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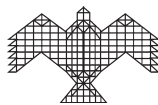


NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDIES

Bangalore, India

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INTRODUCTION

As a social phenomenon domestic violence has received much academic attention across the world, particularly from feminist scholars. Backed by feminist movements, these scholars have through the gender lens been able to focus on the patriarchal attitudes and structures that often lie at the heart of this violence. But as research in this critical area has grown, so has a realization that attributing its causality solely to patriarchal structures could restrict our understanding of this complex problem. As pointed out by Weissman “Changing circumstances have revealed that the causes of domestic violence are more complicated than can be explained by patriarchy alone.” (2007: 388)¹.

The need to look beyond simplified interpretations of patriarchy is particularly strong in India especially

when factors like the role of mothers-in-law in dowry deaths are legally well-established. The involvement of older women in the criminal act points to a number of factors that would not be analysed if one was to focus on patriarchy as the only explanatory variable. For instance, the fact that older women play an active role in committing grievous acts in a large number of dowry cases points to an important research question – does the role of women in domestic violence change with age? Another important factor that is not adequately researched is the relationship between the occurrence and nature of domestic conflicts and its variations across different types of families like the joint family or the nuclear family.

To this extent, if one considers role of family as an important variable in understanding domestic conflicts,

¹ Weissman, D.M.(2007). “The Personal in Political – and Economic: Rethinking Domestic Violence”. *Brigham Young University Law Review*. p 388.

then the urban centres provide for interesting variations in family structures. Cities in India comprise of varied family structures ranging from nuclear structures to joint families. In these cities with varied types of family structures, it would be important to ask whether these family structures record different patterns of domestic violence. Does this pattern change over time? How does the role of a woman change in domestic violence as she becomes older?

In undertaking even a preliminary exploration of these dimensions of domestic conflict it is important to recognise that when a country accounts for one-sixth of humanity, there is bound to be considerable variations in the nature of domestic relations across different cities. The cities that are exposed to globalization may well face different issues in domestic conflicts than those that are not. Each of these types of cities would then have to be studied separately. This study focuses on the globalized end of this spectrum of Indian cities by taking the metropolitan city of Bangalore as a case study.

THE LEGAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

One of the challenges in understanding social conflicts in India

is the wide disparity that sometimes exists between what is legally correct and what is socially accepted. Domestic violence is no exception to such a trend. On the legal front, India has made considerable progress. India has adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both of which guarantee gender equality and non-discrimination. . The Constitution of India also guarantees substantive justice to women. For instance, Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination against citizens on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth or their subjection to any disability, liability or restriction on such grounds. Article 15 (3) provides powers to the legislature to make special provisions for women and children. The enactment of the “Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act” in 2005 was in line with the spirit of this constitutional provision.

According to the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005), “The term “domestic violence” includes elaborately all forms of actual abuse or threats of abuse of physical,

sexual, verbal, emotional and economic nature that can harm, cause injury to, endanger the health, safety, life, limb or well-being, either mental or physical of the aggrieved person.”². The Act covers child sexual abuse, harassment caused to a woman or her relatives by unlawful dowry demands, and marital rape. Violence could be used by one member against any other member of the household with whom he/she shares a relationship. It can be violent acts committed by a male or a female

member against another male or a female member of the household. Anyone can be a victim or a victimizer in such cases. This violence is usually expressed as physical or sexual abuse or by persistently causing emotional trauma in the victim through verbal or economic abuse.

After the Delhi rape incident on 16th Dec, 2012 and the subsequent protests against increasing violence against women and lack of safety guaranteed to women in public space by

Table 1: Types of domestic abuse and the acts involved in domestic violence as defined by Protection of Women against Domestic Violence Act, 2005

Types of Abuse	Acts involved in the type of abuse
Physical Abuse	i. an act or conduct causing bodily pain, harm, or danger to life, limb, or health; ii. an act that impairs the health or development of the aggrieved person; iii. an act that amounts to assault, criminal intimidation and criminal force.
Sexual Abuse	Any conduct of a sexual nature that abuses, humiliates, degrades, or violates the dignity of a woman
Verbal and Emotional Abuse	i. any insult, ridicule, humiliation, name-calling; ii. insults or ridicule for not having a child or a male child; iii. Repeated threats to cause physical pain to any person in whom the aggrieved person is interested.
Economic Abuse	i. depriving the aggrieved person of economic or financial resources to which she is entitled under any law or custom or which she acquires out of necessity such as household necessities, <i>Streedhan</i> , her jointly or separately owned property, maintenance, and rental payments; ii. Disposing of household assets or alienation of movable or immovable assets; restricting continued access to resources or facilities in which she has an interest or entitlement by virtue of the domestic relationship including access to the shared household.

Source: Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005

² Protection of Women From Domestic Violence Act (2005) NO. 43 OF 2005. New delhi: Government of India. Available at: http://www.lawyerscollective.org/files/protection_of_women_from_domestic_violence_act_2005.pdf [last accessed on 12.11.2013]

the State, the issue has been highlighted in the media and legal campaigns to ensure more protection. To this extent, they demanded stricter laws such as the enactment of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. However, the focus of such public discourse is still around safety of women at night in public places. It leaves out the familial violence from the larger public debates. . The divide between the private and the public in this debate is problematic if we were to acknowledge the fact that there is a very high incidence of familial violence in India.

According to the United Nations Population Fund report(2004)³, despite this strong legislation, around two-thirds of married Indian women are victims of domestic Violence and as many as 70 per cent of married women in India between the age of 15 and 49 are victims of beating, rape or forced sex. Much of this reality can be attributed to the fact that, in contrast to the legal clarity against domestic violence, the social mores tend to be much more ambiguous. There is, in fact, considerable evidence of

women themselves remaining silent not just about their secondary status in the family but also domestic violence. The NFHS III (2007) found that 41per cent of the women surveyed, thought their husbands were justified in slapping their wives if the latter showed disrespect to their in-laws⁴. Almost 35 per cent of the surveyed women thought that they deserved brutal treatment from their spouses if they neglected their responsibilities to do household chores or looking after their children. Moreover, 51 per cent of the 75,000 Indian men surveyed thought hitting their wives is acceptable for certain reasons, particularly if she disrespects her in-laws. A smaller number think that bad cooking or refusing sex are good enough reasons for physically assaulting their wives. Experts suggest that familial reasons could explain a great deal why only one in four abused women seek help to try and end the violence their husbands mete out to them. For instance, only 2 per cent of women who faced domestic violence sought intervention from the police.

³ UNFPA and International Centre for Research on Women (2004). "Violence against Women in India-A Review of Trends, Patterns and Responses" Available at: <http://india.unfpa.org/?publications=367> [last accessed on 20.11.2012]

⁴ International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2007. "National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3), 2005-06" .Volume II. Mumbai: IIPS.

Studies on the actual prevalence of domestic violence in India are still quite scanty. The few studies available indicate that physical abuse of Indian women is quite high, ranging from 22 percent to 60 percent of women surveyed (Rao, 1997⁵ and Mahajan, 1990⁶). Most of the available information consists of qualitative studies of very small sample size. The only source of large sample data available on violence against women is the data relating to crimes against women published by the National Crimes Record Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs (Government of India). According to the latest report, out of the total number of crimes against women, 43.6 per cent of the crimes were reported under the head “cruelty by husband or his relatives”, 3.7 per cent of cases under Dowry Prohibition Act and 3.4 per cent cases of dowry deaths (NCRB, 2013)⁷

THE PICTURE IN BANGALORE

The present report is based on data collected from around four

thousand reported domestic violence cases documented over a period of five years between 2008-2012 by *Vanitha Sabaya Vani* which is a helpline initiative set up in 1999 by the Bangalore City Police to support and protect victims of domestic abuse. *Vanitha Sabaya Vani* offers support to women in distress which aims at supporting women affected by domestic violence by way of counseling, immediate rescue, family counseling and rehabilitation.

Before drawing inferences from the data collected by *Vanitha Sabaya Vani*, it is important to discuss the limitations in such types of data. The data may not provide a statistically representative picture of the incidence of domestic violence in Bangalore. It cannot be assumed that every case of domestic violence has reached the organization. We cannot also assume that those who have come to the organization are a random sample of all those who have been victims of domestic conflict and violence. It is also important to remember that the dataset

⁵ Rao, V. (1997). “Wife-beating in rural south India: A qualitative and econometric analysis.” *Social Science and Medicine*, 44(8): 1169-1180.

⁶ Mahajan, A. (1990). “Instigators of wife battering.” In Sooshma Sood, (ed), *Violence against Women*. Jaipur: Arihant Publishers

⁷ National Crime Records Bureau: Government of India (2013). “Crime in India: 2012”. New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs. Available at: <http://ncrb.nic.in/CD-CII2012/Home.asp> [last accessed on 11.11.2013]

is only an indication of the willingness and readiness of the complainant to name the crime and report it as it is, bringing it out of what is considered the “private” realm of the domestic to the “public” realm of the support agency.

The extent of bias in the sample would however vary depending on the questions that are being raised. For instance, it may not be prudent to use the data to capture the patterns of domestic violence across the city, as those who are located closer to the offices of the organization are more likely to report their cases to the organization rather than go to some other social welfare institution. At the same time, on other issues such as analyzing the type of conflict in each age group, the extent of bias may be less. And when we consider the large size of this sample we may well be committing an error in ignoring the patterns that the data throws up on such issues where the bias is not apparent.

These data therefore do not act as an indicator of the kinds of violence that affect women, or the prevalence of a particular type of violence. They instead provide valuable insights into the kinds of violence for which women believed that they could legitimately seek support from an institution like

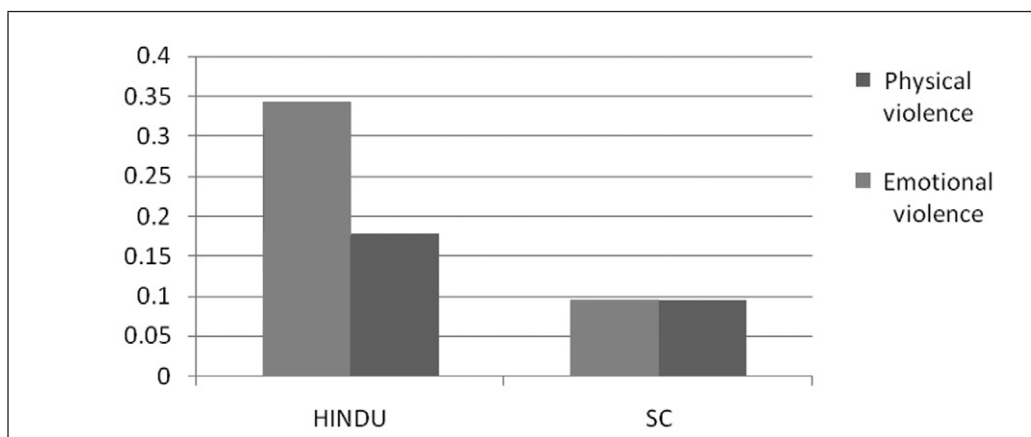
Vanitha Sahaya Vani. For example, the culture of silence and shame around sexual violence are clearly reflected in this study where sexual violence is severely under-reported, compared to its known prevalence in the society. Sexual violence is either underreported or has been integrated into the category of “physical violence”. Since *Vanitha Sahaya Vani* functions more as a mediator between couples, in cases of physical or emotional violence, dowry and other in-law harassment, or violence caused by alcoholism. A person is more likely to seek support from the institution if it involves crimes that are less ‘shameful’ according to their perception. This limits the use of the quantitative dimensions of the data to only analyze those questions where there is no immediately apparent reason for the data to be biased. What follows is then an attempt to analyse the issue of domestic conflict and violence in Bangalore, without any claims about this being the entire picture. These quantitative patterns are elaborated through individual cases to provide greater insights into the issues involved. Needless to say, in order to protect the identity of the individuals involved all names have been changed.

By focusing on age and type of family, we do not mean to suggest that these are the only two aspects of domestic violence in Bangalore that require closer attention. There are many more factors that play an important role in explaining domestic conflicts. Towards this end, we can look at the reporting behavior to understand if the caste to which the person belongs has any bearing on whether they would report domestic violence.

Figure 1 reveals that the rate of reporting of physical violence is strikingly low among dalits compared to the upper caste Hindus, so is the case with emotional violence. Physical violence is reported almost twice as often

by upper caste Hindus as by Dalits, while the probability of upper caste Hindus to report emotional violence is more than thrice the probability of *Dalits* to report such cases. This is a striking and statistically significant difference. Equally important, only around half the cases of emotional violence go on to becoming cases of physical violence among other caste Hindus, while among *Dalits* the prevalence of both emotional violence and physical violence is the same. Indeed, when we look at the correlation between the kinds of violence faced and caste, there is a striking difference in the reportage of physical, emotional, and sexual violence by caste Hindus and SC community women.

Figure 1: The relative reporting of physical and emotional violence by other caste Hindus compared to *Dalits*



Source: Author's Analysis

Some of the patterns that emerge are also not consistent with conventional wisdom. Dowry based harassment has always been thought to be a more prevalent phenomenon among caste Hindus because of the increased role played by property in marital negotiations. However, dowry cases are paradoxically slightly more reported among *Dalits* than other caste Hindus. Extra marital affairs, alcoholism, desertion by the husband and suicidal tendencies were also reported more by *Dalits* than upper caste Hindus. Despite these interesting indicators of the effects of caste on domestic violence, the study could not explore this relationship in greater detail due to the paucity of detail in the data. As the focus of the *Vanitha Sabaya Vani* was on counseling those affected by domestic violence rather than building a sociological profile, it collected only basic details like whether the individual belonged to the category of scheduled castes or not.

AGE AND DOMESTIC CONFLICTS

The term domestic violence is usually taken to mean partner abuse, specifically violence perpetrated by male partner. However, it has also been

used to refer to violence perpetrated by any member of the household towards the women in the family. Most of the cases that have been recorded by the *Vanitha Sabaya Vani* are cases of abuse faced by women in domestic situations from their husbands/partners or family members-in-law. Evidence on the nature of the violence does suggest discernible differences across age groups.

In the age group of women just turning 18, there are cases of those in live-in relationships who have been cheated by their partners with false promises of marriage, unwed pregnancies and forced abortions. In some extreme cases the girls have attempted suicide. Since the *Vanitha Sabaya Vani* does not usually take on cases related to minors or adolescent girls, the data on violence in that age group is very limited. Yet it is difficult to miss the fact that among minor girls, there were a large number of under-age forced marriages. For instance, Yasmeen wanted to marry a boy from her neighbourhood but since her parents opposed the relationship, she backed out following which the boy threatened to pour kerosene on her. She needed protection from this threat and approached the helpline. In another case, a minor girl Manjula, complained

that she was forced by her parents to marry an elderly man. She did not want to go to either her husband's or his parents' house. Since Manjula did not have any place to stay, she was sent to *Janodaya*⁸ for shelter.

In all the age groups above 18 years, emotional and physical violence, dowry and other harassment by in-laws, and alcoholism were found to be very high. Together, these types of violence accounted for about 73 per cent of all violence reported. Over a third of these cases reported would fall under the category of emotional violence and a fifth under the category of physical violence. This pattern did not change with age, with there being no significant difference in the proportion of complaints registering these features across age groups.

In terms of the causes of conflict, dowry and other harassment by in-laws were the most prominent reasons which accounted for nearly one-third of the cases. Second marriages and extra marital affairs came second, accounting for around one-fifth of the cases. Alcoholism

was another prominent cause, with desertion by either the husband or the wife and suspicious nature of the husbands leading to the conflict. Reports of sexual violence within domestic violence were very rare (0.87 per cent), but it is difficult to say whether this is because of the unwillingness of the women to discuss this issue with the counselors. Property disputes accounted for a very low proportion of reported domestic violence suggesting these disputes tended to be between nuclear families rather than within them. Suicidal tendencies were also reported in about 1.6 per cent of cases.

The effects of age were understandably most visible in the case of dowry harassment. The reported harassment by in-laws was relatively higher for married women between 18 and 35 years of age, the age when most women get married. For each of these groups, up to 10 per cent of complaints were about harassment by in-laws. However, it is important to note that dowry harassment does not disappear when women get older. Just over 7 per

⁸ Janodaya is a not for profit organization that provides support and services to women victims of domestic violence. Their objective is to provide them with immediate counseling, shelter, access to justice and also enable and empower them to access livelihood opportunities.

More information about the organization is available at : <http://janodaya.org/node/8> [last accessed on 09.12.2013]

cent of the women seeking counseling in the 35-45 age group reported dowry harassment, while 8.5 per cent of women aged 45-55 reported it. What is particularly significant is that this cause does not disappear even in the individuals in age group of people over 55 years, with 4.5 per cent of the complainants citing dowry harassment as a reason. It could be argued that the willingness to report dowry and in-law harassment problems may have increased for younger generations with a clear message about the legal and social unacceptability of dowry demands by government outreach. Among older generations, these kinds of harassment were possibly reported less when they were understood to be an expected part of joint family life, or when external intervention was seen as both unwelcome and unhelpful.

Other studies⁹ suggest that the reduced relative reportage of joint family-based dowry or in-law harassment in the age group over 55 years is due to reasons uniquely associated with the nature of domestic violence in later life. Fear of abandonment, generational

values, physical and mental health concerns, dependence on the offender for personal care, transportation and medication, spiritual, cultural and community ties, fear of retaliation, shame and isolation, honor and respect to family unity, inadequate economic support, access to social services, no recognition of the abuse are some of the many factors complicating justice and peace for women stuck in abusive marriages later in life. We must however see this possibility of underreporting in the context of the fact that our sample consists only of women who have made the decision to take their problems to an agency outside the family. Thus all the women who are represented in the sample, irrespective of their age, have broken out of the traditional norm of keeping their problems within the family. Thus the differences across age groups among these women cannot be easily attributed to their willingness, or otherwise, to report the main causes for domestic conflict.

The tendency to report alcoholism was higher by women in older age groups compared to younger age

⁹ Babu, B.V and Kar, S. (2009). "Domestic violence against women in eastern India: a population-based study on prevalence and related issues" *BMC Public Health*. Available at: <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2458/9/129> [last accessed on 10.11.2013]

groups, with 13.4 per cent for women over the age of 55 citing this as the main reason, compared to the average across all age groups of 11 per cent. Similarly, the reporting of second marriages was higher at 15 per cent for the group aged 45-55, and 10 per cent for the group over 55 years of age, compared to all the younger age groups where the prevalence was reported at around 7 per cent. This is a steep difference, and constitutes the only statistically significant difference of the ones we have reported above ($p = 0.04$, Pearson's chi squared test statistic = 4.0348, for the comparison between relative prevalence of complaints of second marriages between the 25-35 and 45-55 age groups).

While the reporting of extra marital affairs did not vary significantly with age group (6.3 per cent on average), it appears that suspicious husbands were more of a problem for the age groups over 45 years (5-6 per cent of cases) which is almost double the prevalence of reporting for people under 45 years of age (varying from 1.6 per cent to 2.3 per cent of cases reported). Due to low absolute numbers of these complaints, these differences were not quite statistically significant. Desertion

by the wife also appears to have been reported at relatively high rates (5 per cent) for the age group 45-55 years, almost double the rate for younger age groups (ranging from 2.3 per cent to 3.8 per cent of cases), though no cases were reported by people over 55 years of age. Desertion by the husband also showed variation with age, peaking for the age group over 55 years of age at 6 per cent, dipping to 1.7 per cent for the age group from 45-55 years of age, and rising to 3.5 per cent for the age group 35-45 years, 3.6 per cent for the 25-35 year age group, and rising to 4.4 per cent for the age group from 18-25 years. Suicidal tendency complaints are noticeably absent in the age groups above 45 years of age, and are reported at a low rate (1.6 per cent on average) in the younger age groups from 18-45 years of age. Thus while domestic conflict and violence can be found in all age groups, the nature of the conflict and its triggers do tend to vary with age. Among the women below 18 years the crisis is largely one of forced marriages or of issues in relationships that cannot be negotiated. This is not to suggest that the problem of failed relationships is confined to this age group. For instance, Meenakshi and Mahadev were partners

for four years. During this period, he once went to her house and tried to rape her when her mother was not at home. He had also been demanding money to marry her. He was then absconding for a while after which he returned to the same place, making the woman feel unsafe.

Between the age of 18 to 35 years, women's problems tend to be related to harassment by in-laws, particularly over dowry. In extreme cases this harassment has even generated suicidal tendencies and murder. In 2000, a 20 year old woman, Saritha who came to the cell to report severe physical and emotional violence by her husband in the context of dowry demands was later murdered by her husband, who then hanged himself. As women grow older they are not always willing to stay-on in an adverse domestic situation. In the age group of 45-55 years we see more complaints of women deserting their husbands than in the younger age groups. The willingness of older women to act relatively more independently may also explain the data on "suspicious husbands", which on the face of it indicates that more men were reported to be suspicious of their wife's fidelity in the age group of 45-55.

JOINT FAMILIES, NUCLEAR FAMILIES AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Conventional wisdom tells us that there should be a difference in the kinds of violence faced by women of different age groups based on the household arrangements in which they live. The expectation is that older women are more likely to live in a joint family system, where the kinds of violence experienced could be different from the pressure and violence found in a nuclear family system.

The data generated by complaints about domestic conflict and violence did show an increase in the incidence of violence against women living in joint families as we moved from younger to older women, and this increase was gradual as we moved to higher age groups. But this increase was not all that stark.

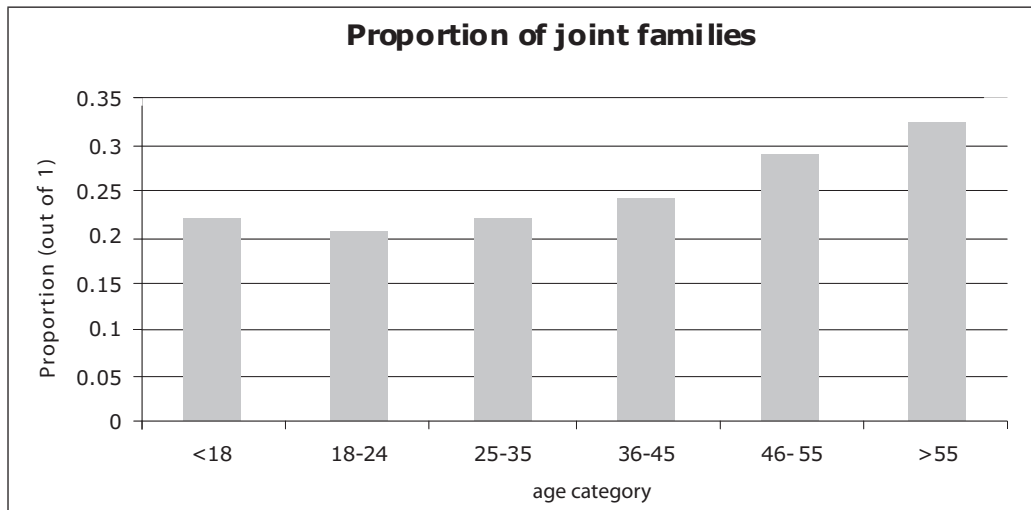
The data set only showed this difference to be significant between the two extremes of the age groups, that is, between the group over 55 years of age, and the group between 18-24 years. The proportion of women complainants living in joint families in the group over 55 years of age was 37 per cent, which was significantly higher than the 23 per cent of women complainants between the ages of 18 and 24 living in joint

families ($p = 0.029$). It is worth noting that in all age groups the majority of the women complainants lived in nuclear families.

In contrast to conventional wisdom there is not much difference between the qualitative aspects of domestic violence in nuclear and joint families, even when it comes to in-law based harassment or dowry harassment which is strongly family-based rather than simply partner based. For instance, Shobha had been married for eight years, and lived in a nuclear family. She had two children. A few days after her wedding her husband started harassing her for dowry. When he married another girl the wife approached

the organization with a complaint after which a joint counseling was done and he denied his re-marriage and agreed to look after his wife well. The case of Fathima who was married into a joint family is not fundamentally different. She complained within four months of her wedding that she was verbally and physically abused every day by her husband. The mother-in-law too started harassing her for dowry and threatened to get her son married to another girl if she did not comply. The situations here are very similar, for these two women who live in nuclear and joint families. The patriarchy exercised by mothers-in-law have come to be recognized

Figure2: Proportion of complainants' families that are joint families, varying with age group of the complainants



Source: Author's Analysis

because of the torture inflicted by them in dowry cases and we see a similar compounding of torture/harassment instead of a decrease in the same due to the presence of another woman in the family. Quantitatively speaking, many types of violence also do not show much variation between nuclear and joint families. Physical violence is about 15.6 per cent in both kinds of families whereas emotional violence is 27.4 per cent in nuclear and 28.4 per cent in joint families. Sexual violence is low at 0.69 per cent in both, which may be due to the hesitancy to report such cases. Dowry harassment constitutes 10.7 per cent of the reported cases in both kinds of families. In-law harassment is paradoxically the same; just slightly higher at 9.6 per cent in joint families than the 9.2 per cent in nuclear families. Suicidal tendencies too were almost the same, at 1.6 per cent in nuclear and 1.9 per cent in joint families.

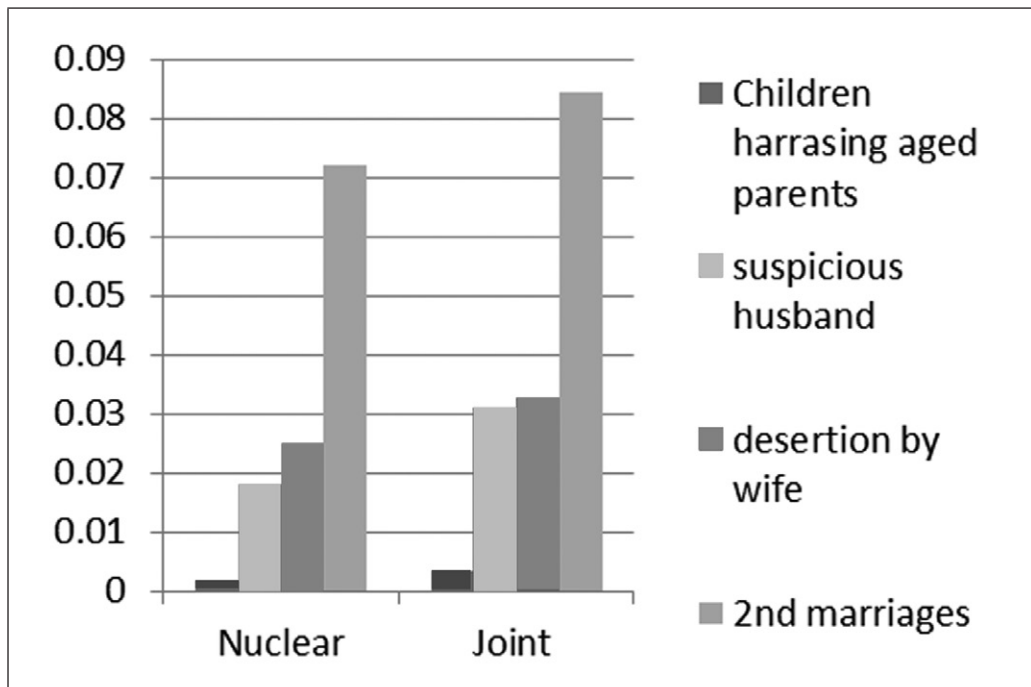
Within this broad similarity in the extent and nature of domestic violence, there were some interesting differences in the responses of individuals to situations of domestic conflict. Desertion by the husband was nearly twice as commonly reported by those in nuclear families, at 4.2 per cent of the complainants in such families,

than joint families, at 2.4 per cent. We could speculate that this is because of the lack of extended familial pressure or physical presence of other members of the family to enforce the marriage. There were also relatively more complaints of extra-marital affairs by those in nuclear families (6.8 per cent) than joint families (5.5 per cent). This could be because of increased privacy in a nuclear family which enables the partners to have extra-marital affairs without the censure and judgment of an extended family. For perhaps the same reason of privacy, alcoholism was also reported at somewhat higher rates in nuclear families, at 11.3 per cent, compared to joint families, at 9.8 per cent. The responses within joint families to the same pressures were somewhat different. Family support for the male appeared to ensure that a greater proportion of extra-marital affairs go on to become marriages. Second marriages were reported more frequently (8.4 per cent) when compared to other complaints made by women living in joint families (7.2 per cent).. The fact that joint families compelled women to stay in a house with many individuals together also seems to raise the levels of mutual suspicion.

Suspicious husbands were reported more frequently in joint families, at 3.1 per cent, than in nuclear families where the proportion was 1.8 per cent. Interestingly, desertion by the wife was also slightly more frequently reported by those in joint families, at 3.3 per cent, than in nuclear families, at 2.5 per cent. This could be attributed to that fact that the support that a male member gets from his own extended family is typically greater than the support extended to his wife who joins

the family post marriage. In adverse circumstances the woman might have no option but to abandon the family altogether. Children harassing aged parents or grand-parents were relatively less frequent events. But even among these fewer events those in joint families were more affected than those in nuclear families. These cases accounted for 0.34 per cent of all complaints from joint families, as opposed to 0.16 per cent of those in nuclear families. This throws into question the commonplace belief

Figure 3: Types of violence showing increased relative reported prevalence in joint than in nuclear families



Source: Author's Analysis

about the erosion of traditional family values and systems being the reason for the breakdown of families.

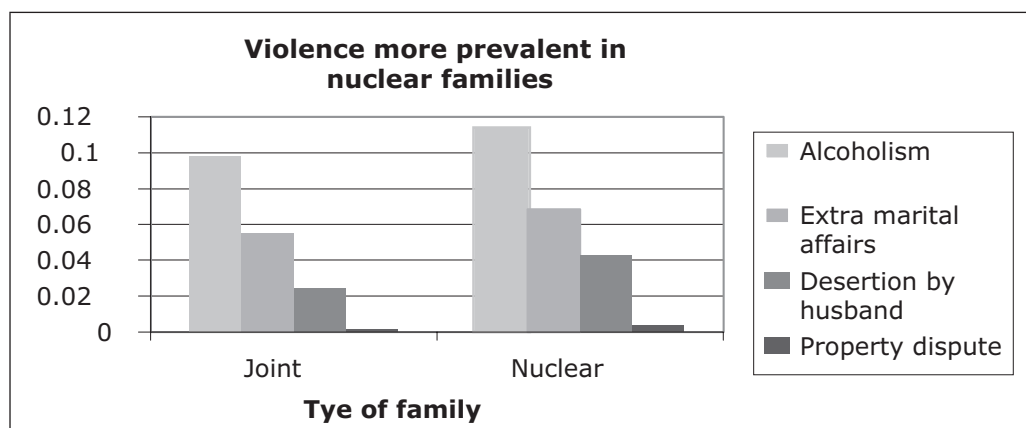
Looking at the kinds of violence, it is evident that there is no strong reason to believe that the formation of nuclear families is one of the causes for the erosion of stable marriages in India. The prevalence of abuse and complaints exist in both kinds of families with just minor differences in types of violence/conflict reported. The differences in types of violence across types of families are less pronounced than the differences across age groups.

CONCLUSION

The effects of age and the type of family on the incidence of domestic

violence in one of India's most global cities, Bangalore, point to the complexity of the challenge. While patriarchal attitudes are undoubtedly a starting point for a meaningful analysis there are some aspects of domestic violence that do not lend themselves to excessively simplistic understandings] of the role of patriarchy. This is particularly true of the effects of age on the nature of, and response to, domestic violence. The effects of joint families and nuclear families on domestic conflict and violence too do not always fall in line with conventional wisdom. This study has sought to provide some initial insights into the larger complexity of domestic violence in an Indian city with a global presence, Bangalore.

Figure 3.3: Types of violence showing increased prevalence in nuclear than joint families



Source: Author's Analysis

