

Spousal violence in Bangladesh as reported by men: prevalence and risk factors.

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Abstract

Statement of problem: The objective of this paper is to study demographic, social, and behavioral risk factors for perpetration of spousal violence among men in Bangladesh.

Data & Methods: Data from 2780 currently married men sampled in the 2004 Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey were used to analyze the association between reporting of spousal violence committed in the year prior to the survey and key risk factors using bivariate and multivariate techniques.

Results: Seventy-four percent of currently married Bangladeshi men report having ever been violent toward their wife; 37 percent report that they were violent in the past year. Age and marital duration have significant negative associations with recent acts of spousal violence. Men with at least secondary education are 40 percent less likely to report having been violent toward their spouse in the past year. Men who have been married more than once are nearly 50 percent more likely to have engaged in recent spousal violence than men who have only been married once. Men who report using illicit drugs are more than twice as likely to also report having been violent toward their spouse in the past year, while those who report being unfaithful to their wives are 80 percent more likely to have been violent towards them in the past year. Men's attitudes explicitly about wife-beating are the strongest predictor of violent behavior: those who believe that wife beating is acceptable under most circumstances are more than four times as likely to report having hit their wife in the year preceding the survey.

Conclusions: While men's self-reports of spousal violence indicate that wife-beating is endemic and widespread in Bangladesh, the results of the analysis indicate opportunities for programmatic intervention. Specifically, programs designed to change attitudes about wife-beating among young men prior to marriage may be effective in eroding the broad cultural support for spousal violence.

Introduction.

Domestic violence against women is pervasive: 10 to over 50 percent of women worldwide report having experienced domestic violence.¹⁻² Direct consequences can range from aches and pains to severe injury, chronic mental and physical illness, HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), miscarriages, abortions, unwanted pregnancy, and even death.^{1,3} Not only are these effects costly in economic terms; they are a direct and unacceptable violation of human rights.⁴

National prevalence data on domestic violence in the developing world is now widely available. Most such data are collected from women who report on their own experience of emotional, physical, and sexual violence. However, the 2004 Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) collected data on men's violence against their wives from men themselves. These data provide a unique opportunity to discern the agreement at the national level of women's and men's reports on wife abuse. It also provides the opportunity to look at the characteristics associated with men who report violence against their wives (rather than looking at men's characteristics as reported by their wives), in order to discern risk factors for perpetration of spousal violence. Understanding these risk factors is a critical step towards informing and implementing policies and programs intended to reduce spousal violence.

We report on national prevalence of spousal violence in Bangladesh and assess key variables for their association with perpetration of violence at the individual level. Because the data are cross-sectional, the results presented here reflect only associations, and not causal relationships.

Data.

DHS surveys are conducted in the developing world using face-to-face interviews and typically collect nationally representative data on demographic and health indicators for women ages 15-49 and men age 15-54. For the 2004 BDHS, a representative probability sample of 10,811 households was selected using a stratified, multistage cluster sample design. Ninety-seven percent of eligible households responded to the BDHS. A 50 percent subsample of households was selected in which men were interviewed; the men's overall response rate was 96 percent.⁵

Methods.

Chi-square tests of independence were conducted for the bivariate analysis, while multivariate logistic regression was used to discern risk factors associated with reporting violence. All statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS 11.5 (SPSS Inc., Chicago, Illinois, USA).

The dichotomous dependent variable reflects whether the respondent has reported violence toward his spouse in the 12 months preceding the survey. Men reported their violent behavior in response to a set of questions that reflect a modified version of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS)⁶⁻⁷; this is the same approach used by the DHS program to ask women about their own experience of violence. The modified CTS specifies about 10 acts of physical and sexual violence. If the respondent affirms that he has committed

any of the specified acts against his spouse, he is considered to have behaved violently towards her.

The modified CTS approach has several advantages in the context of cross-cultural research. By asking separately about specific acts of violence, the violence measure is not affected by different understandings between men of what constitutes violence. A man has to say whether he has, for example, ever 'slapped his wife,' not whether he has ever been violent towards her or whether he has ever 'beaten' or 'physically mistreated' her. Most men will agree on what constitutes a slap, but what constitutes 'violence' or 'beatings' may vary from person to person.

The question used to ask men about violent acts against their wives is as follows:
Anytime, were there any circumstances or family disagreement which caused you to do:

- A. Pushing or shaking your wife?
- B. Slapping her or twisting her arm?
- C. Punching her with your fist or something that could hurt her?
- D. Kicking her or dragging her?
- E. Trying to strangle her or kill her by burning her?
- F. Physically forcing her to have sexual intercourse even when she did not want to?

Independent variables for this analysis fall into three conceptual categories: demographic and residential characteristics, social and economic characteristics, and gender-related attitudes and behaviors.

Demographic and residential characteristics

Demographic and residential characteristics include current age (expressed as a grouped variable), number of living children, family type (nuclear or extended), region, and urban or rural residence. Current age functions as both a control variable, as well as a risk factor: several studies indicate a negative association between age and violence.^{2,8-9,24} Number of living children may be associated with violence both positively and negatively. One positive association stems from the hypothesis that in resource-poor settings, additional mouths to feed increase stress, which ostensibly increases tendency to violence¹⁰⁻¹¹; another way in which there may be a positive association between number of living children and violence is through a woman's inability to control her fertility as a direct result of living under repressive circumstances. There may also be a negative association between number of living children and violence in a South Asian context where women with more children, especially sons, have higher status and hence are thus protected from violence²⁵⁻²⁶. A nuclear family structure is generally perceived to increase the risk that violence will occur in the household; however, in the South Asian context, living in an extended family often implies the presence of a mother-in-law, which can increase the threat of violence to the daughter-in-law; thus, household type is controlled for here. Region and residence are included to control for geographic variation in the risk for violence.

Social and economic characteristics

Social and economic characteristics incorporated here are education, occupation, household wealth, religion, number of marital unions respondent has been in, duration of marital union, whether or not the respondent has health problems that have prevented him from working for more than 20 days, and whether or not the respondent reports the use of illicit drugs in the past 3 months. Household wealth status has been hypothesized to have a negative association with spousal violence¹²⁻¹⁴; however, findings are not uniform across studies.² Details on the methodology used to construct the asset-based household wealth index used here are provided in Rutstein and Johnson.¹⁵ Previous research indicates that women who have been in more than one union are more likely to report having experienced violence¹⁶; thus, we include a similar variable here. It is hypothesized that with increasing length of marital union, couples eventually learn to cohabit without violence. Some authors hypothesize that stressors that lie outside of a man's control increase the likelihood that he will become violent toward his wife¹⁷; we include a variable reflecting experience of an illness or injury that prevents the respondent from working for 20 or more days as an indicator of an intractable stressor that weakens the male economic position in the household. Alcohol abuse has been significantly associated with domestic violence in numerous studies.^{2,18-19} While no questions on alcohol use are available in this dataset, we did include an indicator reflecting illicit drug use in the three months preceding the survey; it is expected that drug use will have a similar relationship to domestic violence as alcohol abuse.

Gender-related attitudes and behaviors

Gender-related attitudes and behaviors include whether or not the respondent thinks it is acceptable for a woman to work outside of the home for cash even if her husband makes enough money to support the family, if the respondent thinks that a wife can take steps to protect herself if her husband has a sexually-transmitted infection [1], the degree to which the respondent thinks it is acceptable to hit a wife [2], gender preferences for children [3], if the respondent had sex with a woman other than his wife after marriage, if the respondent takes his wife's opinion into account regarding medium to large household decisions [4], and whether or not the respondent's wife earns cash. Note that attitudes towards wives working without a perceived financial need are not positively correlated with whether or not the respondent's wife actually works. It is hypothesized that gender-egalitarian attitudes and behaviors will be associated with a reduced likelihood of committing acts of violence against one's spouse.

Results.

Overall prevalence.

Seventy-four percent of men report having ever been violent towards their wife, while 37 percent of men report that they have been violent in the 12 months preceding the survey (Table 1). These figures differ substantially from Bangladeshi women's reported experience of violence as captured in several studies. For instance, Naved et al.²⁰ report a lifetime prevalence of spousal violence experienced by women of about 42 percent, the same as Koenig et al's estimates of current physical violence from the husband or his family. Ahmad²⁴ reports a prevalence of 17.5 percent in the last four months, while a recent World Bank²⁵ sponsored national survey of gender norms also shows women's

reporting of lifetime experience of violence as being close to 28 percent. In Schuler et al's²⁷ quantitative measurement, 19 percent of women reported violence in the last year, but their ethnographic evidence shows the prevalence to be almost twice as high and very close to men's reported violence in the past year from the BDHS 2004. Finally, Hadi's, (2000)²⁸ study shows that about 27 percent of women indicated having experienced *sexual violence* in the past year

Table 1 indicates that the most typical kinds of violence that men report are acts like pushing or shaking (41 percent report ever pushing or shaking, while 13 percent report doing so in the past year), and slapping their wife or twisting her arm (62 percent report ever slapping their wife or twisting her arm, while 23 percent report doing so in the past year). Marital rape is also disturbingly common, with 27 percent of husbands reporting that they have ever physically forced their wife to have sex even when she did not want to, and 17 percent of men reporting that they have done so in the past year. Other types of violence are comparatively less common: 15 percent of men report having ever punched their wife with their fist or an object, and 11 percent report having ever kicked or dragged their wife. Two percent of men reported having attempted to kill their wife through strangulation or burning.

Bivariate results.

Demographic and residential characteristics:

Age has a negative and monotonic association with men's reporting of spousal violence. This corresponds to most studies on domestic violence that find the same relationship between women's age and their current experience of violence. Violence is most prevalent among men who have the fewest children; again, this relationship is negative and monotonic. No other demographic or residential characteristics are significant in the bivariate. The lack of relationship between urban/rural residence and commission of spousal abuse in Bangladesh has also been demonstrated elsewhere.²¹

Social and economic characteristics:

Education is negatively correlated with reporting of violence against one's wife: those with no education or primary education only are more likely to report violent behavior than those with secondary or higher levels of education, consistent with other studies from Bangladesh and elsewhere (c.f. Kishor & Johnson²). The range in reporting of violence by occupation is quite large, from 21 percent of professionals and large businessmen reporting violence in the past year, to 50 percent among men who farm family-owned land. Although some literature on domestic violence in the South Asian context argues that violence is greater in families where husbands are engaged in agricultural occupations and land is inherited by sons only²²⁻²³, we find that perpetration of violence among farming families differs depending on who actually owns the land being farmed. Men in the two highest wealth quintiles are less likely than men in the three middle-to-lower quintiles to report violent behavior. Muslim men are significantly more likely than Hindu men to report violence (38 percent compared to 28 percent, respectively) in keeping with Koenig et al's (2003) results, but this does not bear out at the multivariate level as we shall see. As marital duration increases, reporting of violent acts towards wives decreases for all lengths of duration save the longest. While those

who have been married more than one time are more likely to report recent violence against their wives, this relationship is not significant in the bivariate. An inability to work due to health problems is not associated with increased levels of violence, while recent use of illicit drugs nearly doubles the likelihood that a man will report recent violence against his wife (36 percent among those who have not recently used drugs, as compared to 64 percent among those who have).

Gender-related attitudes and behaviors:

Ethnographic evidence shows gender norms and attitudes to be important predictors of spousal violence by men. For instance Schuler et al (1996) show that both men and women invoke religious texts to justify violence as a means of control over wives. Moreover, the more a man believes that a woman has a right to protect herself from her husband's sexually-transmitted infections, the more likely he is to report having been violent towards his wife in the past year, indicating that her resistance is itself a marker of social deviance. There is also a clear relationship between men's willingness to justify wife-beating and their actual behavior: thus, men who believe that wife-beating is unacceptable are the least likely to report a violent act against their wife in the past year (26 percent), while those who agree that beating a wife is justifiable under most circumstances are the most likely to have been violent towards their wife (59 percent). Men who have a sex preference for their children are more likely than men who have no preference or who want equal numbers of boys and girls to report having been violent to their wives.

Men's behavior in other realms is also a significant determinant of their propensity to be violent to their wives. Thus, men who have had sex with someone other than their wife since they were married are much more likely to report recent violence against their wives than men who have not been unfaithful (55 percent as compared to 34 percent, respectively). Further, most Bangladeshi men report that they take their wives' opinions into account on things like making large household purchases or deciding about visits to family members or friends; those who do not are much more likely to also report that they have been violent toward their wives in the past year.

Multivariate results.

Demographic and residential characteristics:

Age remains a key predictor of whether or not a man reports committing a violent act against his wife in the year preceding the survey, with the youngest husbands most likely to report being violent, and the oldest husbands the least likely (Table 3). All age groups are significantly less likely than the reference category (age 15-24) to report perpetration of violence, except for those in the 25-29 year old age group. Although the number of living children had been significant in the bivariate, once age is controlled for, this variable loses significance, suggesting neither that higher levels of fertility cause violence-inducing stress, nor that larger numbers of children confer greater status. Family type and both residential variables remain non-significant in this model.

Social and economic characteristics:

Although household wealth status is not significantly related to the dependent variable in the multivariate model as it was in the bivariate, education does retain its significance: men with secondary or higher levels of education are 40 percent less likely to report having been violent toward their spouse in the past year. Increasing marital duration is also negatively associated with spousal violence: men who have been married 15 years or longer are 40-70 percent less likely to report being violent than men who have been married less than 15 years. Men who have been married more than once are nearly 50 percent more likely to have engaged in recent spousal violence than men who have only been married once.

The social variable that demonstrates the strongest relationship to violence is that of drug use: men who report using illicit drugs (the drug most reported is marijuana; results not shown) are more than twice as likely to also report having been violent toward their spouse in the past year. The occupation and religion variables lose significance in the multivariate, and the respondent's ill health remains non-significant.

Gender-related attitudes and behaviors:

It is interesting, and counter to our hypothesis, that most indicators of men's egalitarian attitudes towards women are either non-significant in the multivariate model, or are actually associated with an increased risk for violence. For example, there is no association between violent behavior and whether or not a man thinks a wife should be allowed to work for pay even when the husband brings home enough money to support the household and violent behavior, the respondents' wife's actual work status or taking one's wife's opinion into account on medium to large household matters. Yet husbands who believe that wives should be allowed to protect themselves from the consequences of their husbands' sexual infidelities are 30 percent more likely to report having been violent ($p=0.05$).

However, men's attitudes explicitly about wife-beating are the strongest predictor of violent behavior in the model: compared to men who do not believe wife-beating is acceptable, those who believe it is sometimes acceptable are nearly twice as likely to report having hit their wife in the past year, those who believe it is often acceptable are more than two and one-half times as likely to report their own violence, and those who believe that wife beating is acceptable under most circumstances are more than four times as likely to report having hit their wife in the year preceding the survey.

Men's attitudes toward the existence of females is also a significant predictor of commission of spousal violence: those who would prefer to have more male children than to have an equal number of male and female children are about 30 percent more likely to have been violent toward their wife in the past year. Finally, another significant predictor of men's violent behavior is whether he has had extramarital sex. Men who report being unfaithful to their wives are 80 percent more likely to have been violent towards them in the past year, compared to those who do not report having been unfaithful.

Discussion.

In an effort to improve our understanding of the phenomenon of spousal violence in Bangladesh, this study has reported on national prevalence of violence by men's self-reported violence against their wives, and has assessed key variables for their association with the recent commission of violent acts. The data demonstrate that men's reporting of violence is far higher than women's reporting from other surveys. While there is no clear hypothesis as to why this higher reporting may occur, since this is the first module administered to men, we can speculate that there is probably some over-reporting by men and an underreporting by women of spousal violence. It is likely that the Bengali culture, as others, may lay a premium on men's macho role in keeping "their women" under control, and attendant women's shame in reporting violence perpetrated by their husbands. The accurate prevalence of violence probably lies between men's and women's reporting and should be a subject for future study.

Correlates of men's violence are in general in keeping with the literature, with the most important demographic factor being the respondent's age. Fifty-seven percent of husbands age 15-25 report having been violent to their wives in the past year. This figure declines with age, yet does remain high at 20 percent even among the oldest husbands. The relationship of both age and marital duration to the dependent variable suggests that with time and the development of the marital relationship, spousal violence lessens. However, Bangladeshi women cannot wait years before their spouses learn that violent behavior is not acceptable. Behavioral intervention programs for young men that teach them why and how they should negotiate with their wives without violence are necessary to reduce the extremely high prevalence of wife-beating among even the youngest of husbands.

There are three variables in the model that could be construed as "deviant behavior" that prove to be important predictors of violent behavior. Husbands who use illicit drugs, who have been unfaithful to their wives and who have been married more than once are also husbands who are more likely to report violence towards their wives. Because the illicit drug of choice in this sample is marijuana, a substance not known in current research for inducing violent behavior, it stands to reason that it is not the drug per se that is causing violent behavior, but rather that illicit drug use reflects socially deviant behavior that is simultaneously associated with both the use of an illicit substance and with violence towards one's wife. Since spouses are expected to be faithful in the Bangladeshi context, men who have extramarital sex are displaying deviant behavior. While there are several circumstances under which a man may find himself in a second marriage, divorce is likely to be the most common circumstance. More rarely, because 2 percent of men report having attempted to murder their wives, it is possible that some men in second marriages may have been successful in murdering their first wife and remarrying. In a cultural context where dissolution of marriage is neither commonplace nor widely accepted, deviation from the norm is an indicator of "bad behavior." Behavioral intervention programs for such men would be harder to design and will require community support to succeed.

Given the high prevalence of violence against wives as it emerges from this survey and the likelihood that it is socially accepted in Bangladesh, it would seem that the problem is

a deeply-ingrained and intractable one. However, it is also clear from the data that at some point, with maturing and exposure to marriage, there is a reduction in prevalence of wife abuse. The strong relationship between accepting attitudes wife-beating and actual violence points to a critical need for changing attitudes of men in Bangladesh. Because it is the youngest husbands and the husbands who have been married for the shortest periods of time who are most likely to report being violent, it is critical that programmatic interventions be focused on changing male attitudes toward wife beating while men are still quite young – prior to marriage.

While this analysis adds to the literature on domestic violence by analyzing men's perspective, its equally important contribution is the question it raises – why are men's and women's reporting of prevalence of violence so different? The answers, which are likely culturally determined, may be an important key to the types of interventions that can be designed and the importance of addressing them to men as much as to women. Culturally constructed behaviors are difficult but not impossible to change and knowing where the cultural and normative behaviors arise from is the first step towards successful programs. Finally, the challenge in Bangladesh is to discern the “positive deviant” men, learn more about why they eschew violence against their wives, and implement lessons learned from these men.

Endnotes.

[1] This is a scaled variable with possible scores of 0, 1 or 2 based on two questions asked of men in the 2004 BDHS (“If a woman’s husband has a sexually-transmitted disease, would it be acceptable for her to ask him to use a condom?” and “If a woman’s husband has a sexually-transmitted disease, would it be acceptable for her to refuse to have sex with him?”). If the respondent answers no to both questions, he scores a 0 on the composite variable; if he answers no to one question but yes to the other, he scores a 1, and if he answers yes to both questions, he scores a 2.

[2] Men were given a list of four circumstances and asked whether, under each circumstance, it would be justified for a husband to beat his wife. The four circumstances are as follows: If she neglects the children; If she argues with her husband, If she fails to provide food on time; and If she visits family or friends without the husband’s permission. For each circumstance that the respondent deems that a wife could justifiably be beaten, he is given a score of 1. If the respondent justifies violence under none of the circumstances, he is given a score of zero; if he justifies wife-beating for only one of the circumstances, he is given a score of 1; if he justifies wife-beating under 2 or 3 circumstances, he scores a 2, and if he believes that wife-beating is justified under all of the given circumstances, he is given a score of 3.

[3] Men can report that they would ideally prefer an equal number of sons and daughters, that they would prefer more sons than daughters, that they would prefer more daughters than sons, or that they have no preference and the gender composition of their children is up to god.

[4] This is a scaled variable with possible scores of 0, 1 or 2 based on whether the respondent takes his wife’s opinion into account when it comes to making large household purchases, and if he takes her opinion into account when deciding about visits to family or friends. If the respondent doesn’t consider his wife’s opinion under either circumstance, he scores a 0 on the composite variable; if he answers no to one circumstance but yes to the other, he scores a 1, and if he considers his wife’s opinion under both circumstances, he scores a 2.

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Table 1. Percentage of currently-married men age 15-54 who report having hit or otherwise been physically violent towards their wife ever and in the 12 months prior to the survey; and percentage of men committing specific acts of violence ever and in the 12 months preceding the survey, 2004 Bangladesh DHS.

<u>Overall prevalence:</u>	
Percent of men reporting ever committing a violent act against their wife:	73.5
Percent of men reporting violent acts against their wife in the past 12 months:	36.7
<u>Prevalence according to specific acts:</u>	
Ever pushed or shook wife:	40.9
Pushed or shook wife in past year:	13.4
Ever slapped or twisted wife's arm:	62.1
Slapped or twisted wife's arm in past year:	23.3
Ever punched wife with fist or object:	14.5
Punched wife with fist or object in the past year:	5.1
Ever kicked or dragged wife:	11.0
Kicked or dragged wife in past year:	4.1
Ever strangled or tried to kill wife by burning:	2.1
Tried to strangle or kill wife by burning in the past year:	1.0
Ever forced wife to have sex when she did not want to:	27.0
Forced wife to have sex in the past year:	17.3
Number of men:	2,780

Table 2. Percent of currently married men age 15-54 who report having hit or otherwise been physically violent towards their wife in the 12 months prior to the survey, with p-values for chi-square test, according to selected demographic, social, economic, attitudinal and behavioral characteristics, 2004 Bangladesh DHS.

Characteristic	% men reporting violence in past year	N
<i>Demographic and residential characteristics</i>		
<u>Age</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
15-24	57.4	249
25-29	53.9	401
30-34	41.6	493
35-39	36.1	446
40-44	28.8	490
45-49	23.4	462
50-54	19.7	239
<u>Number of living children</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
none	50.8	329
1-2 kids	41.7	1,231
3-4 kids	28.6	857
5+ kids	26.1	357
<u>Family type</u>	<i>p=0.528</i>	
Nuclear	36.1	1,395
Extended	37.3	1,384
<u>Region</u>	<i>p=0.169</i>	
Barisal	39.0	146
Chittagong	34.1	422
Dhaka	36.6	866
Khulna	35.7	384
Rajshahi	39.6	805
Sylhet	29.9	157
<u>Residence</u>	<i>p=0.896</i>	
Urban	36.5	655
Rural	36.8	2,124
<i>Social and economic characteristics</i>		
<u>Education</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
No education	39.7	866
Primary	40.3	1,040

Secondary	32.2	596
Higher	23.7	278
<u>Occupation</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
not working/unemp/retired	35.0	80
farms own land	33.1	490
farms family land	50.4	121
farms someone else's/rented land	36.3	521
fisherman	47.5	40
unskilled laborer	44.7	398
non-ag worker/semi-skilled laborer	36.7	455
professional, big businessman	20.6	189
small businessman	36.5	485
<u>Wealth index</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
Poorest	41.1	552
Poorer	40.7	599
Middle	40.7	555
Richer	31.5	521
Richest	28.9	554
<u>Religion</u>	<i>p=0.002</i>	
Muslim	37.7	2,484
Hindu (+21 cases Christian)	28.4	296
<u>Married more than once</u>	<i>p=0.085</i>	
No	36.1	2,413
Yes	40.8	363
<u>Marital duration</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
0-4	50.3	595
5-9	44.2	509
10-14	39.8	477
15-19	30.8	441
20-24	23.4	372
25-29	18.3	235
30+	27.2	151
<u>Health problems prevent from working for extended period</u>	<i>p=0.974</i>	
No	36.7	2,568
Yes	36.8	212
<u>If took drugs in the past 3 months</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
No	35.8	2,689
Yes	63.7	91
<u>Gender-related attitudes and behaviors</u>		
<u>If wife can work for cash even if husband earns enough</u>	<i>p=0.778</i>	
No	36.6	2,346

Yes	37.3	434
<u>If wife can protect self from husband's STIs/infidelities</u>	<i>p=0.005</i>	
Wife not allowed to protect self	29.9	338
Wife somewhat allowed to protect self	34.1	440
Wife allowed to protect self	38.4	2,001
<u>Degree to which it is acceptable to hit wife</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
never acceptable to hit wife	25.9	1,241
occasionally acceptable	39.8	768
often acceptable	49.3	645
always acceptable	59.1	127
<u>Gender preferences for children</u>	<i>p=0.015</i>	
prefers equal n of boys & girls	35.7	2,093
prefers more boys	42.3	482
prefers more girls	40.6	64
up to god	30.0	140
<u>If had sex with other than wife after marriage</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
No	35.6	2,614
Yes	54.5	167
<u>If respondent takes wife's opinion into acct on med/lg decisions</u>	<i>p=0.000</i>	
no opinion taken from wife	44.7	141
some opinion taken from wife	50.6	322
opinion taken from wife	34.3	2,318
<u>If wife earns cash in her work</u>	<i>p=0.693</i>	
No	36.6	2,345
Yes	37.6	431
<u>Total</u>	36.7	2,780

Table 3. Logistic regression results: Likelihood that respondent had been violent towards his wife in the past year, among currently married men, according to selected demographic, residential, social, attitudinal and behavioral characteristics, 2004 Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey.

	Sig.	Exp(B)
<i>Demographic and residential characteristics</i>		
<u>Age</u> (® 15-24)		
25-29	0.641	0.920
30-34	0.020	0.646
35-39	0.024	0.622
40-44	0.002	0.500
45-49	0.018	0.539
50-54	0.004	0.362
<u>Number of living children</u> (® no children)		
1-2 kids	0.429	0.887
3-4 kids	0.119	0.754
5+ kids	0.395	0.830
Family type (® nuclear)	0.253	0.902
<u>Region</u> (® Barisal)		
Chittagong	0.745	1.057
Dhaka	0.513	0.902
Khulna	0.852	0.969
Rajshahi	0.553	1.097
Sylhet	0.467	0.867
Residence (® urban)	0.473	0.929
<i>Social and economic characteristics</i>		
<u>Education</u> (® none)		
primary	0.602	1.054
secondary	0.109	0.813
higher	0.010	0.614
<u>Occupation</u> (® none)		
farms own land	0.391	1.286
farms family land	0.464	1.309
farms rented/not own land	0.452	1.247
fisherman	0.128	1.939
unskilled laborer	0.274	1.376
non-ag/semi-skilled worker	0.105	1.590
professional or lg business	0.710	1.130
small businessman	0.461	1.236

<u>Wealth index</u> (® poorest)		
second quintile	0.254	0.866
middle quintile	0.832	0.972
fourth quintile	0.200	0.830
wealthiest	0.139	0.787
<u>Religion</u> (® Muslim)	0.238	0.847
<u>Married more than once</u> (® no)	0.003	1.466
<u>Marital duration</u> (® 0-4yrs)		
5-9 years	0.548	0.916
10-14 years	0.194	0.799
15-19 years	0.011	0.595
20-24 years	0.001	0.456
25-29 years	0.000	0.315
30+ years	0.035	0.454
<u>Health problems prevent from working for extended period</u> (® no)	0.837	1.032
<u>If took drugs in the past 3 months</u> (® no)	0.000	2.257
<i>Gender-related attitudes and behaviors</i>		
<u>If wife can work for cash even if husband earns enough</u> (® no)	0.429	1.095
<u>If wife can protect self from husband's STIs/infidelities</u> (® no)		
wife somewhat allowed to protect self	0.438	1.133
wife allowed to protect self	0.052	1.302
<u>Degree to which is acceptable to hit wife</u> (® never)		
occasionally acceptable	0.000	1.962
often acceptable	0.000	2.638
always acceptable	0.000	4.335
Gender preferences for children (® equal number of each)		
prefers more boys	0.022	1.285
prefers more girls	0.213	1.374
up to God	0.760	0.942
<u>If had extramarital sex</u> (® no)	0.000	1.830
<u>If respondent takes wife's opinion into acct on med/lq decisions</u> (® never)		
sometimes	0.154	1.362
often takes wife's opinion	0.818	0.958
<u>If wife earns cash with work</u> (® no)	0.264	1.133

Constant	0.055	1.496
-2 Log Likelihood	3596.590	