



# The Impact of Socio-Economic Status on Domestic Violence against Women in Eastern India

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## Authors' contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration among all authors. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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## ABSTRACT

**Background:** In the era of women's empowerment, domestic violence against women really becomes an issue having significant impacts on the well-being of Indian communities. The linkage between domestic violence and income of the family has an important significance in family

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planning. The present study investigated the relationship between the socio-economic status of the family and domestic violence in West Bengal, India.

**Methods:** The study also finds the pattern of domestic violence change during the period of 2005-06 to 2020-21. A cross-sectional survey consisted of 160 women from both rural and urban area based on non-probability purposive sampling. was used to collect data from (How many respondents) and (how many) completed the survey instrument. Data were analysed for the survey using and for the qualitative interviews using...For reliability and validity ...

**Results:** Results of the logit model show a statistically significant negative association between the family's income and both domestic physical and psychological violence experienced. The intensity of physical domestic violence increases by 3.028 when the income decreases by one thousand rupees. Similarly, the intensity of psychological violence increases by 1.386 when the income decreases by one thousand rupees. Results also indicated that the pattern of domestic violence change during the period of 2005-06 to 2020-21.

**Conclusion:** These findings bear important implications for how to reduce the violence against women through promoting income-generating activities and socio-economic status in the study area. Policies that enhance family income and reduce income inequality would help in reducing the intensity of violence against women.

*Keywords: Domestic violence; income inequality; psychological violence; physical violence.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The safety and well-being of women across India are adversely affected by their experiences of physical, emotional and economic violence. It is important to be conscious of the fact that all women are vulnerable to acts of violence. Violence against women is not always visible because economic and psychological violence are often not even perceived as violence. One of the most common forms of violence against women is violence perpetrated by a husband or other male partner, which is often referred to as domestic violence or intimate partner violence (IPV).

One domain of domestic violence is economic violence which is often considered within the scope of psychological violence. Domestic violence caused by economic factors involves controlling a woman's ability to use and sustain economic resources to gain, thereby threatening her potential for self-sufficiency. In contrast to these, many studies recently defined economic violence as a unique form of violence. Since economic violence is an important aspect of IPV, studies that ignore economic violence miss an important factor caused by unemployment and lack of economic independence, which is significantly associated with forms of economic abuse [1,2]. The issue of dowry harassment has received attention as a significant contributing cause to domestic violence. A survey [3] revealed that confrontations often revolve around different parts of gender roles and expectations. This is particularly evident in the severity and

constancy of violence against pregnant women and forced sex across strata [3].

The domestic violence on women is consistently linked with the socioeconomic status of the family but the little attention has been put on the likelihood of domestic violence on women and Furthermore, domestic violence against women is consistently linked with the socioeconomic status of the family (text ref), but little attention has been put on the likelihood of domestic violence against women and the income level of the family [4-8]. There have been several studies that correlates the socioeconomic status and domestic violence. For example, Whaley and Messner [9] studied the economic divergence index and violence over women, whereas Sanz-Barbero et al. [10] found economic disparities increase women's exposure to violence. In addition to income variables for socioeconomic status, the educational difference was also considered to examine the likelihood of domestic violence against women.

## 2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The reasons for domestic violence including physical and psychological violence on women are multi-layered. Many studies in India (Susmita, 2000). Aizer [11] indicate in his studies to identify the factors of domestic violence empirically. Debate on the correlation between domestic violence and the economic status of the family became a deeply entrenched problem in exploring the likelihood of domestic

violence against married women. It is reasonable to consider the economic condition of the family as a correlate of domestic violence. In consonance with this reasoning, the socio-economic status of the family could be explored in this study for associations with the reporting of violence [12,13]. Economic violence is a field of research that has emerged recently [11]. Apart from the uncertain impact, there are also several other factors that are directly and indirectly associated with the economic condition of the family. Hence, there are compelling reasons for the consideration of the study. The study aimed to

Hence, the following research questions and hypotheses guided this study:

**Hypothesis 1:** Domestic violence (both physical and emotional) is more prevalent among the lower socio-economic classes' families in West Bengal.

**Hypothesis 2:** Domestic violence against women (both physical and emotional) is more prevalent among families in which the family income is low.

### 3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Previous research indicates that violence significantly increased when there is gender imbalance in work position [14]. Makino [15] found that, in situations where women lack inheritance rights, a dowry raises a woman's position within the family. Panda and Agarwal [16] evaluated the incidence and correlates of both long-term and recent physical and psychological violence and revealed that the probability of spousal violence is found to be much lower for women who possess immovable property compared to those who do not. The latter results are significant for policy development. For example, Bonnes [17] suggested that men in Malawi must also receive education to reduce the likelihood of physical and psychological intimate partner abuse against women. The reason is that the risk that a woman may experience intimate partner violence from her present husband is significantly influenced by her degree of education, but this effect is dependent on her husband's education. Gahramanov et al. [18] have revealed that joint property ownership may serve as a form of reward encouraging women to willingly provide greater labour for home production, thereby reducing the likelihood that men will use violence to coerce women to perform such labour.

However, Eswaran and Malhotra [19] have revealed that in India, women who work away from home are more likely to experience domestic violence, which may be related to jealousy and paternity doubt from our ancestors' time. Tauchen et al. [20] have shown that in high-income families, there was a negative correlation between women's income and domestic abuse when men earned more than women and a positive correlation when males earned less than women. This result was only true for high-income families because of women's unwillingness to provide money to men. In rural Mexico, domestic violence and cash transfers to women were found to correlate negatively when the transfers were modest and positively when the transfers were substantial [21]. Bloch and Rao [22] demonstrated a positive association between the likelihood of wife abuse and the wife's family wealth using survey data from rural India. They explained this by the husband's intention to extort money through violence. According to research conducted by Hidrobo, M., and Fernald, L. [23] shows in West Africa that receiving a cash transfer from a spouse dramatically reduces psychological abuse by that partner for women with higher education levels. However, the impact of a monetary transfer on women with only a primary school education or less depends on how much less educated she is than her partner. In particular, the monetary transfer markedly increases emotional aggression in marriages where the woman has an academic level at least as high as her partner. Aizer [11] found that reduced wage disparity lessens violence against women. According to research by Gahramanov et al. [24], having sole property ownership isn't always a sign of less domestic abuse being committed against the woman. Married women who own the property with their spouses, however, are less likely to experience domestic abuse from their partners. The study's research design and methods will be discussed next.

### 4. METHODOLOGY

The study employed a mix method research design consisting of National Family Health Survey (NFHS) and Data was collected during the periods during the period of 2005-06 to 2020-21.

#### 4.1 Study Population and Sampling

The study population consisted of women in rural and urban areas in India. The required data collected through employed a mixed-methods to

investigate the problem of domestic violence and economic status in West Bengal (India). The study primarily used data compiled from the National Family Health Survey [25] reports for India, conducted during 2005-06 and 2020-21. In the second phase of this study was based on a household survey undertaken in 2020-21 in the state of West Bengal. The respondents were ever-married women in the age group 15–49. The total sample size consisted of 160 households, including of the age group 15-49. The qualitative data was collected through personal interviews with 80 married women from both urban and rural settings. The study examined three types of domestic abuse-physical, emotional/psychological, and economic (Table 1).

The collected information was obtained from ever-married women on violence caused by husbands and by other relatives, and from never-married women on violence by anyone, including

boyfriends. International research has shown that domestic violence is one of the most common forms of violence experienced by women in both rural and urban areas.

#### 4.2 Measurement of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence on women committed by the husband or boyfriend is usually measured in more detail than violence by other perpetrators including relatives. Explicitly, violence by husbands is measured by using a critically through modified Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Strauss, 1990).

In order to answer the research stated earlier, the obtained data were analysed through statistical software like STATA Descriptive Statistics were performed to compare the pattern of change in violence in the study area. Using logistic regression analysis, correlational analysis

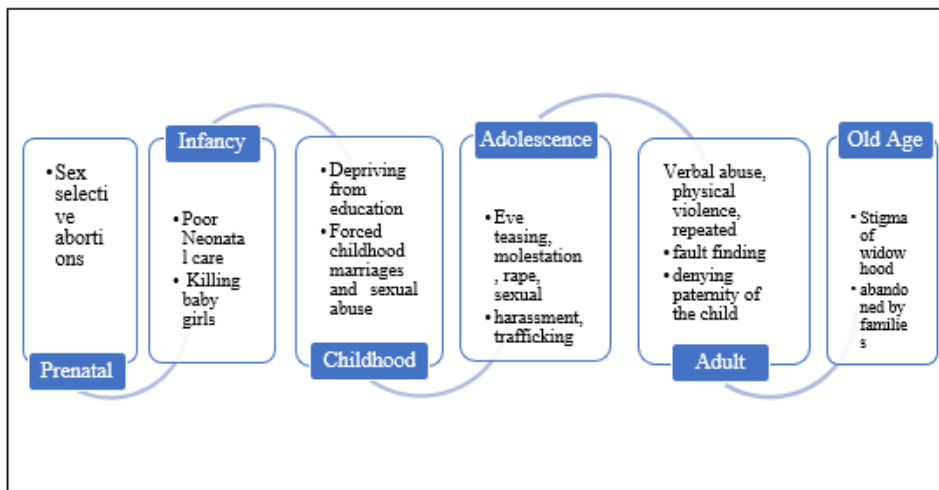


Fig. 1. Different forms of violence against women at different stages of lifecycle

Table 1. Different types of domestic abuse

Physical violence	Sexual violence	Emotional violence
Twist your arm or pull your hair	Physically force you to have sexual intercourse	Say or do something to humiliate you in front of others
Push you, shake you, or throw something at you	Force you to perform any sexual acts	Threaten to hurt or harm you or someone close to you
Punch you with his fist or with something that could hurt		Insult you or make you feel bad about yourself
Kick you, drag you or beat you up		Say or do something to humiliate you in front of others
Try to choke you or burn you on purpose		
Threaten or attack you with a knife, gun, or any other weapon		
Twist your arm or pull your hair		

was conducted on the data to analyse the impact of economic status on domestic violence amongst women. The same methodology was also applied by Schrag and Ravi [26] for assessing mental health in battered women.

## 5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study will be presented and discussed in this section.

### 5.1 Socio-Demographic Profile

Women facing domestic violence is not a new concept and for long time it is prevailing in society. When they should be safest, within their homes, women are frequently at grave risk. Many people experience a regime of terror and violence at home at the hands of someone they should be able to trust [1]. Domestic violence especially on women has more consequences on their physical, mental and reproductive health [27]. The serious public health issue of intimate partner violence (IPV) against women, which cuts across socioeconomic and economic lines, is seen as a key roadblock to progress [28].

Given the prevalence of domestic violence of women by their intimate partners worldwide, it is necessary to investigate these phenomena in various familial, relational, and cultural situations [29]. The results of the survey show that 23 percent of women reported that they faced physical mistreatment since age 15 by their husbands in 2021-22, while it was less in the 1998-99 survey, accounting for 17.60 percent. Most of the females who were prone to physical mistreatment were exposed to domestic violence, their husbands acted as the perpetrators (72.73%). Domestic violence exposes women to a wide range of direct and indirect health problems [30]. It is believed that as the country progresses, there will be more woman empowerment and less domestic violence against women, but unfortunately here the figures show that there is an increase in violence cases. Most of the domestic violence against women is caused by their partners, which is also referred to as Intimate partner violence (IPV). IPV is one of the most prevalent types of violence against women in the world, and it can have significant, long-lasting, and wide-ranging health effects on victims (Coll CVN et al., 2020; Musa et al. [30]; Michele et al., 2014). Many studies also support that women face physical violence more often by their partners especially in developing nations like India. Table 2 also

shows that 16.87 % of women reported being exploited to physical mistreatment by their in laws in 2021-22. Similarly, 5.04 % of women reported being mistreated physically by other persons. In all three cases, the violence rate was higher in 2021-22 when compared to 1998-99. Also, the women reported being mistreated majorly by their husbands, which is a major insight of Table 2. A study by Sarkar M. A. [31] similarly showed that husbands were the perpetrators in the case of most females (72.73%).

The work status of the non-working women in Table 2 shows that in total, 11.87 % of women are facing physical mistreatment during 2021-22, whereas 16.90 % of non-working women were exploited by beatings and physical mistreatment in 1998-99. Thus, over the two decades, the physical mistreatment of non-working women decreased substantially. The most vulnerable groups of women are those who experience violence and live in impoverished environments (Michele et al., 2014). Furthermore Table 2 shows that another variable of the study women engaged in agriculture and household activities, which indicates that, over the years, the violence against them has been decreased (from 27.90% in 1998-99 to 21.09% in 2021-22). Thus, the results show that over the decades, there are fewer cases of domestic violence against women engaged in agriculture and household activities. Similarly, women who are involved in non-agricultural activities, for them the percentage of women who suffered this kind of physical mistreatment was 26.10% in 1998-99 and it was comparatively less in 2021-22.

Overall, the data reveals that physical abuse of women is highest among those who work in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities and is least prevalent among those who do not work.

Poor household background is a significant contributor to the abuse or domestic violence of women. It has long been observed that poorer households are more likely to experience this type of domestic abuse. Domestic violence instances and household income have a substantial link. This doesn't mean that those who are extremely wealthy and economically powerful won't experience physical abuse or violence, but the likelihood is much lower.

In both the periods considered above (1998-99 and 2021-22), the households that have a low standard of living registered higher percentages

of physical mistreatment of married women when compared to those who have high standard of living. It is evident from the figures that for the high standard of living households, the percentages of domestic violence reported were 10.10% in 1998-99 standard-of-living households, the percentages of domestic violence reported were 10.10% in 1998-99, and it was 15.11% in 2021-22. Surprisingly, over the decades, violence increased among high and low-standard-of-living households. Only those in the middle standard of living category saw a decrease in the occurrence of domestic violence among married women since age 15.

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), 30% of women globally who have been in a relationship indicated that an intimate partner has physically or sexually abused them. Estimates of the prevalence of violence against women range from 20% to 50% depending on the country [1]. Whenever the topic of domestic violence comes up for discussion, it's also important to analyse the factors which cause this violence to occur. In Table 3, the various reasons for domestic violence were listed along with their percentages of respondents separately for men and women for two different time periods like 2005-06 and 2021-22.

A study by Ibrahim [32] indicated that when couples were married for a longer time (six years or more), then the likelihood increases for the married women to experience domestic violence. There are gender wise attitudes as know and here hence, it's important to mention the attitudes of men and women seperately. When it comes to hitting wives, husbands give many different reasons for the violence for justification's sake. Some of the reasons mentioned in the table were based on the literature reviews of similar studies. The majority of men and women during both periods (2005-06 and 2020-21) responded that the husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife when the wife shows disrespect for in-laws. This shows that the majority of the violence or beating of the wife by the husband occurs whenever the wife fails to show respect to the in-laws.

The second most common attitude was that the wife neglects the house or the children, which was mentioned by most of the respondents. In the 2005-06 time period, 24.80% of women and 17% of men responded that the husband is justified in hitting his wife when the wife neglects the house or the children, respectively. During

the 2020-21 period, 26.60% of women and 27.80% of men expressed that the husband is justified in hitting his wife when the wife argues with him.

In some cases, it was observed that violence against women occurs when they refuse to have sex with their husbands. In such cases, it is also important to analyse the various reasons for a wife refusing to have sexual intercourse with her husband. Among many reasons, a few notable and important reasons are mentioned in Table 3. It was evident from the table that a wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when she is tired or not in the mood (73.30% of women, 73.2% of men during 2005-06, and 76.4% of women and 69.50% of men during 2020-21). These figures show that the main reason for the wife to refuse sexual intercourse was that she would be tired or not in the mood to have sex.

This study also give some interesting information that the wife refuses to have sex with her husband because she knows that her husband has a sexually transmitted disease, and she feels that its dangerous for her if she agrees to have sex. Whereas 16.6 % of women and 19% of men during the 2005-06 period responded that they do not agree with any of the reasons mentioned in Table 3. The other side of this issue, considering men's opinions when women refuse to have sex with their husbands is also important. Men were asked questions to see what they think whenever women say no to sex and how they react to it. It was observed that the majority of men during both time periods considered responded tha, they agreed with none of the behaviours mentioned in the Table 3. About 15.9% of men during 2005-06 and 24.2% of men during 2020-21 responded that they have the right to get angry and reprimand their wives when the wives refuse to have sex with them.

## 5.2 Socio-demographic Characteristics

The domestic violence of women especially depends on their socio-economic background. A previous study showed a statistically significant correlation between the proportion of women who experience violence and their age, education, and marital status [31]. Table 4 shows that the majority of the people who agreed that a husband is justified in hitting his wife for at least one specified reason belong to the age group of 15-19 during 2005-06. This indicates that more young people justify men hitting women. During

the 2020-21 period, the majority of the population (51.7% of men and 41% of women) agreed that a husband is justified. Whereas only 37.9% of women and 34.40% of men and 34.40% of men belonging to the 40-49 age group justify hitting

their wife for at least one specified reason. In the study conducted by Sarkar, M. A. [31], females between the ages of 30-39 years had the highest prevalence (50%) of domestic violence.

**Table 2. Percentage of married women who have been beaten or physically mistreated since age 15**

Variables	West Bengal		
	1998-99	2021-22	% Change
<b>Beaten or physically mistreated since age 15</b>			
i. Husband	17.6	23.90	35.80
ii. In-laws	15.7	16.87	7.45
iii. Other persons	1.7	5.04	196.47
<b>Work status of woman</b>			
i. Not working	16.9	11.87	-29.76
ii. Agri. and HH activities	27.9	21.09	-24.41
iii. Non-agri. activities	26.1	22.90	-12.26
<b>Standard of living of HH</b>			
iv. Low	29.1	31.09	6.84
v. Medium	20.1	17.65	-12.19
vi. High	10.1	15.11	49.60

**Table 3. Reason for domestic violence in accordance with specific attitudes (%)**

Reason/behaviour	2005-06		2020-21	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>Husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if :</b>				
She goes out without telling him	18.6	12.8	16.6	16.3
She neglects the house or children	24.8	17.0	25.2	19.3
She argues with him	21.9	17.1	26.6	27.8
She refuses to have sexual intercourse with him	10.9	7.5	13.2	11.8
She doesn't cook properly	13.1	7.2	10.6	7.3
He suspects her of being unfaithful	14.6	13.1	21.4	27.6
She shows disrespect for in-laws	33.6	30.0	28.7	30.9
<b>Wife is justified in refusing to have sex with her husband when she:</b>				
Knows her husband has a sexually transmitted disease	73.1	65.9	75.0	80.2
Knows her husband has sex with other women	68.8	57.1	75.4	71.7
Is tired or not in the mood	73.3	73.2	76.4	69.5
Percentage who agrees with all three reasons	57.7	47.9	64.9	57.6
Percentage who agrees with none of the three reasons	16.6	19.0	15.0	11.0
<b>When a wife refuses to have sex with her husband, he has the right to:</b>				
Get angry and reprimand her	-	15.9	-	24.2
Refuse to give her financial support	-	4.5	-	15.8
Use force to have sex even if she doesn't want to	-	4.2	-	14.9
Have sex with another woman	-	3.8	-	10.6
Percentage who agrees with all four behaviours	-	1.1	-	3.9
Percentage who agrees with none of the four behaviours	-	80.5	-	65.2

**Table 4. Percentage of population agreed that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife for at least one specified reason**

Socio-economic variables	2005-06		2020-21	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>Age</b>				
15-19	47.7	50.6	40.3	48.0
20-24	42.1	39.9	41.0	51.7
25-29	40.1	40.3	43.3	48.6
30-39	42.7	34.4	41.0	46.7
40-49	37.9	34.4	42.5	46.1
<b>Employment (past 12 months)</b>				
Employed	45.2	39.8	39.8	48.9
Employed, for cash	45.2	38.2	39.3	48.5
Employed, not for cash	44.9	61.6	46.0	67.8
Not employed	40.6	30.3	42.1	40.3
<b>Residence</b>				
Urban	25.0	26.9	29.7	40.1
Rural	49.8	44.9	47.6	<b>51.3</b>
<b>Household structure</b>				
Nuclear	44.7	39.3	41.9	46.0
Non-nuclear	39.1	38.4	41.3	49.5

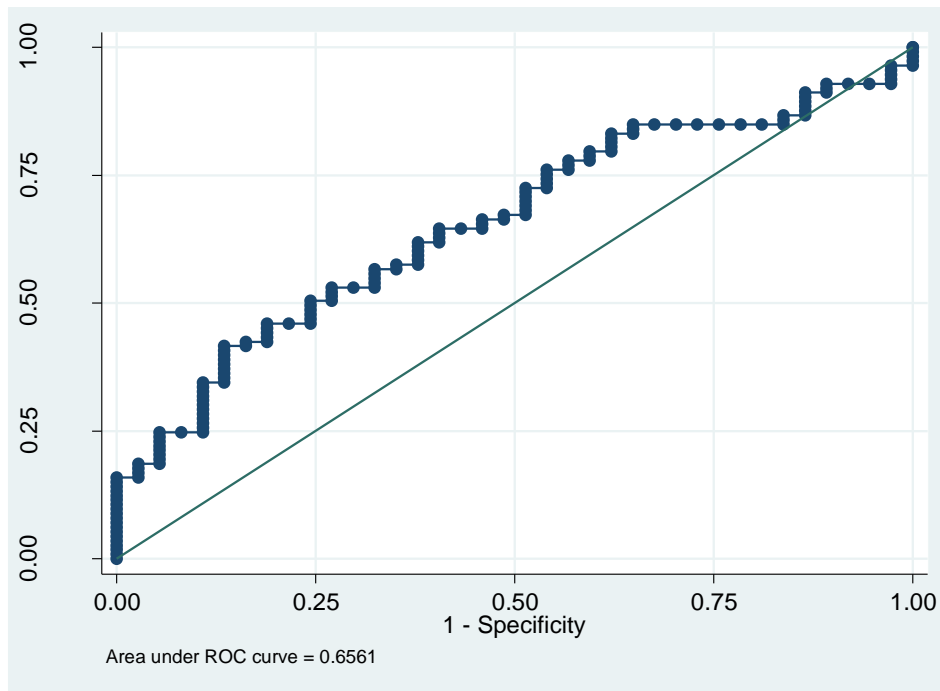
In various studies [31], it was noticed that, if men don't have any employment or proper job, then domestic violence cases happen and increases. Consequently, it is necessary to investigate the employment status of the people who justified beating their wives. Table 4 shows that the majority of women (61.6% of men during the 2005-06 period) were employed but not for cash purposes. Even during 2020-21 the majority of women (67.8% of men) who responded in favor of justifying the husband hitting wife were employed, but they were not employed for cash. Only 30.3% of men who were not employed agreed that a husband is justified in hitting. There are more chances that rural women are more prone to domestic violence and various studies highlight that there are more cases in rural when compared to urban places. Here, similarly, men from rural places in the majority (51.3% during 2020-21) agreed that a husband is justified in hitting or beating a wife for at least one specific reason. In both time periods, more rural men and women agreed in justifying this violence than urban men and women.

The majority of domestic violence research focuses on the relationship between the attacker and the victim, namely how often domestic violence occurs in married, living with a partner, and dating couples, but most do not consider how family structure (polygynous marriage, partnerships with children, and presence of extended family members in the home) may affect these experiences [29].

The receiver operating characteristic (ROC) curve is used for evaluating the performance of logistic analysis. It provides a graphical representation of a classifier's performance, rather than a single value like most other metrics. The total area under the ROC curve (0.65) measured the overall performance of diagnostic test (Fig. 2).

In different societies, there are many types of families, and not everyone can have every type of family. The presence of family members in a home like parents, children and other relatives, most probably change the dynamics of the couples and the household members, so as the structure of the family changes, the risk of being affected by domestic violence also changes. In this regard, the last portion of Table 4 shows that there is one more variable called household structure. This household structure is defined in this study as a nuclear family and a non-nuclear family structure. Basically, the nuclear family structure is considered as a family in which a pair of adults and their children live together. A non-nuclear family structure is one in which more than one generation, like grandparents, parents and their children, live together. In this study, 44.7% of women during the 2005-06 period belonging to nuclear family agreed that the husband is justified in beating his wife. In 2020-21, 49.5% of men from non-nuclear family structures agreed to the same. These facts in Table 5 do not give any kind of association between any two variables.





**Fig. 2. Diagnostic test for logistic regression**

**Table 5. Factors affecting different forms of domestic violence experienced in West Bengal (n= 160)**

Variable	Physical violence	Psychological violence
Family income ('000 Rs. / month)	-3.028** (0.829)	-1.386*** (0.211)
Marital duration (Years)	-1.074** (0.145)	0.643 (3.135)
Place of residence (Rural/Urban)	-0.292 (0.175)	4.272** (0.842)
Partner's occupation	-0.139 (0.079)	0.096 (1.819)
Woman currently working(Y/N)	0.063 (0.186)	4.083 (7.141)
Caste or tribe of the household head	-0.008 (0.066)	0.735 (1.710)
Partner's education level (in Years)	0.102 (0.061)	2.902* (0.839)
Age difference (in Years)	-0.742* (0.295)	0.097 (0.054)
Sex of living children (M/F)	1.034* (0.429)	10.128** (4.637)

Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

Various factors affect the domestic violence that the women face in the society. Power, employment, and degree of education are only a few examples of the many causes of violence. Female illiteracy and domestic violence are related. The majority of women were unaware of their rights. They frequently view violence as commonplace. Those women who are in

economically distressed settings are considered most vulnerable to the domestic violence.

Results of the logit model from Table 5 shows a statistically significant negative association between the family income and both domestic physical and psychological violence experienced. The intensity of physical domestic violence will

increase by 3.028 when the income decreases by one thousand rupees. Similarly, the intensity of psychological violence increases by 1.386 when the income decreases by one thousand rupees. Similar results were seen in various studies showing that as wealth or the economic status of the women or the family increases, the violence cases also decrease. For example, a study conducted by Shoukry and Fathy [33] showed that, women with higher status, as determined by the wealth index, had less intense intimate partner violence than women with lower status.

In addition, Table 5 shows that there was also a significant negative association between marital duration and the physical violence experienced. This indicates that as the relationship matures (the longer the relationship), there will be fewer cases of physical violence. As discussed earlier, the place of residence also affects the violence and its intensity. Table 5, there is a positive significant association between psychological violence and the place of residence. Another important factor affecting psychological violence is the partner's education, and the analysis reveals a positive and significant relationship between the two. Surprisingly, the sex of the living children is also one of the major factors which causes the domestic violence. Especially in India, it is a known fact that many expect a male child to be born in the family and they don't like it when a female child is born. The study's analysed data showed a significant positive relationship between the sex of living children and psychological violence. Many previous studies on domestic violence identified a strong negative association between the low socio-economic status and prevalence of domestic violence against women.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This study found that the socioeconomic status of the family has negative relationship with their domestic violence against women in the study area. If the causal factors could be meticulously controlled, then various forms of violence can be prevented from harming women in our society. Therefore, various strategic activities need to be implemented through authorized agencies and governmental organizations which are already working at many levels, with multiple layers of target groups both in urban and rural areas.

Keeping in view the findings, it is recommended that the Central or State government should

create job opportunities and help the people to raise their socio-economic status, which may have positive impact on violent behaviour. Male attitudes and society's attitudes need to undergo change. Since prevention of domestic violence requires fundamental changes in attitudes and behaviour, it confronts societal and individual resistance to change. In addition to public education campaigns, legal framework and institutional interventions need to be restructured to prevent gender-based domestic violence. This study also revealed that there are significant urban-rural differences in the socio-economic status and educational background of the family. Policies that enhance family income and reduce income inequality would help in reducing the intensity of violence against women.

## COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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**Appendix 1. Different forms of spousal violence by husband's characteristics and empowerment indicators**

	Emotional violence		Physical violence		Sexual violence		Physical or sexual violence		Emotional, physical, or sexual violence	
	2005-06	2020-21	2005-06	2020-21	2005-06	2020-21	2005-06	2020-21	2005-06	2020-21
<b>Husband's schooling</b>										
No schooling	15.4	22.5	44.0	36.4	26.8	13.9	51.3	39.4	52.6	41.5
<5yearscomplete	15.2	17.2	42.8	31.8	23.2	10.9	47.3	32.6	48.6	34.3
5-7yearscomplete	11.3	15.4	34.1	22.0	19.7	10.0	42.7	24.2	44.4	27.0
8-9yearscomplete	10.9	16.9	23.8	23.0	20.6	9.6	33.9	25.0	36.1	28.1
10-11yearscomplete	8.5	8.0	19.8	14.9	20.9	3.0	30.2	16.4	31.2	18.0
12ormoreyearscomplete	6.2	13.2	10.0	16.5	10.3	3.0	16.9	16.7	18.5	22.5
<b>Husband's alcoholconsumption</b>										
Doesnotdrink	8.8	11.8	26.5	19.1	18.0	6.1	34.2	20.8	35.7	23.7
Drinks/nevergetsdrunk	14.4	15.8	37.8	21.8	29.2	8.3	48.8	21.8	51.5	23.9
Getsdrunksometimes	20.3	30.0	49.3	43.6	28.8	17.0	55.3	45.6	56.2	48.5
Getsdrunkoften	39.2	56.2	74.6	82.2	41.9	37.2	78.6	83.7	79.8	85.0
<b>Spousal age difference</b>										
Wifeissameage	15.5	10.6	20.4	22.6	24.0	5.5	32.6	23.0	36.5	23.6
Wife1-4yearsyounger	8.4	15.7	19.5	24.1	10.2	11.2	23.8	26.3	26.4	28.4
Wife5-9yearsyounger	9.8	16.0	32.5	24.0	21.9	8.3	40.8	25.3	41.9	28.3
Wife10ormoreyearsyounger	10.7	14.3	32.8	24.1	22.7	6.8	40.9	26.5	42.1	29.9
<b>Spousal schooling difference</b>										
Husbandhasmoreschooling	11.7	15.5	28.8	24.0	18.4	7.9	36.3	25.5	38.2	28.1
Wifehasmoreschooling	13.5	16.3	35.0	24.7	27.7	9.5	44.5	27.2	45.7	29.9
Bothhaveequalschooling	5.7	12.0	14.5	17.6	13.6	6.5	21.8	18.3	22.8	23.1
Neitherattendedschool	14.7	23.5	44.6	37.8	25.2	13.3	51.0	39.2	52.4	41.4

*Note: Husband refers to the current husband for currently married women and the most recent husband for widowed, divorced, separated women*

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