

## Decision Making and Intimate Partner Violence: Data from Married Couples in India

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### BACKGROUND

#### Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

- IPV refers to any behavior within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship. (WHO, 1997)

#### Global estimates

- WHO and population-based studies, 10-71%

#### Indian estimates

- High prevalence, 21-48%

(Garcia-Moreno, et al., 2006; Krug, et al., 2002, Heise, et al., 2002; Jejeebhoy & Cook, 1997; Koenig, et al., 2006; Silverman, et al., 2008)

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### BACKGROUND

#### Gender-based violence

- Violence against women is both a *cause* and a *consequence* of gender inequality.

#### Gender norms

- Traditional, cultural norms of ideal masculinity and femininity
- Transgression of normative behaviors
- Frustration of not fulfilling ideals

(Barker, 2006; Connell, 1987; Desai, 2005; Krishnan, 2005; Verma, et al., 2006)

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### BACKGROUND

#### Gender inequality

#### • Women's empowerment

- Process by which those who are denied the ability to make strategic life choices gain access to and control of
  - resources (i.e. income, education),
  - agency (i.e. decision making, freedom of movement), and
  - achievements (i.e. improved health, no longer being a victim of violence)

(Kabeer, 1999; Batliwala, 2007; Kishor & Gupta, 2004; Malhotra, et al., 2002; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Rao Gupta & Malhotra, 2006)

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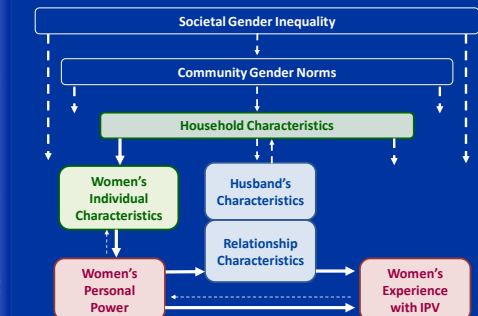
### BACKGROUND

- Women's empowerment → IPV
  - Resources
  - Ability
  - Achievements
- Study includes
  - Attitudes towards gender norms
  - Men's perspectives
  - Couple dynamics

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### CONCEPTUAL MODEL

Heise (1998): Ecological Framework for Violence; Connell (1987): Theory of Gender and Power; Yllo (1984): Feminist theory; Emerson (1962, 1976): Social Exchange Theory



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## DATA SOURCE

### National Family Health Survey 3 (NFHS-3)

- Demographic and Health Survey (DHS)
- Conducted from 2005-2006
- Nationally representative sample
- Multistage, PPS sampling
- Stratification, clustering, weights
- 124,385 women age 15 to 49 years
- 74,369 men age 15 to 54 years
- 39,257 matched couples
- Analytical sample
  - Valid, non-missing responses
  - Unweighted N=23,318; weighted N=219,223

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## VARIABLES

### Dependent Variable

- Lifetime experience with IPV
- 12 original questions
  - Emotional
  - Physical
  - Sexual violence
- Collapsed into binary outcome
  - Experienced any form of IPV

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## VARIABLES

### Independent Variables

- Women's empowerment
  - Measurement and definition issues
  - Process and an outcome
    - Current study:
      - Static state
      - Measured by proxy indicators to capture the agency and power

(Malhotra, et al., 2002; Jejeebhoy, 2000)

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## VARIABLES

### Independent Variables

- Women's empowerment: Personal power
  - Access to resources
  - Gendered ideology
  - Decision making agency

(Batiwala, 2007; Kabeer, 2002)

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## VARIABLES: Decision Making Agency

### Household & financial decisions

#### Household

- Both spouses are asked:  
"Who usually makes the following decisions: mainly you, mainly your husband, you and your husband jointly, or someone else?"
- (1) Decisions about making major household purchases?
- (2) Decisions about making purchases for daily household needs?
- (3) Decisions about visits to your family or relatives?

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## VARIABLES: Household Decision Making

- Measurement of decision making
- Combined three items into three variables
- Number of sole decisions made by the
  - Wife alone
  - Husband alone
  - Jointly (husband and wife)

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## VARIABLES: Financial Decision Making

Two original questions

- (1) Who decides how the money you earn will be used?
  - (2) Who decides how your husband's earnings will be used.
- Responses include the respondent, husband, both jointly, someone else or has no earnings.

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## RESULTS: Descriptive Statistics

Dependent variable

	Percent (%)	Weighted N
<i>Experience with IPV</i>		
<b>Any IPV</b>	<b>37.9</b>	<b>83,136</b>
Emotional violence	13.7	30,077
Physical violence	34.0	74,626
Sexual violence	7.6	16,560

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## RESULTS: Descriptive Statistics

Women's demographic characteristics

- Middle-rich wealth category, rural, nuclear
- Majority Hindu, mean age 31 yrs, 2-3 children
- Education
  - 44% of women have no education
  - 4.7 years (for all women in sample)
  - 8.4 years (for women with some education)
- One quarter (25%) witnessed parental IPV as children

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## RESULTS: Descriptive Statistics

Access to resources & gendered ideology

Characteristics	Percent (%)	Weighted N
Supports women ability to refuse marital sex	77.4	169,659
Do not justify IPV	44.2	96,854
<i>Mobility (# places can go alone)</i>		
0	41.1	90,116
1	9.0	19,777
2	14.6	32,009
3	35.3	77,321
Has cash earnings	28.3	61,964
Has a bank account	16.8	36,947
Has own spending money	47.3	103,664
Sole healthcare decision making	22.8	49,967

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## RESULTS: Descriptive Statistics

Women's Household Decision Making Perceptions

	# of Sole HH Decisions Made	Percent (%)	Weighted N
Wife	0	66.1	145,009
	1	24.6	53,810
	2	6.1	13,385
	3	3.2	7,020
Husband	0	54.8	118,783
	1	18.7	39,827
	2	13.2	29,010
	3	14.4	31,603
Jointly	0	36.5	80,006
	1	20.4	44,792
	2	18.2	39,953
	3	24.9	54,472

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## RESULTS: Descriptive Statistics

Women's Financial Decision Making Perceptions

Financial Decisions For:	Percent (%)	Weighted N
<i>Husband's Earnings</i>		
Wife	5.4	11,729
Husband	23.1	50,662
Jointly	64.7	141,892
Someone else	5.7	12,445
Husband has no earnings	1.1	2,495
<i>Wife's Earnings:</i>		
Wife	5.8	12,597
Husband	4.5	9,902
Jointly	17.3	38,000
Someone else	0.7	1,464
Wife has no earnings	71.7	157,259

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**RESULTS:**  
Logistic  
Regression  
Models  
\* p<0.001

Personal Power Characteristics	Regression Coeff. Model 1
Freedom of movement	-0.008 (0.018)
Has a bank account	-0.585 (0.063)*
Receives cash earnings	0.480 (0.301)
Has personal money	-0.070 (0.050)
Makes health decisions	0.163 (0.058)
Does not justify IPV	-0.455 (0.045)*
Supports ability to refuse sex	-0.213 (0.054)*

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**RESULTS:**  
Logistic  
Regression  
Models  
\* p<0.001

Personal Power Characteristics	Regression Coeff. Model 1
<b>Household decisions:</b>	
Woman alone	0.192 (0.047)*
Husband alone	0.109 (0.042)
Joint	0.115 (0.040)
<b>Decisions on his earnings:</b>	
Husband alone	Ref.
Joint	-0.246 (0.060)*
Wife alone	0.243 (0.098)
Else/None	0.051 (0.135)
<b>Her earnings:</b>	
Husband alone	Ref.
Joint	0.046 (0.110)
Wife alone	0.180 (0.130)
Else/None	0.269 (0.318)

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**RESULTS: Logistic Regression Models, \* p<0.001**

Characteristics	Model 1 Personal Power	Model 2 Household	Model 3 Individual	Model 4 Partner
Has a bank account	-0.585*	-0.287*	-0.185	-0.201
Makes sole health decisions	0.163	0.185	0.152	0.164
Does not justify IPV	-0.455*	-0.372*	-0.291*	-0.239*
Supports ability to refuse sex	-0.213*	-0.256*	-0.235*	-0.300*
<b>Household decisions:</b>				
Woman alone	0.192*	0.125	0.067	0.077
<b>Decisions on his earnings:</b>				
Husband alone	Ref.	Ref.		
Joint	-0.246*	-0.294*	-0.310*	-0.257*
Wife alone	0.243	-0.127	-0.192	-0.162
Someone else/none	0.051	-0.267	-0.251	-0.198

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**DISCUSSION: Review of the Findings**

Aspects of women's personal power influence IPV

- Gendered attitudes
- Decision making ability
  - Women's perceptions of financial decision making

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**DISCUSSION: Review of the Findings**

Household decision making (unadjusted model)

- Women who made more sole household decisions were more likely to experience IPV
- Challenging the norms to take control of decision making – transgressing gender roles
- Shift in traditional view of 'empowerment'
  - Act of personal power – to *not* make sole decisions

Financial decision making

- Joint decision making was protective (compared to husband's sole decision making ability)

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**LIMITATIONS**

- Cross-sectional data
  - Temporal sequence (e.g. IPV justification and IPV)
- Abstract concepts: Gender norms, power, agency
  - Use of proxies
  - 'Power' from a western perspective
    - Indian women may actively choose certain decisions
    - Choose to let the husband make sole decisions

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## Public Health Implications...the Future

### Measurement

- Empowerment: the process and the outcome
- Decision making
  - Sole decision making
  - Joint or having some say
  - Level of participation
  - Individual items - gendered domains
- Gender norms/attitudes in the context of IPV
- Gender equitable men (GEM) Scale  
(Pulerwitz & Barker, 2007)
- Sexual Relationship Power Scale (SRPS)  
(Pulerwitz, et al, 2000)

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## Public Health Implications...the Future

### To address IPV and all gender-based violence

- Transform rigid gender roles and norms
- Promote interventions
  - Improve the position of women, especially women's access to resources
  - Encourage critical awareness of gender roles

### Involve men

- Engage men and boys to address gender norms
- Gender equity not a 'zero-sum game'

(Pulerwitz, et al., 2012; Barker, 2006; Verma, et al., 2006)

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THANK YOU

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