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Assessing the Extent of Domestic Violence against Indian Women after the Implementation of the Domestic Violence Act of India, 2005

By Archana Singh¹, Pushpendra Singh²

Abstract

This paper aims to dissect and analyze the trends of domestic violence against women in India. It will explore the factors contributing to the risk and prevalence of violence against women following the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act of India in 2005. This study also assesses the magnitude of violence that makes women vulnerable. In addressing the above-mentioned objective, this study has used data from the National Family and Health Survey collected in 2005-06 and 2015-16. In the first stage of analysis, the magnitude of violence was estimated using socio-economic and demographic measures. In the second stage, the risk of violence on women was assessed by using the logistic regression model. The study reveals that physical violence has declined, but sexual and emotional violence has been on the rise since the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act of India in 2005. It has been observed that though the Indian patriarchal structure gives scope and room for domestic violence, it has moved from physical to sexual or verbal abuse and emotional trauma. Further, the key contributions of this study are to underpin the shifting of violence (physical to sexual) in India and to understand the dynamics of violence under the umbrella of the Domestic Violence Act of India, 2005 framework.

Keywords: Gender, Patriarchy, Power, Physical violence, Sexual violence, Emotional violence

Introduction

Gender-based violence is the consequence of long-term structural inequality, which imposes culture, values, norms, and ethics that promote the exploitation of women in society. The root cause of violence is structured in society and legitimized through cultural values (Galtung, 1969). In the era of globalization, violence against women has become an epidemic (Heise, Ellsberg & Gottemoeller, 1999), and it occurs in several forms, including physical, sexual, and emotional. Further, violence against women is the manifestation of the unequal division of power between men and women, which forces women to take subservient positions in societies (Heise, Ellsberg & Gottemoeller, 1999). Gender relations can be analyzed using the power structure formed by caste and class where violence serves as the ultimate resource to derive power within relationships (Goode, 1971). Caste is a unique stratification unit of the Indian social system which

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divides the society into hierarchical positions followed by their ascribed status (Hutton, 1946; Ghurye, 1950; Berreman, 1967; Dumont, 1980; Quigley, 1999). And patriarchy is one of the important characteristics of caste which control women's sexuality through maintaining hierarchical order (Chakrawarti, 1993; Guru, 1995; Geetha, 2007).

In the majority of incidents, women are subjected to violence such as battering, sexual abuse, dowry-related violence, female feticide/infanticide, honour killing, abduction, sterilization, women trafficking, etc., and each form of violence against women violates their rights to dignity and to live without discrimination and exclusion (Shirley, 2016). It is estimated that around the world, 35% of women face one or more kinds of physical violence in private or public spaces. Though a large number of violent incidents go unreported due to social stigmas, violence against women is the biggest obstacle for achieving equality, peace, and development within society.

There are multiple patriarchies that position women differently within specific hierarchies; with some women have more power over others; women also find ways to exercise power even within various form of patriarchy. Held in common, patriarchies create gendered divisions of labor (Johnson & Leone, 2005; Johnson, 1995). Within Indian patriarchal traditions, men believe that it is necessary to control women. However, it is possible to exploit and abuse power by controlling behavior, which explains the non-violent forms of abuse used against women. The root of domestic violence is monogamy, which is devised in a manner that men are supposed to control and protect women and in return enjoy privileges such as identity and authority over them and children (Martin, 1981). Despite the government's initiatives for enhancing women's ability to secure their rights, the ground reality of violence against women is barely punitive. Domestic violence is one of the inhumane examples of abuse within marital relationships. Most women do not have reproductive rights, and around 50% of women give birth to their first child at the age of 21 (Durgut & Kisa, 2018). Thus, in the majority of cases, women tolerate domestic violence because they are concerned about themselves and their children (Khan, 2015). However, some women try to exit abusive relationships by accepting help from relatives, neighbors, and NGOs, yet only 2% of women facing domestic violence register complaints with the police (Suneetha & Nagaraj, 2006). Domestic violence is not associated only with health encumbrance, but it also involves physical, sexual, and emotional violence (García-Moreno, Zimmerman, Morris-Gehring, Heise, Amin, Abrahams, ... Watts, 2015). Researchers believe that domestic violence affects the economy because with an increase in domestic violence, the labour force participation decreases and health expenditure increases (Campbell, 2002; Koenig, Stephenson, Ahmed, Jejeebhoy & Campbell, 2006; Dalal & Lindqvist, 2012). Violence against women is not about an individual's unhealthy relationship within or outside the families but the detrimental social norms (García-Moreno et al., 2015). Further, gender inequalities deny women access to education as well as social and political participation. Though the status of women is gradually improving worldwide (OECD, 2012), more than 600 million women live in countries where domestic violence is not a crime, and 53 countries do not recognize the concept of marital rape (Duvvury, Callan, Carney & Raghavendra, 2013). Henceforth, the issues of domestic violence show the prevalence of patriarchy in society. Thus, this study tries to analyze the prevalence and risk factors of physical, sexual, and emotional violence among ever married³ women in India. This paper is a social analysis of NFHS data for estimating the prevalence and risk of violence against women. By acknowledging the methodological critique and limitations of a quantitative study (Blumer, 1956; Schutz, 1967; Bryman, 2003), the paper nevertheless attempts to reflect upon the risk of multiple types of

³ The 'ever married women' are the women who have been married at least once in their lives although their current marital status may not be 'married'.

domestic violence against Indian women. Based on the conceptual analysis of the patriarchal narratives in contemporary society, this paper makes use of the available incidences recorded in the National Family Health Survey-3 (NFHS-3) in 2005 and National Family Health Survey-4 (NFHS-4) 2015 survey.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This section of the paper outlines the concept of patriarchy and relationships responsible for the construction of gender roles. Moreover, this analysis attempts to deconstruct the conceptualization of gender roles for understanding the violence against women from a theoretical perspective.

Simone De Beauvoir (2012) stated that women are created so that they can be controlled through the social institutions of marriage, family, kinships, religion, culture, etc., and these institutions are established to legitimize the difference between men and women by means of exclusionary cultural practices, which do not give equal space to women in society. Hence, the socially constructed gender division is a process to cultivate patriarchy, which refers to the unequal division of power between men and women (Lerner, 1986). The unequal social structure rejects biological determinism which explains the natural difference between male/female bodies and establishes male supremacy over women (Walby, 1990). The socially constructed institutions headed by men is a tool to manifest their dominance over women and keep them away from access to power (Jagger & Rosenberg, 1984).

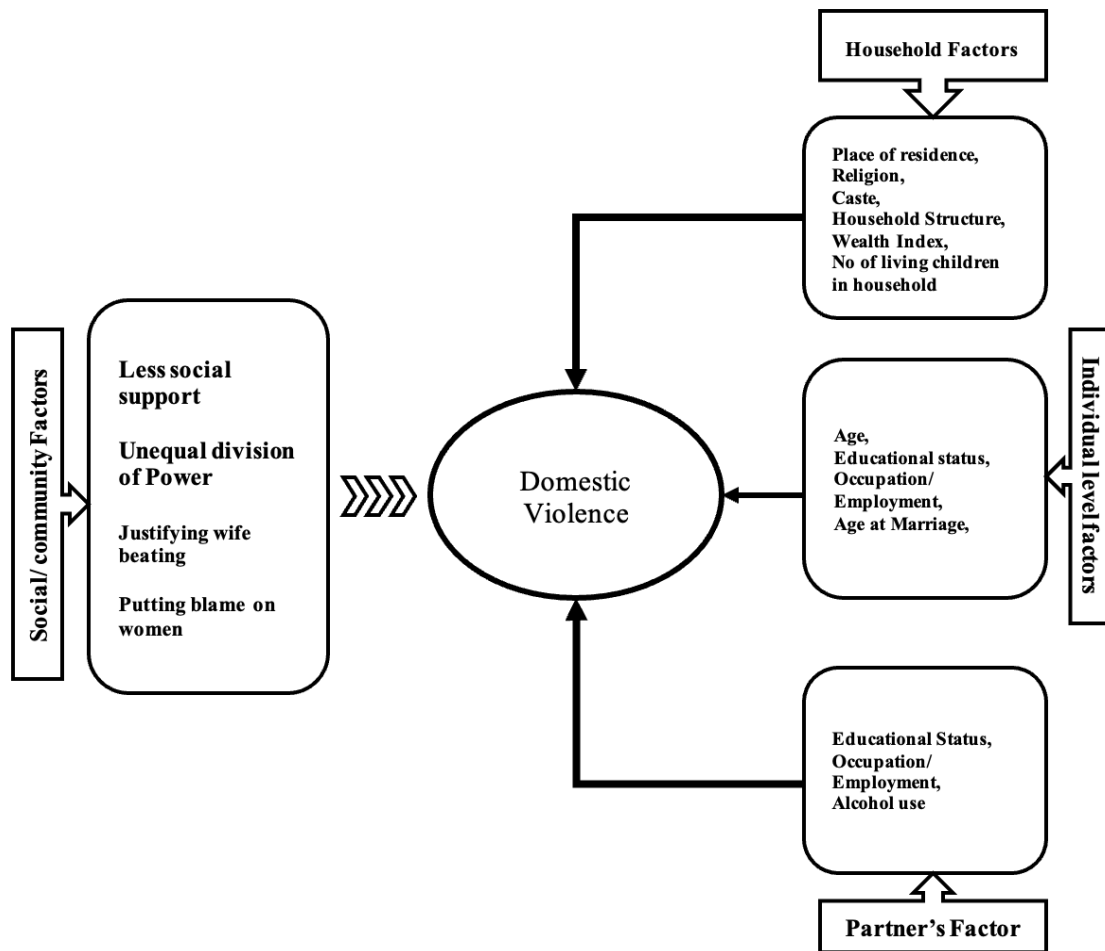
Thus, the growing trend of violence against women focuses on men's dominance over women through different overt and covert violent actions. Patriarchy not only validates domestic or physical oppression but also sexual and emotional subjugation against women. It justifies the role of men in controlling women's behavior by introducing the parameter of hierarchical relationships (Sultana, 2010).

Though the idea of patriarchy is all about sexual politics, it still remains unacknowledged and unexamined by the larger society. Gender roles in domestic spaces are taken for granted, and men of the house, whether they earn the livelihood for their family or not, are positioned at the top of the family pyramid. In fact, public spaces and the professional worlds are also witnessing change through movements and phrases like "Me too," "breaking the glass-ceiling," "free the nipple across the globe," etc. Millet (1972) referred to it as the sexual domination of power that leads to a pervasive privilege of culture given to men.

The subordinate treatment of women is based on a shallow premise of visual perception created by sexual dimorphism, which can be further justified through the cultural practices based on the nature vs. nurture perception to create a subversive understanding of the notion of femininity. This gives rise to the prevalence of patriarchy in society by rendering control in the hands of a certain gender (Ortner, 1974; Rosaldo, 1980; Blackwood, 2000). According to cultural values, it is a woman's duty to please her partner and behave according to his likes. Furthermore, patriarchy is always associated with power, be it social or economic accessibility. Moreover, the number of incidents of violence has increased among the groups lacking resources to demonstrate masculinity (Hooks, 2004). The societal dominance of the idea of masculinity depends on controlling women using the symbolic as well as structural means of violence. Women become the victims of violence under any circumstances, which can involve individuals' or their partner's characteristics, and it is further promoted through the acceptance of patriarchy as the norm. Figure

1 displays the discussion of the conceptual framework for developing a comprehensive understanding of domestic violence in India.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Domestic Violence against Women in India Due to Social, Individual, Household, and Partner Determinants



Data and Methods

Data and Sampling

The study utilizes the data from NFHS-3 and NFHS-4, which is the National Representative of Health and Demography collected in 2005-06 and 2015-16, respectively. All the NFHS-1/2/3/4 round survey have been collected under the stewardship of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW), Government of India. The MoHFW labeled the International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), Mumbai, as the nodal agency for all of their surveys. The NFHS survey has used a uniform sampling design for all the states. In the NFHS-4, the information was collected by interviewing 699,686 women belonging to the age group of 15-49 with a response rate of 96.7 %. In NFHS-3, the interview was conducted for 109,041 households with 124,385 eligible women between the ages of 15 and 49 years where the response rate was 94.5%. However, in this study, we used the data obtained from 66,013 and 69,484 ever married women of the NFHS-4 and NFHS-3 surveys, respectively.

Variables and Measures

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA), 2005, defines domestic violence as comprehensive and includes all forms of physical, emotional, verbal, sexual, and economic violence; this definition covers both the actual acts as well as threats of violence. The National Family Health Survey has obtained information from the ever married women on their experiences of domestic violence committed by their current and former husbands and probably by others. Therefore, only one eligible woman per household is randomly selected to answer questions about domestic violence with ethical requirements. Further, the parameters of different forms of violence are explained below:

- **Physical Violence:** Physical violence includes pushing, shaking or throwing something at a person; slapping, twisting arm, or pulling hair; punching with his or with something that could hurt; kicking, dragging, or beating up; trying to choke or burn on purpose; or threatening or attacking with a knife, gun, or any other weapon.
- **Sexual Violence:** Sexual violence refers to women being physically forced or threatened to have sexual intercourse, or to perform any other sexual acts, even after their denial.
- **Emotional Violence:** Emotional violence indicates saying or doing something to humiliate someone in front of others; threatening to hurt or harm someone close; insulting or making someone feel bad about themselves.

Additionally, Physical/ Sexual/ Emotional violence has been calculated as: “Women who have experienced any Physical/ Sexual/ Emotional violence (committed by a husband or anyone else) from the age of 15 onwards and within the period of 12 months preceding the survey.”

Statistical Method

In order to calculate the prevalence of violence against women, we used the bivariate tabulation for each variable, and both the *chi-square* χ^2 and *F test* were employed to evaluate the statistical association. To assess the risk of violence in the household, both the individual and partner levels were calculated by the logit model using odds ratio (OR) with 95% confidential interval (CI).

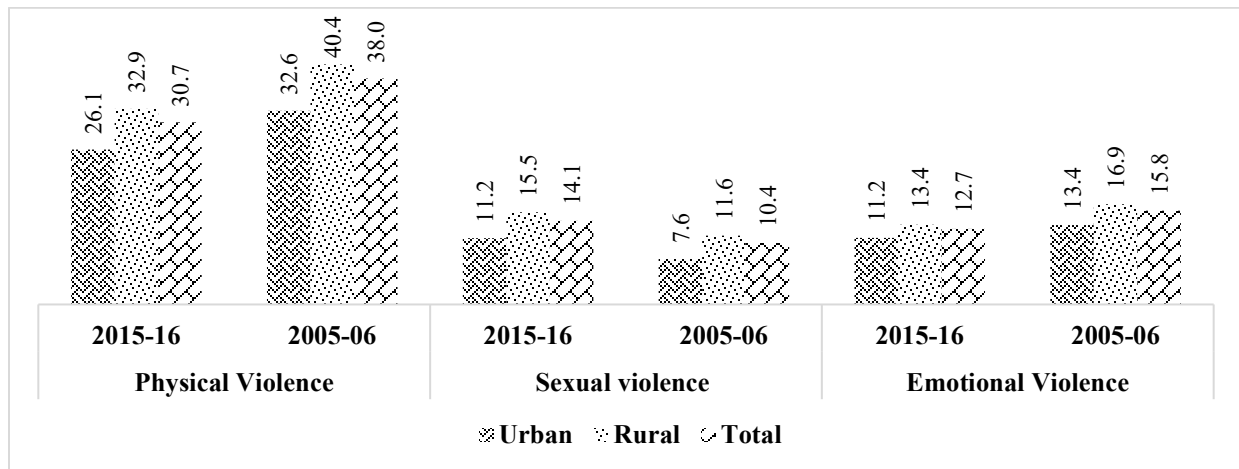
The Distribution of Domestic Violence against Women in India

One of the most common forms of violence against women in India is domestic violence, where violence is perpetrated by the husband or other household members. Society gives the right to property, power, and accessibility to men in the family, while women are made to be dependent. The unequal differences are the result of deeply rooted patriarchy, which accepts women only in particular roles. While perpetrating violence against women, they are blamed for not behaving in a certain manner assigned by society. In 2005, the Prevention of Physical Domestic Violence Act enacted in India resulted in the decline of domestic violence from 38% (NFHS-3) to 30.7% (NFHS-4) between 2005/06 and 2015/16 (Figure 2). Despite decades of legal reforms to address violence against women in India, the incidence remains high, and the illiteracy, cultural beliefs, and ignorance contribute additional aspects of violence against women in domestic spaces (Ghosh, 2013).

The subsequent sub-section of the study is divided into three parts. The first part discusses violence against women due to the nature of the household; the second part focuses on wife's

characteristics; and the last part discusses the impact of partners' features/characteristics when it comes to domestic violence.

Figure 2: Distribution of Different Forms of Domestic Violence against Women: 2005-06 to 2015-16



Violence against Women by Household Characteristics

Table 1 illustrates the percentage of women experiencing any kind of physical, sexual, or emotional violence. Factors that impact the incidence of violence against women include socio-economic status, geography, and religious characteristics of the household. Table 1 also indicates that violence against women has increased within a decade.

Violence in rural areas is higher than in urban areas. Social inequality in rural areas become a barrier to women's participation in society, which in turn also affects economic development within the region. In urban areas, women can participate more equally. Compared to 26% in urban areas, physical violence is highest in rural areas at 32%. In rural areas, the prevalence of physical violence is mostly due to the lack of availability of resources (Ajah, Iyoke, Nkwo, Nwakoby & Ezeonu, 2014). Most of the women believe that violence is excusable, which means that cultural norms supporting violence against women in rural areas are more acceptable than in urban areas. The acceptance of traditional gender roles is more prevalent among rural women than urban women, who in contrast have more exposure to the law, rights, and accessibility (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise & Watts, 2006). Therefore, sexual and emotional violence is pervasive in rural areas. Compared to urban areas (11.2%), the high rate of sexual violence (15.5%) in rural areas is due to poverty, which leads to early marriages and often gives rise to sexual violence (Naved & Persson, 2005; Kaur, 2004). Social norms also justify and interpret wife beating or abuse as a symbol of love or affection of the husband towards his wife (Siegel, 1995; Denzin, 1984; Hasday, 2000).

Religion also differentiates men and women through purity and impurity standards. Historically, different religions have bestowed men with the practical biases of privilege, unlike women whose menstrual blood is considered as impure and sinful. The study observed that in the Hindu religion, the incidence of violence is higher than in Islam, Christianity, and others. Table 1 illustrates that in 2015-16, after a decade of the introduction of Domestic violence act, physical violence among Hindus is still 32.2%, followed by Muslims and Christians at 26.3% and 25.7%

respectively. The reason is that Hindu men are allowed to perform regular, ceremonial practices from which women are excluded (Pargament, 2001).

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Women (15-49) Who Experienced Physical, Sexual, and Emotional Violence by Socio-Economic Characteristics, India.

Background Characteristic	Physical Violence		Sexual Violence		Emotional Violence	
	2015-16	2005-06	2015-16	2005-06	2015-16	2005-06
Household Characteristic						
Place of residence						
Urban	26.1	32.6	11.2	7.6	11.2	13.4
Rural	32.9	40.4	15.5	11.6	13.4	16.9
Religion						
Hindu	32.2	37.9	14.8	10.1	12.9	15.9
Muslim	26.3	40.3	12.2	13.8	12.9	15.9
Christian	25.7	33.0	11.5	6.7	11.7	13.9
Others ^s	25.1	34.0	11.7	5.9	8.9	15.1
Caste						
Scheduled caste	37.8	46.5	18.6	13.2	16.0	19.0
Scheduled tribe	31.0	45.0	15.2	12.0	13.3	20.9
OBC	32.9	38.7	15.0	9.0	13.1	15.7
Others ^{ss}	22.8	30.1	9.1	9.3	8.9	12.6
Household Structure						
01-05	30.8	37.1	13.8	9.8	12.8	15.9
06-08	31.0	39.7	14.7	10.8	13.0	16.1
09+	29.3	37.5	14.0	11.3	11.7	14.9
No. of living Children						
0	27.3	29.8	12.6	10.9	11.2	13.5
1-2	29.1	33.5	11.9	9.0	11.7	14.4
3-4	35.8	42.4	16.7	11.1	14.2	17.5
5+	39.0	50.5	17.3	12.9	14.9	18.6
Wealth Index						
Poorest	43.3	48.6	23.6	15.1	18.0	20.7
Poor	36.7	46.4	16.9	13.0	15.1	19.8
Middle	31.3	40.8	14.0	10.7	13.5	17.0
Richer	26.5	34.2	10.8	8.6	10.9	13.2
Richest	18.4	21.0	7.0	4.7	7.3	8.6
Region						
Central	35.1	43.6	16.8	10.0	12.9	17.2
Eastern	38.3	43.8	20.3	18.9	14.9	16.8
North-Eastern	27.3	38.1	12.0	14.1	11.9	15.5
Northern	21.0	33.2	8.2	12.4	8.9	15.0
Southern	35.7	32.5	15.8	4.2	17.0	12.4
Western	21.9	31.9	8.0	4.1	10.5	17.8
Wife's Characteristics						
Age group						
15-19	24.6	29.9	11.9	13.6	12.4	12.5
20-24	28.7	36.1	13.9	10.9	11.5	14.4
25-29	29.9	39.6	13.4	10.8	11.9	16.3
30-39	31.5	39.8	14.6	10.4	12.9	16.5
40-49	31.7	37.9	14.2	8.5	13.7	16.5
Duration of marriage						
00-04	20.9	26.7	9.0	9.5	8.6	10.8

05-09	29.0	38.1	13.4	10.9	11.5	15.8
10-14	32.3	42.1	14.8	11.7	13.3	17.0
15+	33.4	40.8	15.5	10.0	14.0	17.3
Education						
No Education	39.2	46.2	19.6	12.8	16.8	19.2
Primary	35.5	40.5	16.9	11.4	14.4	17.4
Secondary	25.8	28.5	10.8	7.4	10.5	11.6
Higher	16.5	13.4	5.9	2.5	6.1	5.6
Occupation						
Not In work						
force	27.0	33.0	11.8	9.4	10.7	12.7
Professional	20.1	22.3	11.0	5.6	10.5	9.8
Clerical	22.0	21.8	10.8	4.4	15.9	13.9
Sales	32.3	37.6	13.4	12.2	13.9	19.4
Agricultural	41.6	46.1	20.1	11.9	17.8	20.3
Services/house						
hold	35.6	46.7	19.4	12.6	18.0	22.1
Manual/(un)ski						
lled	42.0	45.8	20.5	12.2	17.8	20.1
Partner's Characteristics						
Education						
No Education	41.1	47.2	20.9	13.2	18.2	20.5
Primary	37.2	45.6	18.0	12.5	15.4	18.8
Secondary	28.3	34.0	12.5	9.2	11.5	13.7
Higher	18.8	20.8	6.8	4.6	6.8	8.2
Occupation						
Not working	32.7	39.4	16.3	15.3	15.1	21.8
Professional	19.3	22.9	8.5	5.8	7.8	10.4
Clerical	25.7	26.1	12.2	6.1	11.3	10.4
Sales	26.5	32.7	10.9	9.7	10.9	12.9
Agricultural	34.1	42.3	16.1	10.9	13.8	17.6
Services	25.7	33.8	11.5	7.8	11.1	15.2
Manual/(un)ski						
lled	33.5	40.9	15.2	11.6	13.6	16.6
Alcohol						
No	22.6	30.5	8.8	8.0	8.6	11.8
Yes	49.2	53.3	26.2	15.1	22.2	24.0
Total	30.7	38.0	14.1	10.4	12.7	15.8

Note: ^SOthers includes Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism; ^{SS} Others represents non-SC/ST/OBC groups population.

Hindu religious practices accord low social status to women and also defend violence against them, while in Islam, women are in better positions (Niaz, 2013). The caste in India is a unit of stratification in society, and it segregates one person from another on the basis of purity and pollution. The caste system is a hierarchical disparity among the people belonging to the Hindu religious group for establishing ones' hegemony over others. The Dalits or lower castes, constitutionally named as the Scheduled Castes (SC), are at the lower end of the hierarchical caste scale. They are excluded and denied their basic rights because of their ascribed status in society (Shah, Mander, Baviskar, Thorat & Deshpande, 2006). The condition of women of the Dalit or Scheduled Castes is more vulnerable than their male counterparts because of their gender and caste positioning. In the Scheduled Castes, women are facing multiple forms of exclusion and discrimination in education, employment, social disempowerment, and political participation, which makes them vulnerable (Mangubhai & Lee, 2012). Though hostility among different castes

has gradually decreased, it is still prevalent toward people belonging to the Scheduled Castes (37.8%) and Schedule Tribes (31%) due to their lower status; they are often excluded from mainstream society. The majority of the Scheduled Caste men and women are illiterate, forcing them into the unskilled labor market at low wage rates. Low income and work pressure make women's conditions more vulnerable. The sexual (18.6%) and emotional (16 %) violence among the Scheduled Castes is almost double than the other castes. Violence against women depends on the number of people in the family. When there are more members in the family, there are fewer chances for intimidation by the partner. The prevalence of violence also depends on the number of living children in the family. Table 1 shows physical violence at 39% for women with more living children, however, physical violence is at 27% for women with no children. The living children also bring the burden of responsibility and further impoverishment for the family, leading to frustration among the men in the family.

Further, the space people inhabit plays an important role in aggravating violence against women, and economic conditions determine a family's space of living. The poorer the family, the smaller the living space, which in turn contributes to domestic violence against women. It is widely documented that, the illiterate unemployed women from poor households mostly rely on their partner's income so leaving an abusive partner for them is very difficult. This economic dependence of the abuser is associated with more severe abuse (Bitangora, 1999; Rashada & Sharaf, 2016; Slabbert, 2017).

Furthermore, women's economic dependence on their partners or other men makes it difficult or impossible for them to leave their violent relationships. But economic independence alone is not able to reduce violence against women (Pallitto, García-Moreno, Jansen, Heise, Ellsberg, & Watts, 2013). Nevertheless, more income can provide better accessibility to basic livelihoods, healthcare, and other services that can lessen the chances of violence. Table 1 shows that the prevalence of violence within the poorer economic group is higher than in the higher economic group.

The poor income group experiences greater crises to survive, creating more tension within the household and the relationship. As a result, women often bear the burden and become victims of violence. Table 1 also shows that violence against women among the poor is 43% compared to 18% among the richest group. In some settings, more financial stability or gainful employment reduces violence (Schuler, Hashemi, Riley & Akhter, 1996).

India has a unique geographical structure that plays an important role in cultural construction such as clothing, food habits, norms, beliefs, etc., and these ingrained cultural developments promote men's domination or superiority over women. The geographical distribution of Table 1 shows that physical and sexual violence is higher in the eastern region, 38% and 20%, respectively, followed by the central region, 35% and 16.8%, and the southern region, 35.7% and 15.8%.

How does Women's Status Affect Violence against Women?

Violence against women is influenced by factors such as age, duration of marriage, education, and occupation. A total of 24.6% of women in the 15-19 years old age group have suffered physical violence, whereas 31.7% of women in the 40-49 years old age group have suffered from physical violence. The incidence of violence is also greater with longer durations of marriages as it allows for a longer period of exposure (Kimuna, Djamba, Ciciurkaite & Cherukuri, 2013). The women with more than 15 years of marriage experience more physical (33.4%), sexual

(15.5%), and emotional (14%) violence, while women who have been married for 0 to 4 years' experience less physical (20.9%), sexual (9%), and emotional (8.5%) violence.

Though the relationship between women's education and violence against them is very complex, their educational level is known to exert a protective effect with regard to physical violence (Martin, Tsui, Maitra & Marinshaw, 1999; Jewkes, Levin & Penn-Kekana, 2002). Education increases self-sufficiency as well as socio-economic empowerment (Martin, Taft & Resick, 2007); this is evidenced by violence against illiterate women being 39.2 % compared to 16.5 % among highly educated women. Highly educated women are also more economically independent and are less likely to be abused (Straus, Gelles & Steinmetz, 2017). Moreover, occupation provides women with a certain level of independence, but the types of work also make them victims of violence. Women engaged in manual or unskilled services, agricultural work, and household services are more prone to violence than women in professional and clerical services. Women engaged in manual or unskilled services experience the highest prevalence of violence due to their partners' controlling behaviors and power relations (Antai, 2011).

Partners' Characteristics Imply Domestic Violence

Violence against women not only depends on women's characteristics but also on the nature of their partners. The characteristics of both men and women affect violence, and women generally become victims. Table 1 shows that the level of physical (41%), sexual (20.9%), and emotional (18.2%) violence is the highest among illiterate partners. A partner's lower education creates imbalances in household work, decision-making, and intimacy which can perpetuate violence against women (Anderson, 1997). The partners engaged in professional, clerical, or managerial jobs report less physical violence than those not working or those involved in manual/unskilled labor.

An additional characteristic to consider is alcohol consumption by the partner. Within the Indian context, it is considered to be one of the simplest explanations of an intimate partner's violent behaviors. For women with partners that consume alcohol, 49.2% experience physical violence: 26.2% experience sexual violence, and 22.2% experience emotional violence.

Identifying the Risk of Physical, Sexual, and Emotional Violence among Women Depending on Socio-Economics Characteristics

Socio-demographic Risk Factors for Physical Violence

The risk factors associated with domestic violence are represented in Table 2. The analysis addresses the role of household, individuals, and partner characteristics and how they influence the risk of violence.

Table 2: Logistic Regression Estimates to Identify the Risk for Physical, Sexual, and Emotional Violence among Women by Background Characteristics, India.

Background Characteristic	Physical Violence		Sexual Violence		Emotional Violence	
	OR (95% CI)		OR (95% CI)		OR (95% CI)	
	2015-16	2005-06	2015-16	2005-06	2015-16	2005-06
Household Characteristic						
Place of Residence						
Rural®						
Urban	1.17***[1.10-1.24]	1.30***[1.25-1.37]	1.16***[1.07-1.26]	1.02[0.94-1.09]	1.20***[1.10-1.30]	1.15***[1.09-1.22]

Religion						
Others ^s ®						
	1.07[0.96-		0.94[0.81-	1.41***[1.21-	1.13[0.96-	1.06[0.95-
Hindu	1.20]	0.97[0.89-1.06]	1.10]	1.65]	1.33]	1.19]
	1.20[1.05-	1.44***[1.30-	1.26[1.05-	2.22***[1.86-	1.62***[1.33]	1.60***[1.41]
Muslim	1.37]	1.59]	1.52]	2.66]	-1.96]	-1.85]
	0.94[0.80-	0.73***[0.66-	0.94[0.76-	0.95[0.78-	1.12[0.90-	1.04[0.90-
Christian	1.09]	0.82]	1.15]	1.17]	1.38]	1.20]
Caste						
Others ^{ss} ®						
	1.26***[1.17-	1.40***[1.32-	1.28***[1.16	1.17***[1.07-	1.24***[1.12	1.28***[1.19
Scheduled caste	1.36]	1.47]	-1.42]	1.27]	-1.38]	-1.37]
	0.87**[0.80-	0.91*[0.85-	0.93[0.83-	0.82***[0.73-	0.94[0.83-	1.06[0.97-
Scheduled tribe	0.94]	0.97]	1.04]	0.91]	1.05]	1.15]
	1.20***[1.12-	1.17***[1.12-	1.17***[1.07	1.01[0.94-	1.13*[1.03-	1.21***[1.14
OBC	1.28]	1.23]	-1.28]	1.09]	1.24]	-1.29]
Household structure						
01-05®						
	0.99[0.94-		1.09[1.01-	1.02[0.95-	1.06[0.98-	0.99[0.94-
06-08	1.04]	0.97[0.93-1.01]	1.17]	1.09]	1.14]	1.05]
	1.01[0.92-		1.15[1.00-	1.09[0.98-	1.26**[1.09-	1.09[0.99-
09+	1.12]	0.98[0.92-1.05]	1.32]	1.21]	1.45]	1.19]
No. of living Children						
0®						
	1.03[0.94-	1.13**[1.05-	0.87[0.77-	0.95[0.85-	1.00[0.87-	1.01[0.92-
1-2	1.14]	1.21]	0.99]	1.06]	1.15]	1.11]
	1.05[0.95-	1.21***[1.12-	0.98[0.85-	0.94[0.83-	1.00[0.87-	0.94[0.85-
3-4	1.17]	1.31]	1.12]	1.07]	1.16]	1.05]
	1.07[0.93-	1.39***[1.26-	0.95[0.80-	0.94[0.80-	0.93[0.77-	0.88[0.77-
5+	1.23]	1.53]	1.14]	1.10]	1.12]	1.00]
Wealth index						
Richer®						
	1.74***[1.56-	2.07***[1.90-	1.86***[1.59	1.85***[1.61-	1.79***[1.53	2.06***[1.84
Poorer	1.95]	2.26]	-2.16]	2.15]	-2.10]	-2.31]
	1.58***[1.44-	2.05***[1.90-	1.58***[1.38	1.87***[1.63-	1.64***[1.42	2.05***[1.85
Poor	1.74]	2.21]	-1.82]	2.13]	-1.89]	-2.27]
	1.37***[1.25-	1.78***[1.66-	1.36***[1.19	1.74***[1.54-	1.47***[1.29	1.71***[1.55
Middle	1.50]	1.90]	-1.54]	1.96]	-1.67]	-1.87]
	1.22***[1.12-	1.56***[1.47-	1.21**[1.07-	1.45***[1.30-	1.23**[1.08-	1.39***[1.28
Rich	1.32]	1.66]	1.37]	1.62]	1.38]	-1.51]
Region						
Western®						
	1.34***[1.22-	1.42***[1.33-	1.52***[1.34	1.91***[1.68-	0.96[0.84-	0.83***[0.77
Central	1.46]	1.51]	-1.74]	2.17]	1.09]	-0.90]
	1.47***[1.34-	1.27***[1.19-	1.72***[1.50	3.82***[3.36-	0.96[0.83-	0.81***[0.75
Eastern	1.62]	1.36]	-1.98]	4.33]	1.10]	-0.89]
	0.97[0.87-		1.06[0.91-	2.53***[2.21-	0.92[0.79-	0.68***[0.62
North-Eastern	1.08]	1.03[0.96-1.11]	1.25]	2.90]	1.07]	-0.75]
	0.93[0.84-	0.87***[0.81-	1.04[0.90-	2.09***[1.83-	0.84[0.73-	0.66***[0.61
Northern	1.02]	0.93]	1.20]	2.39]	0.96]	-0.73]
	1.57***[1.42-		1.57***[1.36	0.85[0.74-	1.46***[1.27	0.60***[0.55
Southern	1.73]	0.96[0.90-1.03]	-1.81]	0.98]	-1.66]	-0.65]
Wife's Characteristics						
Age group						

40-49 [®]	1.42 [1.00-2.02]	1.18[1.04-1.35]	1.99**[1.28-3.09]	1.78***[1.45-2.18]	1.46[0.91-2.35]	1.07[0.90-1.28]
15-19	1.34***[1.18-1.52]	1.41***[1.28-1.54]	1.48***[1.25-1.76]	1.66***[1.42-1.93]	1.22[1.02-1.47]	1.14[1.01-1.29]
20-24	1.18***[1.08-1.30]	1.27***[1.18-1.37]	1.20**[1.06-1.36]	1.41***[1.25-1.60]	1.03[0.91-1.17]	1.08[0.98-1.19]
25-29	1.12***[1.05-1.19]	1.10***[1.04-1.15]	1.15**[1.06-1.24]	1.21***[1.11-1.32]	1.00[0.92-1.09]	1.00[0.94-1.07]
Duration of Marriage						
00-04 [®]	1.26***[1.11-1.44]	1.33***[1.24-1.43]	1.41***[1.17-1.69]	1.19**[1.06-1.34]	1.09[0.91-1.31]	1.32***[1.19-1.46]
05-09	1.42***[1.24-1.63]	1.50***[1.38-1.64]	1.44***[1.18-1.76]	1.40***[1.22-1.61]	1.26[1.03-1.54]	1.51***[1.34-1.70]
10-14	1.41***[1.22-1.63]	1.57***[1.43-1.73]	1.58***[1.27-1.95]	1.50***[1.28-1.76]	1.35**[1.09-1.68]	1.71***[1.50-1.95]
Education						
Higher [®]	1.57***[1.38-1.79]	1.88***[1.68-2.11]	2.00***[1.63-2.45]	1.55***[1.25-1.92]	1.42**[1.17-1.73]	1.54***[1.31-1.81]
No Education	1.52***[1.33-1.73]	1.95***[1.74-2.19]	1.89***[1.54-2.33]	1.69***[1.37-2.10]	1.30*[1.07-1.59]	1.74***[1.48-2.04]
Primary	1.30***[1.16-1.45]	1.59***[1.43-1.75]	1.55***[1.29-1.87]	1.48***[1.21-1.80]	1.22[1.02-1.46]	1.43***[1.24-1.66]
Occupation						
Professional [®]	0.84[0.55-1.28]	1.26[1.12-1.42]	1.85***[1.48-2.32]	1.42**[1.15-1.75]	1.28[1.00-1.63]	1.28**[1.08-1.51]
Not In work force	1.40[1.17-1.67]	1.01[0.84-1.22]	0.74[0.38-1.42]	1.40[1.02-1.93]	1.08[0.61-1.89]	1.42**[1.13-1.79]
Clerical	1.44***[1.35-1.53]	1.42[1.27-1.58]	1.30[1.02-1.65]	1.52***[1.28-1.80]	1.41**[1.12-1.78]	1.51***[1.31-1.73]
Sales	1.40***[1.25-1.58]	1.20[1.15-1.27]	1.34***[1.23-1.46]	1.24***[1.15-1.34]	1.34***[1.23-1.46]	1.27***[1.19-1.35]
Agricultural Services/household	1.55***[1.42-1.69]	1.46[1.34-1.60]	1.68***[1.45-1.94]	1.55***[1.36-1.77]	1.52***[1.31-1.77]	1.67***[1.51-1.85]
Manual/(un)skilled	1.79***[1.46-2.20]	1.31[1.23-1.39]	1.45***[1.30-1.62]	1.29***[1.17-1.42]	1.42***[1.27-1.59]	1.31***[1.22-1.42]
Partner's Characteristics						
Education	1.16*[1.04-1.30]	1.15**[1.05-1.26]	1.19[1.01-1.40]	1.08[0.93-1.26]	1.28**[1.08-1.51]	1.18*[1.04-1.33]
Higher [®]	1.20**[1.08-1.34]	1.26***[1.16-1.38]	1.23[1.05-1.44]	1.22[1.04-1.42]	1.28**[1.09-1.51]	1.20**[1.07-1.36]
No Education	1.08[0.99-1.19]	1.11**[1.03-1.20]	1.12[0.97-1.29]	1.09[0.95-1.25]	1.20*[1.05-1.39]	1.08[0.97-1.20]
Primary	1.22[1.04-1.43]	1.28**[1.11-1.49]	1.35*[1.08-1.68]	1.54***[1.23-1.93]	1.22[0.94-1.57]	1.39***[1.16-1.66]
Secondary	1.16[0.98-1.39]	0.98[0.88-1.09]	1.41**[1.11-1.80]	0.95[0.79-1.15]	1.07[0.89-1.30]	0.90[0.77-1.04]
Occupation						
Professional [®]						
Not working						
Clerical						

Sales	1.11[0.98-1.26]	1.09[1.00-1.19]	1.02[0.84-1.23]	1.04[0.89-1.20]	1.10[0.93-1.31]	0.94[0.83-1.06]
Agricultural	1.08[0.96-1.21]	1.14**[1.05-1.25]	1.13[0.96-1.34]	1.05[0.90-1.21]	1.01[0.84-1.22]	0.88[0.78-0.99]
Services	0.96[0.85-1.09]	0.92[0.83-1.02]	0.92[0.76-1.11]	0.86[0.72-1.03]	1.15[0.97-1.36]	0.81**[0.71-0.93]
Manual/(un)skilled	1.17*[1.04-1.31]	1.11[1.02-1.20]	1.13[0.95-1.34]	1.07[0.92-1.23]	1.91[1.37-2.65]	0.91[0.81-1.02]
Alcohol						
No [®]						
Yes	2.83***[2.70-2.97]	2.40***[2.32-2.49]	3.18***[2.99-3.39]	2.16***[2.03-2.29]	2.80***[2.62-2.99]	2.27***[2.17-2.38]
Cons	0.05***[0.04-0.07]	0.04***[0.03-0.05]	0.01***[0.01-0.02]	0.01***[0.003-0.006]	0.02***[0.01-0.03]	0.03***[0.02-0.04]
Pseudo R²	0.090	0.097	0.10	0.082	0.072	0.064

Note: [®]= Reference; ***Significant at $p < 1\%$; ** Significant at $p < 5\%$; *Significant at $p < 10\%$; OR=Odds Ratio; CI=Confidence Interval; ^sOthers includes Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism; ^{ss} Others represents non-SC/ST/OBC groups population

Women living in slums and low-income urban areas have a higher risk of violence. Between 2015 and 2016, the risk of physical violence against women in urban areas was 17% higher. However, as time passed, physical violence within the same area declined by 13%. A possible cause of continued physical violence in urban areas is the transformation of gender identities. The transformation makes gender ideologies more flexible and therefore challenges the patriarchal structure (McIlwaine, 2013).

Women at the bottom of the caste hierarchy are more vulnerable. Women within the SC face a 26% higher risk of physical violence while Other Backwards Castes (OBC) women face a 20% risk compared to other women. The poor socio-economic conditions and other dominant risk factors associated with Dalit women lead to domestic violence against them. In 2015, it was found that the likelihood of violence is 74% higher among the poorest women compared to the wealthiest women. However, with increases in women's wealth quantiles, the risk of physical violence against them declines. Domestic physical violence is not just a problem of poor and middleclass households, it is even prevalent among the wealthier households, as indicated in the data.

Women that live in the southern region of India experience a 57% increased risk of violence, while women in the eastern region experience a 47% increased risk. Women in the central region experience the least amount of risk at 34% compared to their southern and eastern counterparts. Domestic violence affects women of all ages. The risk is 34% higher among women in the 20-24 age group than it is for women within the 40-49 age group. A significant relationship exists between the length of marriage and the risk of violence. The longer the marriage, the greater the risk of violence.

Additionally, women with more education are better able to negotiate within their relationships to mediate the violence within it. Illiterate women are less capable of negotiating or speaking out against violence within their relationships and therefore suffer to a greater extent. In 2015-2016, survey results revealed that 57% of illiterate women, 52% of primary, and 30% of secondary educated women are at risk of physical violence. If both the man and woman in the relationship are employed, there is an increased likelihood that the woman will become a victim as their employment may be perceived as a challenge to the man's authority and power within the relationship. Surprisingly, women who are not in the workforce do not experience the same risk of violence as professional women. Women working as manual/(un)skilled laborers are at a 79%

higher risk of violence than professional women. However, women engaged in the service sector and home-based work experience a 55% risk of violence, the second highest vulnerable group.

Furthermore, the partner's individual background and characteristics, such as income/occupation, age, and education, also contribute to changes in domestic violence rates. The survey results indicated that partners who are illiterate (16%) or who have a primary education (20%) exert more violence on women. Partners with blue-collar (manual/(un)skilled) occupations have a 17% higher risk of wife-beating. It is hard to ignore the relationship between alcoholism and physical violence. In 2015-16, when it came to physical violence against women, the risk of being violent for alcohol users was 2.8 times higher than non-alcohol users.

Socio-demographic Risk Factors for Sexual Violence

This section discusses the debate related to new cultural underpinnings on sexual violence. According to the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005, sexual rights are categorized as human rights, a serious concern for every individual. However, the individuals with whom women have intimate relationships are often the perpetrator of the sexual violence against women. The survey results of 2015-2016 show that the risk of domestic sexual violence in urban areas has increased by 16% compared to their rural counterparts. Since the last decade, the risk of sexual violence against women has alarmingly increased by 14%. Women in urban areas are raising their voices against patriarchy by making space in the service sectors and other fields.

Considering the ethnic groups, the results show the risk of sexual violence is the highest among the SC (28%) followed by OBC women (17%) in comparison to other groups. SCs are considered more socially vulnerable, and sexual violence may not occur in isolation; rather, women may experience a combination of different types of violence. Women belonging to poorer households are more likely to be sexually exploited than women belonging to wealthier households. Risk declines as the household income increases, and it is statistically true. From the regional dimension, we observed the decline in risk from 2005-06 to 2015-16, however, the eastern (72%) and southern (57%) regions have the highest risk for sexual violence. The age of women must be considered as the proxy indicator for maturity and experiences as it has a crucial role in relation to the experience of sexual violence. In their early age (15-19 years old), women have a 99% risk of sexual violence from their intimate partners. As age increases, women are able to avoid the violence against them and therefore experience a decline in risk.

Further, women's education is an indicator of awareness and empowerment; hence, illiterate women face twice the risk of violence compared to their educated counterparts. Women with primary education are at a lesser risk than illiterate women, but at a greater risk compared to women with even higher levels of education. A strong statistical significance was found among education levels of women and the violence against them. The results show that uneducated women are more likely to accept ill-treatment, while educated women tend to be more vocal. It has also been observed that sexual violence against working women is ubiquitous, and it would not exist without implicit structures within society that uphold men's dominance. The results reveal that, compared to professional women, the risk of sexual violence among women engaged in services/household industries and manual/(un)skilled labor are 68% and 45%, respectively. Surprisingly, partner's education does not have any significant relation to sexual violence.

Lastly, when the intimate partner consumes alcohol, the rates of sexual violence increases, and the likelihood of inflicting injury also increases (Kyriacou, et al., 1999). The result shows that the risk of sexual violence among women increases three times (OR = 3.18) more if their intimate partner consumes alcohol compared to partners that do not consume alcohol. From 2005-06 to

2015-16, the risk of sexual violence after partners consume alcohol increased by 102%. The existing studies have noted that their partners were not drinking only before or after the violence (Kyriacou et al., 1999; Koenig, Stephenson, Ahmed, Jejeebhoy & Campbell, 2006). Despite the use of alcohol, some sociological and psychological studies believe that the asymmetric power distribution is the root determinant of conflict in the intimate relationships (Dutton & Strachan, 1987; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988; O'Farrell & Murphy, 1995).

Socio-demographic Risk Factors for Emotional Violence

Urban areas are emerging as islands of distress not only due to increased numbers of reporting but also because of its alienated socio-demographic characteristics. Women living in urban areas have a 20% higher risk of being exposed to emotional violence. In urban slum territory, the inadequate access to services, poverty, and social isolation contribute to intimate partner victimizations (Logan, Shannon & Walker, 2005). Women of SC communities experience a 24% higher risk of emotional violence. They often become victims due to both caste and gender. Social isolation in low-income households result in the rise of emotional violence against women within those same households. In 2015-2016, it was found that women belonging to the poorer households experienced a 79% risk of violence, but women belonging to wealthier households experienced only a 23% risk of emotional violence. Further, the region-specific risk related to emotional violence is higher in the southern part of India at 46%. Moreover, if intimate partners are illiterate, the risk of emotional violence is higher. The partners threaten to end their own lives as weapons to emotionally exploit women. The odds against women ($OR=2.80$) are aggravated in cases where their intimate partners consume alcohol. Drunkenness among the poor is associated with work quality (Khan, Townsend & Pelto, 2014). The relationships with wives, their age differences, and financial crisis have positive correlations with emotional violence against women. Unfortunately, very few women report the humiliation and controlling behaviors (emotional violence) of their husbands.

Conclusion

In this study, we found that, after the Implementation of Domestic Violence act 2005, physical violence has been decreasing over the years while sexual and emotional violence against women have been gradually increasing. This study sheds light on key practices that facilitate the risk of violence. Specific socio-cultural practices like dowry, child marriage, unequal treatment of widows, etc. all increase women's vulnerability to violence. Another indicator of domestic violence is the gender differential treatment in sustenance, wellbeing, education, and other life opportunities that further subject women to various forms of violence. Feminist scholars always place patriarchy (hierarchical gender relations) in the forefront of violence against women. However, few social scientists describe it as individual male-centric violent behavior that maintains their patriarchal privileges (Dutton & Strachan, 1987). The decrease of physical violence over a decade is not a true measure of the inflicted violence, which is socio-culturally maneuvered through institutionalized practices. For instance, a perceived understanding of the institution of marriage based on the idea of monogamy leads to an assumptive perception of sex as men's fundamental rights within the marriage. However, despite the increased level of awareness, we need to focus on the structural constraint of marital stress, which will help to solve the grassroots problem. The partners of women experiencing violence are subjected to this flawed understanding, which entails structural violence, thereby legitimizing the acts of violence against women. It shows that a new

trend of violence against women has emerged in an attempt to escape from visible forms of violence. There is a need for tactfully handling violence in an indirect form. The deep-rooted acceptance of patriarchal norms and practices normalizes the idea of male superiority and ignores the vicissitudes of women's everyday life in our society. One must not understand the process of normalization as an imposed act of suppression. Instead, the new form of violence needs to be understood as a derivative of the power imbalance between men and women. Moreover, the other factors of violence against women can be attributed to the lack of social positioning of women, which indicates a society based on their economic dependency on men and their families. Therefore, the safety of women in our society needs to originate from the sense of independence to question their choices as well as the ability to realize the meaning of 'choice.' To address the issues of violence, one would not only require economic independence but also a larger awareness of the concept of structural violence and identity.

Limitations of the Study

There are few limitations which need to be kept in mind before considering the findings of this study. First, this study has used a cross-sectional dataset which is not ideal to establish a causal relationship. Second, although the variables included in the analysis can capture much of the variation in the domestic violence among women, a more detail descriptive information about the household, family status, patriarchal practices, properties ownership by woman will a give better understanding about domestic violence. Further, this article presents the quantitative measurement of domestic violence from survey dataset hence feminist historical research has not highlighted extensively.

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