

CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Women's demographic and health-seeking behaviour is associated with several characteristics including their age, marital status, religion, and caste. Modernizing influences such as education and exposure to mass media are also important catalysts for demographic and socioeconomic change. In addition, women's status and autonomy are critical in promoting change in reproductive attitudes and behaviour, especially in patriarchal societies (Dyson and Moore, 1983; Das Gupta, 1987; Jeffery and Basu, 1996). The National Population Policy, 2000, of the Government of India identifies the low status of women in India, typified by factors such as discrimination against the girl child and female adolescents, early age at marriage, and high rates of maternal mortality, as an important barrier to the achievement of population and maternal and child welfare goals (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2000).

This chapter presents a profile of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of ever-married women age 15–49 who were identified in the NFHS-2 Household Questionnaire as eligible respondents for the Woman's Questionnaire. In addition, data are presented on the extent to which women in Haryana enjoy autonomy as measured by their participation in household decisionmaking, freedom of movement, and access to money they can spend as they wish. Finally, data on women's attitudes towards the acceptance of spousal violence under specific circumstances and their experience of physical violence are discussed.

3.1 Background Characteristics

Table 3.1 presents the percentage distribution of ever-married women age 15–49 by age, marital status, coresidence with husband, education, religion, caste/class, work status, and husband's education. The proportion of respondents in five-year age groups increases from 6 percent in the age group 15–19 years to 21 percent in the age group 25–29 years, and then falls steadily to 10 percent in the age group 45–49 years. The initial increase reflects the increasing share of ever-married women in each of these age groups. The decline after age 25–29 (an age when most women have been married) reflects the normal pyramid shape of the population's age distribution. The age distribution of rural and urban respondents is similar with the notable exception that the share of ever-married women in the younger ages of 15–24 years is much lower in urban areas than in rural areas. This age pattern in urban areas compared with rural areas is largely a consequence of the higher age at marriage in urban areas.

Ninety-six percent of respondents are currently married, 3 percent are widowed, and less than 1 percent are either divorced, separated, or deserted. The distribution of respondents by marital status varies marginally by urban-rural place of residence. The proportion of respondents living with their husbands is 93 percent, implying that almost all currently married women were coresident with their husbands at the time of the survey. A slightly higher proportion of women were coresident with their husbands in urban areas than in rural areas. Hindu women constitute a large majority of respondents (89 percent). Seven percent of the respondents are Sikh and 4 percent are Muslim. Twenty-one percent of women belong to the scheduled castes and 22 percent to other backward classes. Fifty-eight percent do not belong to scheduled castes,

Table 3.1 Background characteristics of respondents

Percent distribution of ever-married women age 15–49 by selected background characteristics according to residence, Haryana, 1998–99

Background characteristic	Residence			Number of women	
	Urban	Rural	Total	Weighted	Unweighted
Age					
15–19	4.0	7.2	6.3	182	183
20–24	13.2	19.6	17.7	515	516
25–29	21.2	20.7	20.8	606	605
30–34	20.0	18.9	19.2	559	559
35–39	18.4	12.7	14.4	418	417
40–44	12.8	11.6	11.9	347	347
45–49	10.4	9.4	9.7	281	281
Marital status					
Currently married	97.3	95.9	96.3	2,799	2,799
Widowed	2.0	3.8	3.3	96	96
Divorced	0.1	0.0	0.1	2	2
Separated	0.5	0.2	0.3	9	9
Deserted	0.1	0.0	0.1	2	2
Coresidence with husband					
Living with husband	95.6	91.3	92.5	2,691	2,690
Not living with husband	1.7	4.5	3.7	108	109
Not currently married	2.7	4.1	3.7	109	109
Education					
Illiterate	29.5	65.6	55.2	1,605	1,610
Literate, < primary school complete	2.1	2.5	2.4	70	70
Primary school complete	12.4	15.1	14.3	416	417
Middle school complete	9.8	7.4	8.1	234	234
High school complete	19.7	7.3	10.8	315	315
Higher secondary complete and above	26.5	2.2	9.2	268	262
Religion					
Hindu	89.5	88.9	89.1	2,590	2,591
Muslim	2.1	4.9	4.1	118	117
Christian	0.4	0.0	0.1	4	4
Sikh	7.6	6.1	6.5	190	191
Jain	0.2	0.0	0.1	2	2
Other	0.1	0.0	0.0	1	1
Missing	0.0	0.1	0.1	2	2
Caste/tribe					
Scheduled caste	13.7	23.3	20.5	597	598
Scheduled tribe	0.0	0.1	0.1	2	2
Other backward class	12.4	25.4	21.6	629	630
Other	74.0	51.2	57.8	1,679	1,678
Work status					
Working in family farm/business	0.7	4.4	3.3	97	98
Employed by someone else	13.3	6.5	8.5	247	246
Self-employed	1.1	0.6	0.8	22	22
Not worked in past 12 months	84.9	88.4	87.4	2,542	2,542
Husband's education					
Illiterate	12.5	31.3	25.9	753	757
Literate, < primary school complete	2.7	3.6	3.4	97	98
Primary school complete	10.5	14.0	13.0	379	379
Middle school complete	9.3	15.9	14.0	408	410
High school complete	27.7	23.5	24.7	717	716
Higher secondary complete and above	37.4	11.5	19.0	551	546
Missing	0.0	0.1	0.1	2	2
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	NA	NA
Number of women					
Weighted	837	2,071	2,908	2,908	NA
Unweighted	826	2,082	2,908	NA	2,908
NA: Not applicable					

scheduled tribes, or other backward classes. The proportions belonging to scheduled castes and other backward classes is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas (23 and 25 percent compared with 14 and 12 percent, respectively). There are no officially designated scheduled tribes in Haryana. Two scheduled-tribe women in the NFHS-2 sample might have migrated from other states.

The educational levels of respondents and their husbands have important influences on demographic and health-seeking behaviour. Fifty-five percent of ever-married women age 15–49 in Haryana are illiterate, down from 64 percent at the time of NFHS-1. This decline is mainly due to a decline in illiteracy of rural women from 74 percent in NFHS-1 to 66 percent in NFHS-2. In urban areas, the proportion illiterate has declined from 35 percent in NFHS-1 to 30 percent in NFHS-2. Notably, however, the urban-rural difference in illiteracy remains high. Only 20 percent of all respondents have completed high school, a considerable improvement since NFHS-1 (14 percent). Forty-six percent of urban respondents have attained this educational level, compared with only 10 percent of rural respondents.

Although 55 percent of ever-married women are illiterate, only 26 percent of their husbands are illiterate (down slightly from 28 percent in NFHS-1). In NFHS-2, the proportion of respondents with illiterate husbands is more than twice as high in rural areas (31 percent) as in urban areas (13 percent). At the other educational extreme, more than two-fifths of women (44 percent) have husbands who have completed at least high school. Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of women in urban areas and one-third (35 percent) in rural areas have husbands who have completed at least high school. By contrast, there are only small differences by residence in the proportion of women with husbands who have completed primary or middle school.

Eighty-seven percent of respondents in Haryana did not participate in work other than their regular housework during the 12 months preceding the survey, and the proportion is higher in rural areas (88 percent) than in urban areas (85 percent). The category ‘employed by someone else’ accounts for 7 percent of the respondents in rural areas, 13 percent in urban areas, and 9 percent in the state as a whole. Four percent of the rural respondents who worked in the past 12 months worked in their own family farm or family business, compared with less than 1 percent of urban women. Less than 1 percent of ever-married women in Haryana are self-employed.

3.2 Educational Level

Table 3.2 presents the percent distribution of ever-married women age 15–49 by the highest level of education attained, according to age, religion, caste/tribe, and husband’s education. The educational distribution of women in different age groups illustrates the progress in the spread of education over a period of about three decades. As expected, the level of illiteracy generally declines with declining age from 70 percent at age 45–49 to 39 percent at age 15–19. Even though illiteracy is declining in Haryana, about two-fifths of women even in the youngest cohorts of ever-married women are illiterate. On the other hand, the proportion of women who have completed primary or middle school increases with declining age. The proportion of women who have completed at least high school is about twice as high for younger women (age 15–24) as for older women (age 25–49).

A much higher proportion of Muslim women are illiterate (89 percent) than of Hindu (55 percent) or Sikh (44 percent) women. Muslim women are also much less likely to have completed at least high school (3 percent) than Hindu (20 percent) or Sikh (25 percent) women.

Table 3.2 Respondent's level of education by background characteristics

Percent distribution of ever-married women age 15–49 by highest level of education attained, according to selected background characteristics, Haryana, 1998–99

Background characteristic	Respondent's level of education						Total percent	Number of women
	Illiterate	Literate, < primary school complete	Primary school complete	Middle school complete	High school complete	Higher secondary complete and above		
Age								
15–19	38.8	3.3	27.9	18.0	10.9	1.1	100.0	182
20–24	41.9	2.3	16.5	12.2	17.6	9.6	100.0	515
25–29	51.1	2.3	16.3	7.6	10.4	12.3	100.0	606
30–34	62.6	2.6	14.7	6.5	6.8	6.8	100.0	559
35–39	57.4	2.2	11.7	6.3	9.6	12.8	100.0	418
40–44	64.0	2.3	10.0	4.1	11.9	7.7	100.0	347
45–49	70.1	2.1	5.7	5.7	7.9	8.4	100.0	281
Religion								
Hindu	54.6	2.4	14.5	8.2	11.4	8.9	100.0	2,590
Muslim	88.8	1.7	5.9	0.9	0.9	1.8	100.0	118
Sikh	43.9	3.1	17.2	11.1	9.8	14.9	100.0	190
Caste/tribe								
Scheduled caste	76.2	2.7	13.5	3.5	3.4	0.7	100.0	597
Other backward class	65.0	3.0	15.3	8.2	5.2	3.2	100.0	629
Other ¹	44.0	2.1	14.2	9.6	15.6	14.5	100.0	1,679
Husband's education								
Illiterate	91.0	1.3	5.2	2.3	0.3	0.0	100.0	753
Literate, < primary school complete	77.3	7.2	14.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	97
Primary school complete	62.2	4.7	23.1	5.8	4.0	0.3	100.0	379
Middle school complete	58.6	3.6	21.5	9.5	5.9	1.0	100.0	408
High school complete	39.9	2.0	17.5	13.3	19.9	7.5	100.0	717
Higher secondary complete and above	14.8	1.1	11.4	10.9	23.8	37.9	100.0	551
Total	55.2	2.4	14.3	8.1	10.8	9.2	100.0	2,908
Note: Total includes 7 women belonging to other religions, 2 women belonging to scheduled tribes, and 2 and 2 women with missing information on religion and husband's education, respectively, who are not shown separately.								
¹ Not belonging to a scheduled caste, a scheduled tribe, or an other backward class								

Women's educational attainment also varies widely by their caste/tribe status. Seventy-six percent of women belonging to scheduled castes and 65 percent belonging to other backward classes are illiterate, compared with 44 percent of women belonging to the 'other' caste/tribe/class group. Scheduled-caste women are much less likely than other women to have completed middle school, high school, or higher education.

Ninety-one percent of women with illiterate husbands are themselves illiterate. Notably, 40 percent of women whose husbands have completed high school (but not higher secondary school) and 15 percent of women whose husbands have completed at least higher secondary school are also illiterate. These results show that husbands at each level of education are more likely to have wives with a lower level of education than with an equal or a higher level of education. Specifically, the proportion of women who have less education than their husbands is 77 percent for women whose husbands are literate but have not completed primary school, 67 percent for women whose husbands have completed primary school but have not completed middle school, 84 percent for women whose husbands have completed middle school, 73 percent

for women whose husbands have completed high school, and 62 percent for women whose husbands have completed higher secondary or more education.

3.3 Age at First Marriage

Table 3.3 provides information on age at first marriage for all women (ever-married and never married). The table shows the percentage of women who first married by specified exact ages, and the median age at first marriage and first cohabitation by current age and residence. The median age at first marriage/cohabitation with husband for a cohort of women is the age by which 50 percent of the cohort marries/cohabits. There is strong evidence of a rising age at first marriage in Haryana. The proportion married by age 15 has fallen steadily from the oldest to the youngest age group. This decline is evident in both rural and urban areas. For example, in rural areas, the proportion of women married by age 15 declines from 35 percent among women age 45–49 to 5 percent among women age 15–19; the corresponding decline in urban areas is from 10 percent to 0 percent. The practice of early marriage (by age 15) has virtually disappeared in urban areas, but in rural areas 5 percent of women age 15–19 still marry before age 15, including 3 percent who marry before age 13.

The median age at first marriage has also risen over the past three decades. In rural areas, the median age at first marriage is more than two years higher for women age 20–24 than for women age 45–49, but in urban areas it does not vary much by women's age indicating little change in median age at first marriage in urban areas. (The median age at first marriage could not be calculated for women age 15–19 and 20–24 in urban areas and for women age 15–19 in rural areas because more than half of the women in these age groups were not married at the time of the survey.) For women age 20–49, the median age at first marriage is 2.4 years higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

Despite this evidence of a rising age at marriage in rural Haryana, Table 3.3 shows that the majority of women age 20–49 in Haryana were married before they reached the legal minimum age at marriage of 18 years for women, as set by the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1978. Specifically, 65 percent of rural women and 35 percent of urban women age 20–49 married before age 18. Even among younger women, age 20–24, more than two out of five still marry before reaching the legal minimum age at marriage (50 percent in rural areas and 20 percent in urban areas).

Table 3.3 also provides information on the median age at first cohabitation with husband. This, along with age at first marriage, shows the gap between formal marriage and the time when a wife starts living with her husband, which typically takes place after the *gauna* ceremony. Currently, there is a gap of slightly less than one year between the median age at first marriage and the median age at first cohabitation. The median age at first cohabitation has been rising more slowly than the median age at first marriage in the state as a whole, and consequently the gap between the median age at first marriage and the median age at first cohabitation has been gradually narrowing over time. This suggests that the significance of *gauna* or other similar cultural practices that introduce a lag between marriage and cohabitation has been declining in Haryana.

Table 3.3 Age at first marriage								
Percentage of women married by specific exact ages, median age at first marriage, and median age at first cohabitation with husband, according to current age and residence, Haryana, 1998–99								
Current age ¹	Percentage ever married by exact age						Median age at first marriage	Median age at first cohabitation with husband
	13	15	18	20	22	25		
URBAN								
15–19	0.0	0.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NC	NC
20–24	1.6	5.2	19.8	39.8	NA	NA	NC	NC
25–29	4.2	7.4	38.4	56.7	73.6	87.0	19.3	19.6
30–34	6.1	9.7	38.9	70.2	80.8	92.9	18.6	18.9
35–39	7.1	10.4	36.6	58.1	76.7	91.9	19.1	19.3
40–44	7.4	12.9	44.4	65.9	83.9	94.3	18.3	18.8
45–49	4.5	10.2	33.3	57.3	76.5	95.2	19.0	19.5
20–49	4.9	8.8	34.5	57.0	NA	NA	19.1	19.6
25–49	5.8	9.8	38.4	61.7	77.9	91.6	18.8	19.2
RURAL								
15–19	2.9	5.1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NC	NC
20–24	5.3	10.2	50.0	75.7	NA	NA	18.0	18.3
25–29	8.6	14.8	60.1	79.4	93.1	97.2	17.1	17.8
30–34	10.1	20.7	72.7	89.1	96.2	99.0	16.4	17.2
35–39	12.8	24.1	75.5	88.3	97.0	98.8	16.2	17.1
40–44	15.7	26.0	68.8	87.4	95.3	97.8	16.3	17.7
45–49	18.8	35.2	79.7	89.9	96.6	99.1	15.7	17.3
20–49	10.5	19.4	65.1	83.5	NA	NA	16.7	17.7
25–49	12.1	22.3	69.9	86.0	95.3	98.3	16.4	17.4
TOTAL								
15–19	2.1	3.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NC	NC
20–24	4.3	8.8	41.5	65.6	NA	NA	18.5	18.7
25–29	7.3	12.5	53.5	72.6	87.2	94.2	17.6	18.2
30–34	8.9	17.4	62.6	83.5	91.7	97.2	16.8	17.7
35–39	10.7	19.0	61.2	77.2	89.6	96.4	16.9	17.7
40–44	13.1	21.9	61.0	80.5	91.5	96.5	16.7	18.0
45–49	14.3	27.4	65.2	79.7	90.2	97.8	16.4	18.0
20–49	8.8	16.1	55.6	75.4	NA	NA	17.4	18.1
25–49	10.1	18.3	59.9	78.3	89.8	96.2	16.9	17.9
NA: Not applicable								
NC: Not calculated because less than 50 percent of women in the age group 15–19 or 20–24 have married or started living with husband by age 15 or 20								
¹ The current age groups include both never-married and ever-married women.								

3.4 Exposure to Mass Media

In a state like Haryana, where a large majority of women are illiterate or have little formal education, informal channels such as the mass media can play an important role in bringing about modernization. In NFHS-2, women were asked questions on whether they read a newspaper or magazine, watch television, or listen to the radio at least once a week, and whether they visit the cinema or theatre at least once a month. Table 3.4 gives information on women's exposure to these forms of mass media by selected background characteristics.

In Haryana, one-third (33 percent) of women are not regularly exposed to any of these media. As expected, regular exposure to the media is higher among younger women (below age 30) than among older women (age 30 and above). Also as expected, the percentage not regularly

Table 3.4 Exposure to mass media

Percentage of ever-married women age 15–49 who usually read a newspaper or magazine, watch television, or listen to the radio at least once a week, who usually visit a cinema/theatre at least once a month, or who are not regularly exposed to any of these media by selected background characteristics, Haryana, 1998–99

Background characteristic	Exposure to mass media					Number of women
	Reads a newspaper or magazine at least once a week	Watches television at least once a week	Listens to the radio at least once a week	Visits the cinema/theatre at least once a month	Not regularly exposed to any media	
Age						
15–19	18.1	64.1	36.2	1.1	27.7	182
20–24	24.3	66.1	35.9	3.2	26.9	515
25–29	23.4	62.7	35.1	4.6	30.0	606
30–34	17.2	57.5	28.0	4.2	36.3	559
35–39	25.1	60.1	32.9	6.0	34.7	418
40–44	20.5	58.4	28.1	3.8	37.0	347
45–49	21.4	56.5	20.3	3.0	40.7	281
Residence						
Urban	47.2	87.3	44.5	12.5	9.2	837
Rural	11.5	50.3	26.1	0.6	42.7	2,071
Education						
Illiterate	0.0	42.9	19.4	0.2	51.1	1,605
Literate, < middle school complete	23.5	73.2	38.1	1.7	19.0	486
Middle school complete	42.8	77.2	45.4	2.2	11.4	234
High school complete and above	71.7	93.6	52.9	17.1	3.9	583
Religion						
Hindu	21.9	61.3	32.6	3.9	32.2	2,590
Muslim	5.2	24.0	16.3	1.7	71.7	118
Sikh	27.9	76.6	24.8	6.4	21.8	190
Caste/tribe						
Scheduled caste	5.5	47.0	20.9	0.5	46.1	597
Other backward class	12.4	53.6	27.0	0.8	39.7	629
Other ¹	31.0	68.6	36.7	6.4	26.0	1,679
Standard of living index						
Low	2.1	15.0	6.1	0.0	80.3	280
Medium	5.9	46.8	21.3	0.2	44.6	1,331
High	42.5	85.7	47.5	8.9	10.7	1,279
Total	21.7	60.9	31.4	4.0	33.1	2,908
Note: Total includes 7 women belonging to other religions, 2 women belonging to scheduled tribes, and 2 and 18 women with missing information on religion and the standard of living index, respectively, who are not shown separately.						
¹ Not belonging to a scheduled caste, a scheduled tribe, or an other backward class						

exposed to the media is much higher among rural women, illiterate women, and women with a low standard of living than among other women. Forty-three percent of rural women are not regularly exposed to any media, compared with only 9 percent of urban women. By education, 51 percent of illiterate women are not exposed to any media, compared with only 4 percent of women who have completed at least a high school education. The percentage not regularly exposed to any mass media is 80 percent among women with a low standard of living and only 11 percent among those with a high standard of living. The proportion not regularly exposed to any media is much higher among Muslim women (72 percent) than among Hindu (32 percent) or Sikh (22 percent) women. Forty-six percent of scheduled-caste women are not regularly exposed

to any media, compared with 40 percent of women belonging to other backward classes and 26 percent of women not belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, or other backward classes.

Among the different types of mass media, television has the greatest reach across all categories of women including rural, illiterate, and poor women. Overall, 61 percent of respondents watch television at least once a week, compared with less than 32 percent regularly exposed to any other single medium. The proportion of women who watch television at least once a week has risen sharply since the time of NFHS-1, when it was 49 percent. By contrast, regular exposure to the radio has declined over the same period from 42 percent in NFHS-1 to 31 percent in NFHS-2. Twenty-two percent of women read a newspaper or magazine at least once a week. In Haryana, cinema is not an important source of media exposure to women. Only 4 percent of women visit the cinema at least once a month. Exposure to each of these media increases sharply with education and with standard of living. Exposure to television and radio decreases gradually with increasing age, but exposure to other types of media does not show much variation by age. Although mass media is growing in Haryana and it can be an important means of spreading health and family welfare messages, as well as exposing women to modern views in general, a considerable proportion of women are not regularly exposed to any media. Therefore, innovative programmes will be necessary to reach those women who are not regularly exposed to any form of mass media, especially rural, socioeconomically disadvantaged women.

3.5 Women's Employment

Labour force participation not only gives women an opportunity to earn income, but also exposes them to the outside world and to authority structures and networks other than kin-based ones (Dixon-Mueller, 1993). In a developing country such as India, however, where women's workforce participation is often motivated by poverty, these benefits are likely to be mediated by the social context of women's work and their total work burden (Bardhan, 1985; Desai and Jain, 1994). In addition, the empowering effects of employment for women are likely to depend on their occupation, the continuity of their workforce participation, and whether they earn income. It is generally expected that women who work at a regular job, who earn money, and who perceive that their contribution is a substantial part of total family earnings are more likely to be empowered than other employed and unemployed women (Youssef, 1982; Sen, 1990; Mahmud and Johnston, 1994). The National Population Policy adopted by the Government of India in 2000 (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2000) explicitly recognizes the importance of women's paid employment in achieving the goal of population stabilization in India and also specifies measures that will encourage paid employment and self-employment of women.

Table 3.5 provides information on these aspects of women's employment for ever-married women age 15–49 according to residence. In Haryana, only 13 percent of ever-married women age 15–49 were either currently employed at the time of NFHS-2 or were employed at any time during the 12 months preceding the survey. The proportion who did not work is slightly higher in rural areas (88 percent) than in urban areas (85 percent). The majority of women who worked during the 12 months preceding the survey worked throughout the year in both urban (83 percent) and rural areas (64 percent). The majority of both urban and rural women who worked during the 12 months preceding the survey earned cash for their work, but the proportion earning cash was much higher in urban areas (98 percent) than in rural areas (65 percent). Nearly one in three working women in rural areas (32 percent) was an unpaid worker. The proportion of unpaid workers was much smaller in urban areas (2 percent).

Table 3.5 Employment			
Percent distribution of ever-married women age 15–49 by employment characteristics, according to residence, Haryana, 1998–99			
Employment characteristic	Urban	Rural	Total
Employment status			
Currently working	14.0	10.5	11.5
Worked in past 12 months (not currently working)	1.1	1.0	1.0
Not worked in past 12 months	84.9	88.4	87.4
Continuity of employment¹			
Throughout the year	83.3	64.3	70.9
Seasonally/part of the year	13.4	34.9	27.4
Once in a while	3.3	0.8	1.7
Type of earning¹			
Cash only	97.7	57.4	71.3
Cash and kind	0.8	7.8	5.4
Kind only	0.0	2.5	1.6
Not paid	1.6	32.3	21.7
Occupation¹			
Professional	46.5	8.3	21.6
Sales worker	4.8	1.7	2.8
Service worker	1.6	2.1	1.9
Production worker	22.2	12.9	16.1
Agricultural worker	3.2	54.6	36.8
Other worker	19.2	18.0	18.4
Do not know	2.5	2.4	2.5
Earnings contribution to total family earnings²			
Almost none	9.8	12.2	11.1
Less than half	41.3	49.6	45.9
About half	31.9	15.3	22.7
More than half	11.5	1.9	6.2
All	5.5	20.3	13.7
Missing	0.0	0.6	0.3
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of women	837	2,071	2,908
Number of employed women ¹	127	239	366
Number of women earning cash	125	156	281
¹ For currently working women and women who have worked in the past 12 months			
² For women earning cash			

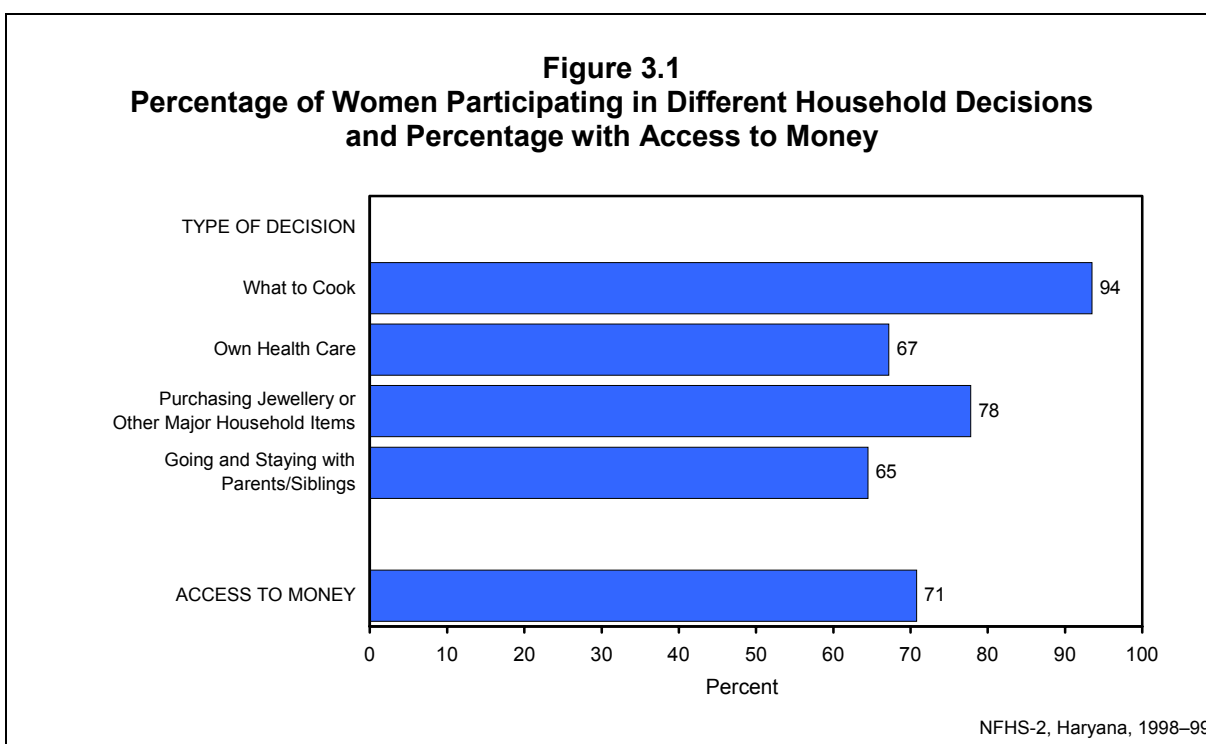
More than one-third (37 percent) of women who work are agricultural workers. Agricultural workers account for 55 percent of working women in rural areas, but only 3 percent in urban areas. The proportions of working women who are professionals and production workers are much greater in urban areas than in rural areas (47 and 22 percent compared with 8 and 13 percent, respectively).

A significant feature of women's work participation in Haryana is their substantial contribution to family earnings. In NFHS-2, women who earned cash for their work in the past 12 months were asked how much their earnings contribute to the total family earnings. Fourteen percent of these women (20 percent in rural areas and 6 percent in urban areas) say the family is entirely dependent on their earnings. Another 29 percent report that they contribute about one-half or more of the total family earnings. Forty-six percent contribute less than half of family earnings and 11 percent say their earnings contribute almost nothing to the total family earnings.

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3.6 Women's Autonomy

Education, work participation, and exposure to mass media are some of the means by which women gain status and autonomy, both important aspects of their empowerment. To measure women's autonomy and empowerment more directly, NFHS-2 asked about women's participation in household decisionmaking, their freedom of movement, and access to money that they can spend as they wish. Women's autonomy is likely to have a significant impact on the demographic and health-seeking behaviour of couples by altering women's relative control over fertility and contraceptive use, and by influencing their attitudes (for example, attitudes towards the sex composition of children) and abilities (for example, the ability to obtain health services for themselves and their children) (Sen and Batliwala, 1997).



In order to measure women's participation in household decisionmaking, NFHS-2 asked women to report who in their households makes decisions about the following: what items to cook, obtaining health care for themselves, purchasing jewellery or other major household items, and their going and staying with parents or siblings. The survey also asked women who earn cash who decides how the money they earn is spent. Table 3.6 gives the percent distribution of the person (or persons) who makes each of the specified household decisions, according to residence.

As expected, ever-married women in Haryana are most likely to participate in the decision about what items to cook: 77 percent of women make this decision on their own and another 17 percent make this decision jointly with their husband or someone else in the household (see Figure 3.1). However, 7 percent of ever-married women are not involved at all in decisions about what to cook. One in three women (33 percent) is not involved at all in decisions about seeking health care for themselves, more than one-fifth (22 percent) are not involved in decisions about purchasing jewellery or other major household items, and more than one-third (36 percent) are not involved in decisions about going and staying with parents or siblings. Among these three types of decisions, the decision that women are most likely to take on their own is the decision about their own health care (33 percent), and the decision that they are least likely to take on their own is about purchasing jewellery or other major household items (4 percent). Surprisingly, there are no sharp differences by residence in the proportion of women participating in the different types of decisions.

Nine percent of women who earn cash report that only their husbands make the decision about how the money they earn will be used. More than half of the women (58 percent) report that they make that decision on their own, and about one-third (32 percent) report that they make the decision together with their husband or someone else in their household. The proportion of women who do not participate at all in the decision about how the money they earn will be used

is higher in rural areas (11 percent) than in urban areas (7 percent), and the proportion who make this decision alone is higher in urban areas (60 percent) than in rural areas (57 percent).

Women's participation in household decisionmaking, alone or jointly with others in the household, does not vary much with age (Table 3.7). Specifically, only 1–3 percent of women age 30 and above do not participate in any decisionmaking compared with 4–5 percent of women age below 30 years. Urban women are somewhat more likely to participate in decisions about purchasing jewellery or other major household items (81 percent) than are rural women (77 percent). The proportion of women not involved in any decisionmaking varies little by education, religion, caste/tribe/class status, cash employment, or household standard of living. Interestingly, illiterate women are somewhat more likely than literate women (below high school education) to be involved in decisions about what to cook, about their own health care, and about staying with their parents or siblings. Women who have completed high school or higher education are more likely to participate in each of the separate decisions than literate women with less education. Although the differences are not large, working women are more likely than women who did not work in the past 12 months to be involved in decisionmaking about own health care, purchasing jewellery or other major household items, and staying with their parents or siblings. Women's decisionmaking power about purchasing jewellery or other major household items and staying with their parents or siblings goes up with the standard of living index.

NFHS-2 also collected information on two other dimensions of women's autonomy, namely, women's freedom of movement and their access to money that they can spend as they wish. With regard to freedom of movement, respondents were asked whether they need permission to go to the market or to visit friends or relatives. Women's access to spending money was measured by asking respondents, 'Are you allowed to have some money set aside that you can use as you wish?'

Table 3.7 shows that freedom of movement is limited for the majority of ever-married women in Haryana. Only 37 percent report that they do not need permission to go to the market, and 21 percent report that they do not need permission to visit friends or relatives. Freedom of movement increases substantially with age. For example, only 6 percent of women age 15–19 do not need permission to visit friends or relatives, compared with 39 percent of women age 45–49.

Women who have completed at least high school have more freedom of movement than less educated or illiterate women. Freedom of movement is also relatively high in urban areas, for Sikh women, and for women living in households with a high standard of living. Women who earn cash have more freedom of movement than other women. Freedom of movement does not vary much by caste/tribe/class status. Even in the groups with the greatest freedom of movement, however, the majority of women do need permission to go to the market and to visit friends or relatives.

There is substantial variation in women's access to money that they can spend as they wish by background characteristics. Overall, 71 percent of women say that they are allowed to have some money set aside that they can spend as they wish. Women's access to money increases with age, from 64 percent for women age 20–24 to 83 percent for women age 45–49. The percentage of women with access to money is higher in urban areas (86 percent) than in rural areas (65 percent). Women who have completed high school or higher education are much

Table 3.7 Women's autonomy

Percentage of ever-married women involved in household decisionmaking, percentage with freedom of movement, and percentage with access to money by selected background characteristics, Haryana, 1998–99

Background characteristic	Percentage not involved in any decisionmaking	Percentage involved in decisionmaking on:				Percentage who do not need permission to:		Percentage with access to money	Number of women
		What to cook	Own health care	Purchasing jewellery, etc.	Staying with her parents/siblings	Go to the market	Visit friends/relatives		
Age									
15–19	4.4	89.0	67.1	82.5	72.0	19.1	5.5	67.3	182
20–24	5.2	90.9	62.1	76.5	65.5	24.2	9.7	63.5	515
25–29	5.1	92.0	66.4	76.5	63.6	31.3	16.6	66.6	606
30–34	2.8	94.5	67.6	77.8	61.5	38.0	20.9	70.2	559
35–39	2.4	95.0	67.1	80.4	65.0	43.6	28.1	75.7	418
40–44	1.2	98.0	72.0	77.2	64.5	48.8	28.9	75.9	347
45–49	1.4	94.3	71.8	77.1	65.0	54.9	39.2	83.3	281
Residence									
Urban	3.7	92.9	65.9	81.3	65.7	49.9	32.0	85.8	837
Rural	3.3	93.7	67.7	76.5	64.0	31.4	16.3	64.8	2,071
Education									
Illiterate	2.9	94.5	68.8	77.5	64.7	33.5	18.2	65.4	1,605
Literate, < middle school complete	6.0	89.3	60.9	72.9	59.2	32.2	16.4	68.8	486
Middle school complete	2.6	93.6	64.8	78.6	59.7	32.6	15.1	72.3	234
High school complete and above	3.3	94.1	68.9	82.5	70.3	51.0	34.1	86.9	583
Religion									
Hindu	3.6	93.2	66.9	78.3	64.8	36.5	20.9	70.9	2,590
Muslim	0.9	94.7	63.9	78.6	53.7	20.4	11.9	60.8	118
Sikh	2.6	95.9	73.9	71.1	66.5	48.1	24.5	74.4	190
Caste/tribe									
Scheduled caste	2.5	94.9	66.5	73.4	62.8	37.3	17.5	64.0	597
Other backward class	5.4	91.7	64.1	78.7	65.5	30.6	18.8	66.6	629
Other ¹	3.0	93.6	68.6	79.2	64.8	38.7	22.8	74.9	1,679
Cash employment									
Working for cash	4.6	94.3	71.2	82.2	69.3	58.8	40.5	80.1	281
Working but not for cash	2.3	92.9	68.4	88.3	79.1	41.9	29.1	74.4	85
Not worked in past 12 months	3.3	93.4	66.7	77.0	63.5	34.1	18.4	69.7	2,542
Standard of living index									
Low	3.2	95.8	67.9	69.4	59.0	33.1	17.1	60.6	280
Medium	4.0	93.3	66.9	76.9	63.7	34.1	18.0	65.2	1,331
High	2.9	93.2	67.6	80.7	66.7	40.4	24.8	79.2	1,279
Total	3.4	93.5	67.2	77.8	64.5	36.7	20.8	70.8	2,908

Note: Total includes 7 women belonging to other religions, 2 women belonging to scheduled tribes, and 2 and 18 women with missing information on religion and the standard of living index, respectively, who are not shown separately.

¹Not belonging to a scheduled caste, a scheduled tribe, or an other backward class

more likely to have access to money than illiterate or less educated women (87 percent compared with 65–72 percent). Access to money also increases with the standard of living, from 61 percent for women in low standard of living households to 79 percent for women in high standard of living households. Women who did not work during the past 12 months are much less likely than women who did work to have access to money. Muslim women, scheduled-caste women, and

women belonging to other backward classes are less likely than other women to have access to money.

3.7 Women's Educational Aspirations for Children

The desire to invest in improving the quality of children, including investing in their education, is important for bringing about transition to lower levels of fertility and improved health. In order to obtain information on this subject, NFHS-2 asked ever-married women for their opinion about how much education should be given to a boy or a girl. Women's responses to these questions also provide an indication of the degree of importance given to boys in relation to girls.

As shown in Table 3.8, 16 percent of women believe that a boy should be given as much education as he desires, compared with 38 percent who believe that a girl should be given as much education as she desires. Two-thirds (66 percent) of women believe that an education above high school (higher secondary school, graduate and above, or professional degree) is appropriate for boys, whereas only one-fourth (25 percent) feel that it is appropriate for girls. A negligible proportion of women (less than 1 percent) feel that girls should not be given any education or should be given less than a primary school education. Only 8 percent feel that girls should be given middle school or less education. The corresponding proportion for boys is 11 percent.

Table 3.8 indicates that there are sharp urban-rural differences in women's educational aspirations for girls and boys. Rural respondents have lower educational aspirations than urban respondents, particularly for girls. It is notable, however, that even in rural areas almost four-fifths (78 percent) of women say that girls should be given at least a high school education, a professional degree, or as much education as they desire.

3.8 Domestic Violence: Attitudes and Prevalence

In recent years, there has been increasing concern about violence against women in general, and domestic violence in particular, in both developed and developing countries (United Nations General Assembly, 1991). Not only has domestic violence against women been acknowledged worldwide as a violation of the basic human rights of women, but an increasing amount of research highlights the health burdens, intergenerational effects, and demographic consequences of such violence (Heise et al., 1994; 1998; Jejeebhoy, 1998; Ramasubban and Singh, 1998; Rao and Bloch, 1993). In patriarchal societies such as India, women are not only socialized into being silent about their experience of violence but traditional norms teach them to accept, tolerate, and even rationalize domestic violence (Jaisingh, 1995; Hegde, 1996; Prasad, 1999). The recent IndiaSAFE multi-site study of family violence in India, conducted at about the same time as NFHS-2, finds violence by husbands to be fairly widespread (International Clinical Epidemiology Network, 2000). Both tolerance of and experience of domestic violence are significant barriers to the empowerment of women, with consequences for women's health, their health-seeking behaviour, their adoption of a small family norm, and the health of their children. In NFHS-2, an attempt was made to assess whether women view wife-beating as justified and to measure the prevalence of violence against women including, but not limited to, violence committed by a woman's husband.

In order to assess women's attitudes towards wife-beating, the survey asked whether respondents thought that a husband is justified in beating his wife for each of the following

Table 3.8 Perceived educational needs of girls and boys			
Percent distribution of ever-married women by their opinion on how much education should be given to girls and boys, according to residence, Haryana, 1998–99			
Educational level	Urban	Rural	Total
Education for girls			
No education	0.0	0.2	0.1
Less than primary school	0.0	0.1	0.1
Primary school	0.8	4.3	3.3
Middle school	1.4	5.9	4.6
High school	6.7	21.9	17.5
Higher secondary school	5.6	9.2	8.2
Graduate and above	4.9	4.1	4.4
Professional degree	18.5	9.4	12.0
As much as she desires	49.4	33.8	38.3
Depends	12.6	10.6	11.2
Don't know	0.1	0.4	0.3
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Education for boys			
No education	0.0	0.1	0.1
Less than primary school	0.2	1.5	1.1
Primary school	0.7	2.5	1.9
Middle school	2.6	10.7	8.4
High school	3.6	7.1	6.1
Higher secondary school	4.5	7.3	6.5
Graduate and above	20.1	12.5	14.7
Professional degree	51.9	42.5	45.2
As much as he desires	16.4	15.6	15.8
Depends	0.0	0.3	0.2
Don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0

reasons: if he suspects her of being unfaithful; if her natal family does not give expected money, jewellery, or other items; if she shows disrespect for her in-laws; if she goes out without telling him; if she neglects the house or children; or if she does not cook food properly. These reasons, which range from reasons that involve suspicions about a wife's moral character to those that may be considered more trivial, such as not cooking properly, were chosen to provide variation in the perceived seriousness of behavioural-norm violation. Table 3.9 gives the percentages of ever-married women who agree with various reasons for wife-beating by background characteristics.

One out of every four women in Haryana accept at least one reason as justification for wife-beating. Women are most likely to agree that wife-beating is justified if there is a suspicion that the wife is unfaithful (20 percent), and least likely to agree that wife-beating is justified if her natal family does not give expected money or other items (less than 1 percent). If a wife goes out without telling her husband, 12 percent of women say that the husband would be justified in beating her. About 1 in 10 agree that wife-beating is justified if the wife neglects the house or children, or if she shows disrespect for in-laws. Seven percent agree that wife-beating is justified if the wife does not cook food properly.

Table 3.9 indicates that there are no sharp differences by age or marital duration in women's attitudes towards wife-beating. The percentages justifying wife-beating are much lower for women who are not currently married. There are notable urban-rural differences in women's attitudes towards wife-beating. Not only do a higher proportion of rural women (30 percent) than

Table 3.9 Reasons given for justifying a husband beating his wife

Percentage of ever-married women who agree with specific reasons for justifying a husband beating his wife by selected background characteristics, Haryana, 1998–99

Background characteristic	Percentage who agree with specific reasons							Number of women
	Percentage who agree with at least one reason	Husband suspects wife is unfaithful	Natal family does not give expected money or other items	Wife shows disrespect for in-laws	Wife goes out without telling husband	Wife neglects house or children	Wife does not cook food properly	
Age								
15–19	23.0	17.5	0.0	8.3	12.6	8.3	7.1	182
20–29	26.9	20.2	0.2	10.6	12.8	11.7	7.2	1,121
30–39	27.1	21.9	0.4	10.0	12.5	9.5	7.1	977
40–49	24.6	18.0	0.0	8.8	11.5	9.1	6.2	628
Marital duration (in years)								
< 5	24.0	18.1	0.0	9.6	12.0	9.9	7.1	656
5–9	26.6	21.1	0.5	10.6	12.5	11.8	7.0	420
10 or more	27.9	21.3	0.2	10.1	13.0	10.3	7.1	1,724
Not currently married	11.0	10.1	0.0	3.7	4.5	3.7	3.7	109
Residence								
Urban	17.5	12.6	0.0	5.0	7.6	6.5	4.1	837
Rural	29.7	23.2	0.3	11.8	14.4	11.7	8.1	2,071
Education								
Illiterate	29.8	22.8	0.2	10.7	14.7	11.5	7.5	1,605
Literate, < middle school complete	29.6	23.7	0.2	10.9	13.2	11.1	9.5	486
Middle school complete	28.4	21.5	0.9	13.8	12.1	11.6	7.8	234
High school complete and above	12.6	9.1	0.0	5.2	5.6	5.3	3.1	583
Religion								
Hindu	26.8	20.9	0.2	10.3	13.1	10.3	7.4	2,590
Muslim	20.5	11.9	0.0	6.8	8.5	11.1	2.6	118
Sikh	21.6	14.1	0.5	5.2	5.8	7.4	3.7	190
Caste/tribe								
Scheduled caste	29.5	23.3	0.0	11.0	14.2	10.9	8.2	597
Other backward class	29.2	22.2	0.5	11.0	14.8	13.2	8.4	629
Other ¹	23.8	18.2	0.2	8.9	10.8	8.8	6.0	1,679
Cash employment								
Working for cash	21.3	16.0	0.4	8.5	11.3	8.2	7.9	281
Working but not for cash	50.1	45.4	0.0	23.3	15.2	17.4	11.7	85
Not worked in past 12 months	25.9	19.7	0.2	9.5	12.4	10.2	6.7	2,542
Standard of living index								
Low	27.3	21.0	0.0	8.6	13.5	8.2	6.8	280
Medium	29.5	22.8	0.5	11.3	15.1	12.1	8.8	1,331
High	22.5	17.2	0.0	8.6	9.4	8.7	5.1	1,279
Total	26.2	20.1	0.2	9.8	12.4	10.2	7.0	2,908
Note: Total includes 7 women belonging to other religions, 2 women belonging to scheduled tribes, and 2 and 18 women with missing information on religion and the standard of living index, respectively, who are not shown separately.								
¹ Not belonging to a scheduled caste, a scheduled tribe, or an other backward class								

urban women (18 percent) agree with at least one reason justifying wife-beating, rural women are also more likely than urban women to agree with each specific reason. Agreement with at least one reason for wife-beating declines with education. Women who have completed high

school or higher education are much less likely to agree with at least one reason justifying wife-beating (13 percent) than illiterate or less educated women (28–30 percent).

The proportion of women who agree that wife-beating is justified is reported to be higher among women from households with a medium standard of living (30 percent) than among women from households with low (27 percent) or high (23 percent) standard of living. Women who work but not for cash are much more likely to justify wife-beating (50 percent) than those who did not work in the past 12 months (26 percent) or those who worked for cash (21 percent). Overall, in most of the categories of women a considerable proportion agree with at least one reason for wife-beating. This finding attests to the process of socialization of women in norms that give husbands the right to use force to discipline wives who are perceived to be violating traditional gender norms.

In order to assess the prevalence of domestic violence, NFHS-2 also asked women if they had ever been beaten or mistreated physically since age 15¹. Women who reported being beaten or physically mistreated were asked who beat or physically mistreated them. Interviewers recorded all the persons mentioned by the respondent. As mentioned earlier, there is a culture of silence surrounding the topic of domestic violence that makes the collection of data on this sensitive topic particularly difficult. Even women who want to speak about their experience with domestic violence may find it difficult because of feelings of shame or fear. This may be more true if violence occurred recently (for example, in the preceding 12 months) rather than in the more distant past. In addition, depending on the varied cultural meanings ascribed to different acts, there may be women who do not report their experience of domestic violence because they do not view it as violence or physical mistreatment. For all of these reasons, NFHS-2 results on the prevalence of domestic violence need to be interpreted with caution.

Table 3.10 presents results on the prevalence of beatings or physical mistreatment since age 15 by women's background characteristics. Prevalence is also shown according to person(s) who beat or physically mistreated them—their husbands, their in-laws, or other persons. Thirteen percent of women in Haryana report having experienced violence, and 11 percent report that they have been beaten or physically mistreated by their husbands. Two percent have been beaten or physically mistreated by their in-laws and 3 percent by other persons. This implies that among women who report beatings since age 15, more than 8 out of 10 (82 percent) have been beaten by their husbands and 17 percent have been beaten by their in-laws.

Women age 15–19 are less likely than older women to have been beaten, but because of their young age they have had less time to be exposed to the risk of being beaten since age 15. Similarly, women who have been married for less than five years are less likely to have been beaten (11 percent) than women who have been married longer (13–14 percent). Urban women (12 percent) are somewhat less likely than rural women (14 percent) to report experiencing violence and illiterate women (15 percent) are much more likely to have experienced violence than women who have completed at least high school (7 percent).

¹The question does not limit women to reporting only domestic violence. Nonetheless, almost all women who reported any violence reported beatings or physical mistreatment only by husbands or relatives.

Table 3.10 Women's experience with beatings or physical mistreatment					
Percentage of ever-married women who have been beaten or physically mistreated by their husband, in-laws, or other persons since age 15, according to selected background characteristics, Haryana, 1998–99					
Background characteristic	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15	Percentage beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 by:			Number of women
		Husband	In-laws	Other persons	
Age					
15–19	8.2	4.9	1.1	4.3	182
20–29	13.3	10.7	2.4	3.4	1,121
30–39	14.9	12.9	2.5	3.6	977
40–49	11.7	9.5	2.2	2.7	628
Marital duration (in years)					
< 5	10.6	7.1	1.5	4.4	656
5–9	13.1	10.7	2.9	3.1	420
10 or more	14.2	12.2	2.3	3.2	1,724
Not currently married	12.8	12.8	4.6	0.9	109
Residence					
Urban	11.7	9.1	1.9	3.9	837
Rural	13.8	11.5	2.4	3.2	2,071
Education					
Illiterate	15.2	13.6	2.9	2.8	1,605
Literate, < middle school complete	15.5	11.1	1.9	3.9	486
Middle school complete	11.1	8.0	1.7	4.7	234
High school complete and above	6.6	3.8	1.4	3.8	583
Religion					
Hindu	13.6	11.1	2.4	3.5	2,590
Muslim	13.5	12.7	3.4	1.7	118
Sikh	7.9	6.8	0.5	2.1	190
Caste/tribe					
Scheduled caste	17.8	15.2	2.5	4.3	597
Other backward class	13.6	11.7	2.9	2.9	629
Other ¹	11.4	8.9	2.0	3.2	1,679
Household type					
Nuclear household	15.4	13.1	2.0	3.7	1,406
Non-nuclear household	11.1	8.7	2.6	3.1	1,502
Cash employment					
Working for cash	16.4	15.3	2.8	4.3	281
Working but not for cash	10.5	8.2	4.6	1.2	85
Not worked in past 12 months	12.9	10.4	2.2	3.3	2,542
Standard of living index					
Low	18.9	16.4	3.2	3.2	280
Medium	16.0	14.0	2.5	3.5	1,331
High	9.0	6.3	2.0	3.3	1,279
Living children					
No living children	7.4	3.7	1.2	4.1	245
Only daughters	9.9	7.3	2.7	3.3	303
Only sons	13.2	11.0	2.7	3.6	675
Both daughters and sons	14.6	12.4	2.2	3.2	1,685
Total	13.2	10.8	2.3	3.4	2,908
Note: Total includes 7 women belonging to other religions, 2 women belonging to scheduled tribes, and 2 and 18 women with missing information on religion and the standard of living index, respectively, who are not shown separately.					
¹ Not belonging to a scheduled caste, a scheduled tribe, or an other backward class					

The prevalence of violence against women decreases substantially as the standard of living increases. Specifically, 19 percent of women with a low standard of living report having experienced violence, compared with 16 percent of women with a medium standard of living and 9 percent of women with a high standard of living.

Women from nuclear households are more likely than women from non-nuclear households to report having experienced violence. A similar finding was reported by Visaria (1999) among women in rural Gujarat. Surprisingly, paid employment appears to be associated with a higher prevalence of violence. Sixteen percent of women who worked for cash in the past 12 months reported experiencing violence compared with 11 percent of women who worked but not for cash and 13 percent of women who did not work at all in the past 12 months.

In Haryana, women with no living children are somewhat less likely than women with living children to have experienced violence (7 percent compared with 10–15 percent). This may be due in part to the fact that childless women tend to be the younger women, and younger women have a lower prevalence of violence than older women. There does not appear to be much variation in the prevalence of violence by whether or not women have a son.

The proportions of women who have been beaten or physically mistreated by their husbands according to various background characteristics are similar to the proportions of all women who have experienced violence. This is not surprising since, as already noted, most women who report beatings are beaten by their husbands. The proportion of women who have been beaten or physically mistreated by their in-laws or by other persons is too small to allow a meaningful discussion of differentials by women's background characteristics. Nonetheless, it is notable that women who are not currently married (divorced, separated, deserted, or widowed) are more likely than currently married women to have been beaten by their in-laws. Women who worked during the past 12 months but did not earn cash are more likely to have been beaten by their in-laws than are other women.

NFHS-2 asked women who reported experiencing violence since age 15 how often they were beaten or physically mistreated in the 12 months preceding the survey: many times, a few times, once, or not at all. Table 3.11 shows the frequency of beatings in the past 12 months for women who report beatings or physical mistreatment. Two out of five women (39 percent) who experienced violence were beaten at least once during the 12 months preceding the survey. Eighteen percent who report violence during the 12 months preceding the survey were beaten or physically mistreated only once and 21 percent were beaten more than once.

Among women who report being beaten, women in the following groups are more likely than other women to have been beaten in the past 12 months: younger women (in their twenties), women married less than 10 years, and women from medium standard of living households. Multiple beatings among ever-beaten women are particularly common for younger women (in their twenties) and for women who are married for less than 10 years.

As mentioned earlier, largely due to the inherent tendency for underreporting of domestic violence, these results need to be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, the NFHS-2 estimates set a lower bound on the proportion of women experiencing violence in Haryana: *at least* one in eight ever-married women in Haryana have experienced violence since age 15, and *at least* 1 in 20 have experienced violence in the past 12 months.

Table 3.11 Frequency of beatings or physical mistreatment

Percent distribution of ever-married women who report being beaten or physically mistreated since age 15 by frequency of beatings or physical mistreatment in the 12 months preceding the survey, according to selected background characteristics, Haryana, 1998–99

Background characteristic	Beaten or physically mistreated in past 12 months				Total percent	Number of women
	Many times	A few times	Once	Not beaten		
Age						
20–29	16.8	14.1	21.3	47.8	100.0	149
30–39	2.1	13.7	18.7	65.6	100.0	146
40–49	2.7	6.7	10.7	79.9	100.0	74
Marital duration (in years)						
< 5	11.5	16.0	20.3	52.2	100.0	69
5–9	16.3	12.6	19.7	51.3	100.0	55
10 or more	5.3	12.2	18.0	64.5	100.0	246
Residence						
Urban	9.3	11.4	16.6	62.8	100.0	98
Rural	7.7	12.9	18.5	61.0	100.0	285
Education						
Illiterate	7.8	13.1	17.2	61.9	100.0	244
Literate, < middle school complete	7.9	10.8	24.0	57.3	100.0	75
Middle school complete	(7.8)	(19.2)	(15.3)	(57.6)	100.0	26
High school complete and above	(10.4)	(7.7)	(13.1)	(68.8)	100.0	39
Caste/tribe						
Scheduled caste	13.2	13.1	14.8	58.9	100.0	107
Other backward class	5.8	15.1	23.4	55.7	100.0	86
Other ¹	6.3	11.0	17.3	65.4	100.0	191
Household type						
Nuclear household	7.0	13.8	19.9	59.3	100.0	217
Non-nuclear household	9.5	10.8	15.5	64.2	100.0	167
Cash employment						
Working for cash	(6.7)	(6.5)	(23.8)	(63.0)	100.0	46
Not worked in past 12 months	8.5	13.4	17.4	60.8	100.0	329
Standard of living index						
Low	9.5	15.2	11.2	64.1	100.0	53
Medium	8.0	13.1	23.5	55.5	100.0	213
High	7.8	10.4	11.3	70.5	100.0	115
Living children						
Only daughters	(6.8)	(19.8)	(16.4)	(57.0)	100.0	30
Only sons	4.4	15.7	21.3	58.6	100.0	89
Both daughters and sons	8.9	11.0	17.9	62.2	100.0	246
Total	8.1	12.5	18.0	61.4	100.0	383

Note: Total includes 15 women from age group 15–19, 14 women not currently married, 9 women working but not for cash, 18 women having no living children, and 2 women with missing information on the standard of living index, who are not shown separately.

() Based on 25–49 unweighted cases

¹Not belonging to a scheduled caste, a scheduled tribe, or an other backward class