationalizing our conceptual framework of the possible causal relationships between the factors of interest. First a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) that yielded the variables' factor loadings on the theorized latent factors. We then estimated the relationship between the latent constructs and observed variables by linear regression. This estimation was carried out with the MPlus software, using tetra choric correlation and asymptotic covariance matrices, and the default estimator for categorical variables, Weighted Least Square Means and Variance (WLSMV). Three indices were used to assess the model fit: The Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). Values higher than 0.96 for the CFI, 0.95 for the TLI and lower than 0.05 for the RMSEA were considered to indicate a good model fit (Yu, 2002).

The SEM is built on the assumption that all the observable variables linked to the same latent variable should be highly correlated, but they should be uncorrelated with observed variables linked to other latent variables. Results shown in **Table 1** validate this assumption. In particular, the variables related to the justification of wife beating were highly correlated among themselves (around 0.7,  $p < 0.001$ ). Similarly, the variables related to physical IPV have significant correlation (around 0.8).

For this model, four latent variables were constructed using four measurement models. *Gender-biased parenting* has factor loadings above 0.5. For *Justification of wife beating*, the factor loadings were above 0.75 and for *Belief in husband's authoritarian role*, the loadings were about 0.5 and 0.7. For the last latent variable, *Physical IPV in last twelve months*, all the sub-constructs had loadings of more than 0.8 with some of them having more than 0.9. Details are given in **Table 2**.

## **Findings**

### ***Characteristics of young married men***

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Selected socio-economic characteristics of the study population are presented in **Table 3**. Nearly 60 percent of young men lived in rural areas. The majority of young men was Hindu (86%) and around 70 percent belonged to castes other than scheduled caste/scheduled tribes (SCs/STs). Nearly half of the young men belonged to the top wealth quintiles (4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>), 21 percent belonged to the middle wealth quintile whereas around 28 percent were from lowest quintiles. Nearly three quarters of the respondents belonged to non-nuclear families. Around 13 percent of these young married men were either illiterate or had no formal schooling, and another 27 percent had only 1 to 7 years of schooling. Only 21 percent of them had 12 or more years of education. More than three-fifths of the respondents were engaged in income generating activities, whereas around 11 percent of them were not involved in any gainful employment at the time of survey and another 25 percent were involved in some kind of unpaid or both paid & unpaid work.

#### ***Sample summary statistics***

Results presented in **Table 4** provide the summary statistics of the variables used in the model and pertain to two different periods: the period before and the period after marriage. We note that over one third of the respondents had witnessed parental violence during childhood, while almost half (48%) of the respondents experienced physical abuse as a child i.e. they were beaten by their parents. Experience of gender discrimination and gender-biased parenting were also prevalent. About 40 percent of the young married men reported that their education was given more importance in the family than their sisters', around 44 percent said that they were expected to do little household work compared to their sisters in the family, and 67 percent of young married men reported having more freedom to roam around than their sisters.

A considerable proportion of these young married men possessed non-egalitarian gender attitudes. As many as 78 percent of them believed in a husband's authoritarian role; while 37 percent agreed that the husband alone should take decisions and another 72 percent said that a wife should ask her husband's permission for all things. Over half of the

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respondents justified the act of wife beating on certain grounds such as if ‘he suspects his wife of being unfaithful’ (37%), if ‘his wife goes out without telling him’ (29.5%), if ‘his wife disagrees with her husband’s opinion’ (30%) and if ‘his wife refuses to have sexual relations’ with him (15.4%). Around 17 percent of young married men reported having inflicted any form of physical IPV on their wife in the last 12 months, with slapping (16%) being the most common form of physical violence followed by arm twisting (4%).

### ***Determinants of physical intimate partner violence***

**Table 5** presents the bivariate association between the infliction of physical IPV and various background and individual characteristics of young men. Results reveal that wife beating is more prevalent among SC/ST/VJNT groups and men belonging to religious communities other than Hindu and Muslim. Married men from lower economic strata, from nuclear families, and with lower educational attainment also report more violence.

Findings suggest that young men’s socialization during childhood, their gender attitude and behavioural characteristics also has significant associations with the infliction of violence. Young men who experienced gender discriminatory practices in their own family were more violent than their counterparts. We also find that having witnessed parental violence and experienced physical abuse themselves as children is highly associated with intimate partner violence. Infliction of violence also increases as men justify the act of wife beating. Infliction of violence on intimate partners is also high among occasional and habitual drinkers and men who were involved in community level violence in the last 12 months. Infliction of physical violence on intimate partners is most pronounced in Tamil Nadu (27.8%), followed by Bihar (19.3%), Jharkhand (19.6%), Maharashtra (17.9%), and Andhra Pradesh (16%). Wife beating is reported the least in the Rajasthan (7.2%).

The adjusted odds ratios obtained from binary logistic regression after controlling for all socio-economic characteristics of men (**Table 6**) indicate that males who grew up in families that engaged in gender discriminatory practices favouring sons are significantly more

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likely to indulge in wife beating. Men who had more freedom in the household are 1.3 times more likely (OR=1.29,  $p<0.01$ ) to beat their wives and men whose education was given more importance than their sisters' are 1.2 times more likely (OR=1.22,  $p<0.05$ ) to use physical force on wives compared to their counterparts. Similarly, other family life experiences such as exposure to violence during childhood as either a witness or a victim is a significant predictor of infliction of physical violence by men. We find that men who witnessed their fathers beating their mothers during childhood are 2.3 times more likely (OR=2.30,  $p<0.001$ ) to beat their wives than those who did not. Men who were themselves beaten up by parents during childhood are 1.6 times more likely (OR=1.62,  $p<0.001$ ) to be violent in their adult life. Men who subscribed to non-egalitarian gender attitude reported significantly more involvement in wife beating. Men are more likely to beat their wives when they justified the act of wife beating whether in case she is suspected of being unfaithful (OR=1.49,  $p<0.001$ ), she goes out without telling husband (OR=1.30,  $p<0.05$ ), she disagrees with her husbands' (OR=1.36,  $p<0.01$ ) or she refuses to have sexual relations with her husband (OR=1.25,  $p<0.10$ ).

Occasional and habitual drinkers are 2.2 times more likely (OR=2.22 and 2.19 respectively,  $p<0.001$ ) to beat their wives compared to non-drinkers. Likewise, those who were involved in violence in the last 12 months are also 2.2 times more likely (OR=2.16,  $p<0.001$ ) to beat their wives.

Other socio-economic factors significantly associated with the infliction of physical violence are the place of residence, the type of family and education. Men in rural areas, in nuclear families, and with low educational attainment are significantly more likely to beat their wives.

### ***Results from structural equation model (SEM)***

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The significant factors obtained from logistic regression model—gender-biased parenting, exposure to violence during childhood and men’s gender attitude—were further fit into a structural equation model to test for potential causal relationships with the infliction of physical IPV by young married men (**Figure 2**).

Standardized path coefficients show that the experience of physical abuse as a child, witnessing parental violence and justifications of wife beating were three strong predictors of the infliction of physical violence within marriage: each of these three factors has direct effect on physical IPV. Young married men who witnessed inter-parental violence before marriage are significantly more likely to have beaten their wives in the past year ( $\beta=0.65, p<0.001$ ). Similarly, men who experienced physical abuse as children are at higher risk of engaging in physical violence towards their wives ( $\beta=0.22, p<0.001$ ). Men who justified the act of wife beating are more likely to use physical violence against their wives as well ( $\beta=0.32, p<0.001$ ).

Results also suggest that exposure to inter-parental violence, gender biased parenting during childhood and beliefs in the husband’s authoritarian role have significant direct and indirect effects on young men’s attitude towards wife beating. Men who had seen their fathers beating their mothers during childhood are more likely to justify the act of wife beating on various reasons ( $\beta=0.33, p<0.001$ ). Gender biased parenting also increases the justification of wife beating ( $\beta=0.15, p<0.001$ ). Similarly, those who believed in the husband’s authoritarian role are more likely to justify the act of wife beating on various occasions ( $\beta=0.29, p<0.001$ ).

## **Discussion**

Young people in India will soon constitute the largest adult population in the world. Therefore, there is a pressing need to understand how childhood socialization shapes their attitudes and how these experiences are connected to their adult life behaviour. The results presented here suggest that young men’s childhood socialization and their gender attitude are significant predictors for the infliction of physical.

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Our findings confirm that around seven in every ten young men recognized gender discriminatory practices within their households, where sons received some preferential treatment over girls. To the extent that these practices play an important role in the perpetuation of gender inequalities, the childhood experience of such discrimination by young men accentuates non-egalitarian gender attitudes throughout adulthood and increases the risk of violence within marriage. While growing up, men who experience greater freedom to roam, greater educational opportunities and lower expectations regarding house works than girls, tend to hold a strong belief that men are superior to women in society. Though the association was weak, we also found that later in life these men easily give in to the idea that wife beating is justified if their wives are unfaithful, go out without informing them, disagree with them and refuse to have sexual relations. Our results are thus consistent with the literature suggesting that when wives in typical male dominated societies fail to fulfil their social expectations, i.e., the traditional wifely duties of satisfying their husbands' needs, bearing and rearing children, caring for elders, being chaste, obedient and respectful to them and the other kins of his family, physical punishment is justified by both sexes (Heise, 1998; Haj-Yahia, 2003).

Results also reveal that young men are exposed to familial violence during childhood i.e., they have witnessed violence between parents and also experienced beating from parents. Consistent with prior research (Kalmuss & Straus, 1984; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Zhu & Dalal, 2010), this study restates that, in India growing up in a violent environment during childhood becomes an important precursor of a violent marital relationship. Domestic violence passes on through generations, from parents to their children, through social learning (Bandura, 1971; Heise, 1998). Similarly, those who are beaten up by their parents during childhood may internalize the idea that violence/use of physical force is mandatory or normal in punishment and conflict situations (Jewkes et. al., 2002).

Meanwhile, a majority of the young males subscribed to non-egalitarian gender attitudes. Around five in every ten young men justified wife beating on several grounds while

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around seven men in every ten agreed to the authoritarian rights of husbands. This troubling finding suggests that young males do not see wife beating or husband's authoritative roles as problematic and, as a result, they might be highly inclined to use physical violence on their wives. Ideals that women should always be subservient in nature and men have the authority to control them are detrimental to a non-violent relationship and that is why those who justify the act of wife beating are more likely to personally indulge in it. Previous studies have suggested that equitable gender attitudes from both men and women are protective factors against spousal violence (Luke, Schuler, Mai, Thien & Minh, 2007).

We acknowledge a few limitations of this study. Because of the sensitive nature of subject, social desirability bias may lead to under reporting of IPV (Singh, Mahapatra & Dutta, 2008; Sambisa *et. al.*, 2010; Zhu & Dalal, 2010). Contrary to the general layout of gender related issues in the country, the higher incidence of IPV reports by men in Tamil Nadu than in the North Indian States like Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan could be caused by such biases. There might also be recall biases/ errors associated with the information on childhood experiences as these reports were obtained retrospectively. The data used in this study pertains to six selected States and not necessarily reflect the total population of youths in the country. Although it represents the socio-cultural diversity of the sub-continent, other important States are not included in this study. This could be a prospective future scope for detailed research into the key transitions experienced by the youth, their growing up process, attitude and life choices. In spite of the above limitations the study successfully addresses its objective and provides critical insight into the infliction of physical violence within marriage by young Indian men. The most important contribution of this study to the research on IPV is that the substantive evidence it provides on the causal relationship between childhood socialization, gender attitudes and the infliction of partner violence in India.

By underscoring the importance of the family environment in shaping gender attitudes, our findings have some important policy implications. Policy makers and stakeholders need to



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focus on the factors that affect children's development and attitude formation early on and facilitating a healthier environment for the development of children and adolescents. Targeting gender education in schools, and sex and family life education among girls at least up to secondary education could enable them to question the gender stereotypes and break the intergenerational transmission of traditional gender norms. To reduce conflicts between parents, which were shown to have serious implications for the future behaviour of children, parents' counseling could help them develop the necessary skills to strategically resolve marital conflict without affecting children. Today, programmes that deal with such issues are insufficient in India. Free counseling of parents, especially newly married couples through community based programmes are necessary to cultivate healthy parent child relationships. Programmes designed to prevent relationship difficulties and adopting relationship skills in everyday interactions should target couples in deprived circumstances or those experiencing more complex difficulties (Carroll & Doherty, 2003; Blanchard, Hawkins, Baldwin & Fawcett, 2009; Fawcett, Hawkins, Blanchard & Carroll, 2010; Cowan, Cowan & Barry, 2011; Sinha & Ram, 2018). Interventions are also required to eliminate discrimination against girls in the family. To support parents having girl children, and to provide them with better life opportunities in terms of health and education more financial incentives in the form of under Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) schemes such as the Dhanalaxmi (2008), Kanyashree Prakalpa (2013) and Sukanya Samriddhi Scheme (2015) are required. In order to minimize spousal violence, young men should also be actively engaged in various interventions such as Men Against Rape and discrimination - MARD (2013), Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women (MASVAW) or Parivartan (ICRW) (Nanda *et. al.*, 2014). These programmes have begun the process of engaging men to changing social norms. In the meantime, unfortunately, implementation of laws protecting women against IPV remains needed.

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**Table 1 Tetrachoric Correlation**

	1	2	3a	3b	3c	4a	4b	5a	5b	5c	5d	6a	6b	6c	6d	6e
<b>1</b>	1															
<b>2</b>	0.47291	1														
<b>3a</b>	0.0167	0.0187	1													
<b>3b</b>	0.0185	-0.0276	0.498	1												
<b>3c</b>	-0.0051	-0.0443	0.403	0.5941	1											
<b>4a</b>	0.0215	-0.047	-0.0533	0.0319	-0.0005	1										
<b>4b</b>	0.0371	-0.0478	0.0234	0.082	-0.0195	0.3526	1									
<b>5a</b>	0.1277	-0.0156	-0.0027	0.1532	0.1554	0.1563	0.1196	1								
<b>5b</b>	0.1463	0.0273	0.0216	0.1182	0.1237	0.1838	0.2045	0.6919	1							
<b>5c</b>	0.226	0.0601	-0.0015	0.1028	0.1132	0.1239	0.1343	0.6463	0.7816	1						
<b>5d</b>	0.1013	-0.0473	-0.0364	0.0636	0.1333	0.1987	0.1369	0.5661	0.6546	0.7319	1					
<b>6a</b>	0.4487	0.3111	0.0791	0.1295	0.0807	0.0183	-0.0157	0.2124	0.2625	0.3026	0.2024	1				
<b>6b</b>	0.4269	0.1995	0.0633	0.0977	-0.0414	0.0436	0.013	0.2607	0.3343	0.3037	0.3035	0.8413	1			
<b>6c</b>	0.4139	0.1473	0.0706	0.1485	-0.0444	-0.0019	0.0471	0.3237	0.303	0.344	0.3329	0.7615	0.8711	1		
<b>6d</b>	0.5438	0.2433	0.0442	0.1732	-0.0314	0.0245	-0.0674	0.3086	0.1435	0.32	0.3083	0.8123	0.8343	0.8187	1	
<b>6e</b>	0.5525	0.2685	-0.0222	0.0105	-0.1052	0.0296	-0.0189	0.2277	0.2365	0.2891	0.3577	0.7279	0.7932	0.8217	0.8594	1

**Notes:** 1 – Witnessed father beating mother, 2 – beaten by parents since age 12, 3a – Respondent’s education given more importance as compared to his sisters, 3b – Respondent had more freedom to roam than his sisters, 3c – Respondent was expected to do little housework, 4a –Believes that husband alone should take decision, 4b – Believes wife should take husbands permission for all things, 5a – Justifies wife beating if he suspects of wife being unfaithful, 5b – Justifies wife beating if wife goes out without telling him, 5c – Justifies wife beating if wife disapproves with husband's opinion, 5d – Justifies wife beating if wife refuses to have sexual relations, 6a – Slapped wife in last 12 months, 6b – Twisted arm of wife in last 12 months, 6c – Pushed wife in last 12 months, 6d – Punched wife in last 12 months, 6e – Kicked wife in last 12 months.

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**Table 2: Estimates of the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA).**

	Standardised coefficients	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	chi-square	degree of freedom
<i>Gender biased parenting</i>		0.000	1.000	1.000	2487.040	3
As compared to his sisters, respondent's education was given more importance	0.581*					
As compared to his sisters, respondent had more freedom to roam around or move out	0.857*					
As compared to his sisters, respondent was expected to do little house work	0.693*					
<i>Attitude justifying wife beating</i>		0.048	0.998	0.993	11152.780	6
If husband suspects wife of being unfaithful	0.751*					
If wife goes out without telling him	0.880*					
If wife disagrees with husband's opinion	0.894*					
If wife refuses to have sexual relations with him	0.781*					
<i>Belief in husbands' authoritarian role</i>		0.000	1.000	1.000	274.445	1
Husband alone or mainly should decide how household money is to be spent	0.707*					
Women should obtain husband's permission for most of the things	0.499*					
<i>Physical IPV in last 12 months</i>		0.023	0.998	0.996	8230.268	10
Slapping	0.873*					
Twisting arm or pulling hair	0.942*					
Pushing, shaking or throwing something at wife	0.919*					
Punching with fist or with something that could hurt	0.908*					
Kicking, dragging or beating up	0.887*					

Note: \*  $p < 0.05$

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**Table 3** Socio-demographic characteristics of young married men (15-29 years), 2006-07

<b>Characteristics</b>	
<b>Place of residence</b>	
Urban	40.9
Rural	59.1
<b>Religion</b>	
Hindu	86.0
Muslim	9.5
Others	4.5
<b>Caste</b>	
Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribe	30.8
Other Castes including caste not stated	69.2
<b>Wealth quintiles</b>	
1st quintile	11.8
2nd quintile	16.2
3rd quintile	21.0
4th quintile	24.6
5th quintile	26.5
<b>Type of family</b>	
Nuclear family	25.6
Non-nuclear family	74.4
<b>Education (years of schooling)</b>	
Non-literate, Literate with no formal schooling	13.2
1-7 years of schooling	27.1
8-11 years of schooling	38.5
12 and above years of schooling	21.2
<b>Current work status</b>	
Paid work	64.0
Unpaid work	8.2
Both paid and unpaid work	17.3
Not working	10.5
<b>Total, N =</b>	<b>5573</b>

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**Table 4** Sample summary statistics of young married men (15-29 years), 2006-07

Variables	Percentage of young married men
<i>Before marriage:</i>	
<b>Violence during childhood</b>	
Witnessed parental violence	30.8
Experience of physical abuse as child	48.2
<b>Gender biased socialization*</b>	<b>77.3</b>
His education given more importance than his sister(s)	40.0
Had more freedom to roam than his sister(s)	67.3
Was expected to do little housework as compared to his sister(s)	44.4
<i>After marriage:</i>	
<b>Belief in husband's authoritarian role*</b>	<b>78.3</b>
Believes that husband alone should take decision	37.4
Believes wife should take husbands permission for all things	72.4
<b>Justification of wife beating*</b>	<b>50.9</b>
If he suspects of wife being unfaithful	36.9
If wife goes out without telling him	29.5
If wife disagrees with her husband's opinion	30.0
If wife refuses to have sexual relations	15.4
<b>Physical IPV in last 12 months*</b>	<b>16.6</b>
Slapped	15.8
Twisted arm	4.2
Pushed	2.3
Punched	2.0
Kicked	1.5
<b>Total, N =</b>	<b>5573</b>

*Note:* \* Percentages refer to at least one form of gender biased socialization, belief, attitude and physical IPV respectively.

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**Table 5: Percentage of young married men (15-29 years) who have inflicted physical violence on their wife in the last 12 months, by background variables, 2006-07.**

	Infliction of PIPV in last 12 months (%)	n# =
<i>Socio-economic characteristics:</i>		
<b>State</b>		
	Rajasthan	7.20
	Bihar	19.30
	Jharkhand	19.60
	Maharashtra	17.90
	Andhra Pradesh	16.00
	Tamil Nadu	27.80
<b>Place of residence</b>		
	Urban	13.10
	Rural	18.10
<b>Religion</b>		
	Hindu	16.80
	Muslim	14.90
	others	23.40
<b>Caste</b>		
	Scheduled castes/ST/VJNT	22.50
	Other Castes including. caste not stated	14.10
<b>Wealth quintiles</b>		
	1st quintile	25.30
	2nd quintile	20.20
	3rd quintile	17.60
	4th quintile	13.70
	5th quintile	10.00
<b>Type of family</b>		
	Nuclear family	22.80
	Non-nuclear family	14.60
<b>Age (in completed years)</b>		
	15-19	13.20
	20-24	16.30
	25-29	17.50
<b>Education (years of schooling)</b>		
	Non-literate/no formal schooling	21.80
	1-7	20.20
	8-11	14.80
	12 and above	11.00
<b>Current work status</b>		
	Paid work	17.30
	Both paid and unpaid work	20.00
	unpaid work/not working	10.10

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**Table 5** Continued.....

	<b>Infliction of PIPV in last 12 months (%)</b>	<b>n<sup>#</sup> =</b>
<i>Socialization before marriage:</i>		
<b>Gender biased parenting</b>		
His education given more importance than his sister(s)		
No	16.20	3346
Yes	17.90	2227
Had more freedom to roam than his sister(s)		
No	13.60	1820
Yes	18.40	3753
Was expected to do little housework as compared to his sister(s)		
No	15.10	3097
Yes	18.70	2476
<b>Witnessed father beating mother</b>		
Yes	31.40	1715
No	10.70	3858
<b>Beaten by parents</b>		
Yes	23.20	2685
No	11.10	2888
<i>Gender attitude in adulthood:</i>		
<b>Justifies wife beating</b>		
If he suspects of wife being unfaithful		
No	13.30	3518
Yes	22.30	2055
If wife goes out without telling him		
No	13.30	3929
Yes	24.30	1644
If wife disagrees with her husband's opinion		
No	12.60	3901
Yes	25.50	1672
If wife refuses to have sexual relations		
No	15.20	4716
Yes	24.80	857
<b>Husband alone should take decisions</b>		
No	17.50	3490
Yes	15.90	2083
<b>Women should take husbands permission for all things</b>		
No	17.70	1541
Yes	16.60	4032
<i>Behavioural characteristics:</i>		
<b>Alcohol consumption</b>		
Non drinker	11.30	3477
Occasional drinker	26.70	1243
Habitual drinker	28.90	853
<b>Involvement in violence in last 12 months</b>		
Yes	34.40	499
No	15.30	5074
<b>Total, N =</b>		<b>5573</b>

*Note:* Associations were found significant in chi-square test;  $p < 0.001$ ; <sup>#</sup> Un-weighted cases

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**Table 6: Results from binary logistics regression of infliction of physical IPV in the last 12 months on socio-economic, behavioural and individual characteristics of young married men (15-29 years), 2006-07.**

	Odds ratio
<i>Socialization before marriage:</i>	
<b>Gender biased parenting</b>	
His education given more importance than his sister(s)	1.219*
Had more freedom to roam than his sister(s)	1.294**
Was expected to do little housework as compared to his sister(s)	1.138 <sup>ns</sup>
<b>Witnessed father beating mother</b>	2.302***
<b>Beaten by parents</b>	1.624***
<i>Gender attitude:</i>	
<b>Justification of wife beating:</b>	
If he suspects of wife being unfaithful	1.489***
If wife goes out without telling him	1.299*
If wife disapproves with husband's opinion	1.360**
If wife refuses to have sexual relations	1.249 <sup>+</sup>
<b>Agreed that husband alone should take decisions</b>	0.978 <sup>ns</sup>
<b>Agreed that women should take husband's permission for all things</b>	0.747**
<i>Behavioural characteristics:</i>	
<b>Alcohol consumption</b>	
Non-drinker ®	
Occasional drinker	2.217***
Habitual drinker	2.191***
<b>Got engaged in violence in last 12 months</b>	
No ®	
Yes	2.162***
<i>Background characteristics:</i>	
<b>Place of residence</b>	
Urban ®	
Rural	1.210*
<b>Type of family</b>	
non-nuclear family ®	
nuclear family	1.381***
<b>Education (years of schooling)</b>	
Non-literate/no formal schooling	1.365 <sup>+</sup>
1-7	1.326*
8-11	1.088 <sup>ns</sup>
12 and above ®	
<b>Constant</b>	0.010

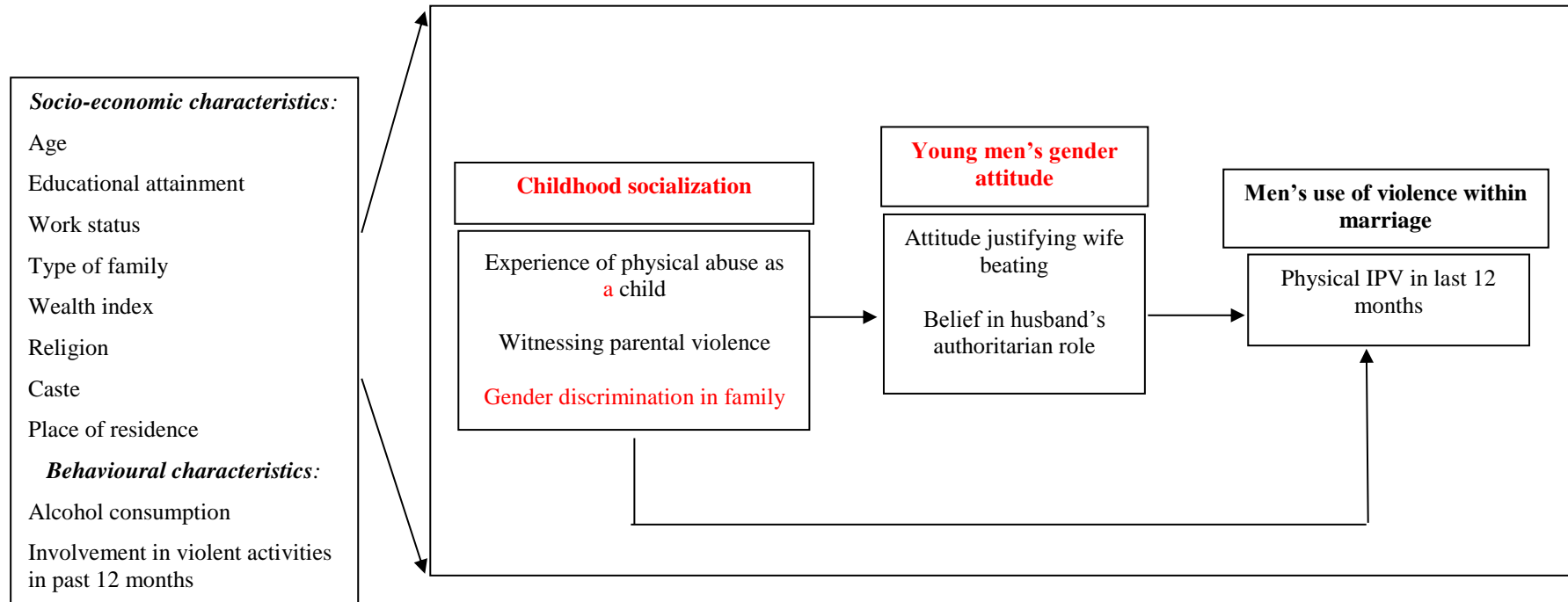
*Note:* Control variables were age of the respondents, current work status, wealth quintiles, religion, caste group and states.

® Reference category, \*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, + p<0.10; <sup>ns</sup> Not significant



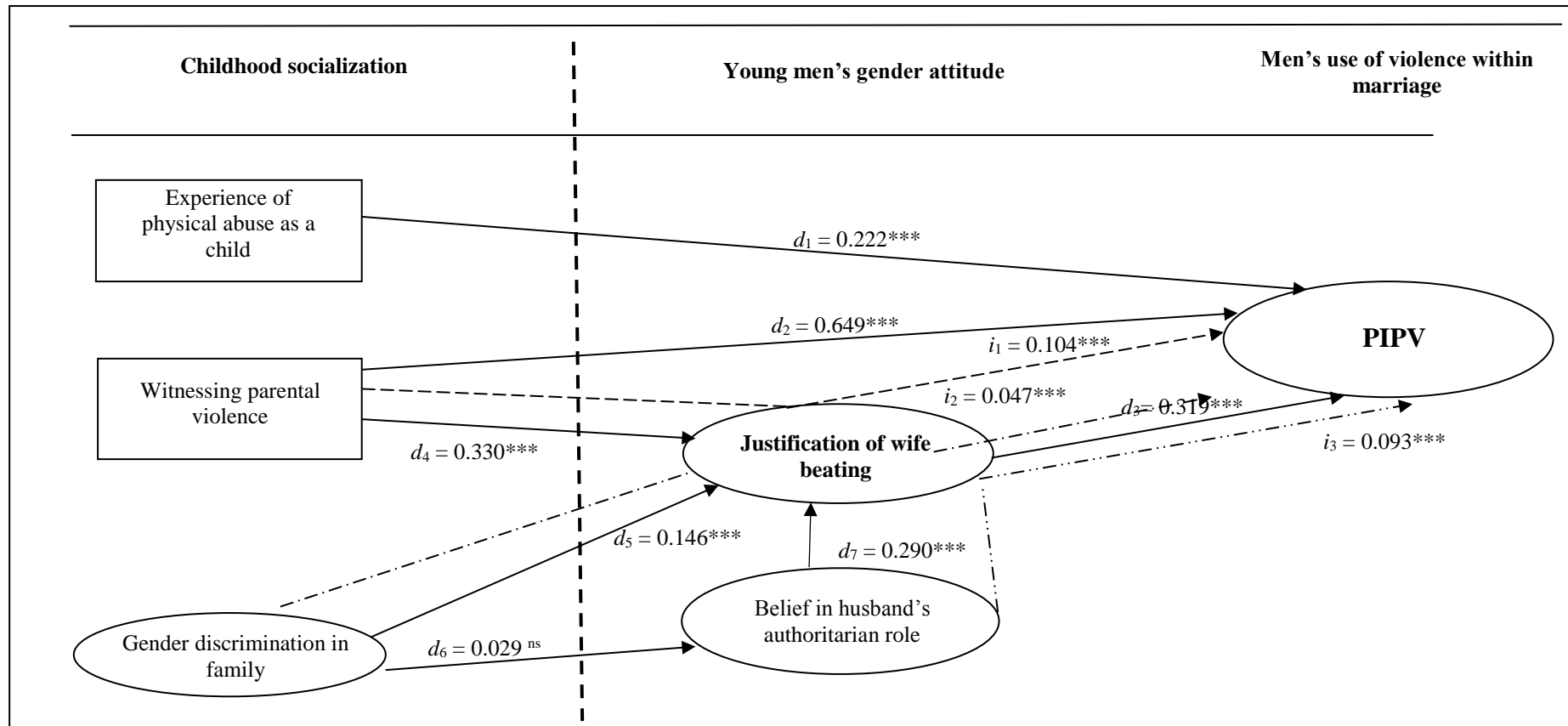
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**Figure 1: Conceptual framework**



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**Figure 2** Mechanisms of infliction of IPV and structural equation model (SEM) estimates



**Model fit statistics:** RMSEA=0.021, CFI=0.987, TLI=0.985,  $\chi^2 = 18839.172$ ,  $df$  (degree of freedom) = 119

**Notes:**  $d_1 - d_3$  indicate 'direct effects' of experience of physical abuse as child, witnessing parental violence and justifying wife beating on PIPV respectively.  $d_4 - d_7$  indicate 'direct effects' of witnessing parental violence, gender biased parenting and belief in husband's authoritarian roles on justification of wife beating respectively.  $i_1 - i_3$  indicate 'indirect effects' of witnessing parental violence, gender biased parenting and belief in husband's authoritarian roles on PIPV respectively.

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , ns = Not significant