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Demographic and social characteristics of families with violence against women in Russia

Introduction

The article analyses demographic and social specialties of Russian families that increase probability of family violence against women. The prevalence of mentioned phenomenon in the Russian Federation is high – more than half of all families face it (Domestic violence against women..., 2003; Kalabikhina, 2004).

Family violence can be classified by objects, by results of the occurrence, by causes. From the object point of view we can distinguish violence against spouse (wife/husband), children or elder member of the family.

Violence could be distinguished like psychological, physical, economic and sexual ones. By *psychological violence* we mean moral coercion, offering affronts by verbal and psychological means, abuse, humiliation, intimidation (Gorshkova&Shurygina, 2003, p. 20). *Economic violence* means deprivation in financial resources, financial control and dependence, prohibition on work or other economic activity, unfair property rights, money confiscation (Gorshkova&Shurygina, 2003, p. 33). *Physical violence* defines as act of force against partner, for example, battery, tortures, derision. *Sexual violence* – is sex without mutual consent by coercion.

Often the fact of family violence is occurred in all of the mentioned forms. In our paper we observe physical and sexual violence separately, while economic and psychological ones are united. Economic costs of family violence can be measured and include both direct losses for family members (costs of treatment) and indirect losses for the whole society (Zagorulko, Potapenko,

2002). However economic costs of the violence are beyond the scope of our research because of our data limitation.

Theory

Causes for family violence are described in modern sociological and psychological theories. Most of famous are developed in the framework of historical approach (a heritage of laws and traditions of disciplining wives (Gondolf, Fisher, 1991)), the victimological approach (the role of the victim's behavior that provokes violence (Berkovits, 2001)), the number of the social interaction and learning approaches (the role of power relations as a form of communication, the role of the nearest environment to stimulate development of the individual offender (see references in Gorshkova, Shurygina, 2003, pp. 4,6), and gender power distribution or structure approaches (the role of patriarchal structure of society (Hearn, 1987; Rimashevskaya et al, 1999; Kimmel, 2000; Gorshkova&Shurygina, 2003)). Our research is based on the structural theory, which observe masculine violence again women as a result of masculine dominance in family and society and inequality in resources distribution.

Data and Methods

The research is based on the survey conducted by Women's Council of Lomonosov Moscow State University and supported by Ford Foundation in 2002. The survey was conducted in 7 regions of the Russian Federation (urban and rural parts). The sample size is 2 134 (1 076 female respondents and 1 058 male respondents). The definition partners means both officially married spouses and partners, who live in cohabitation relationships. Age of respondents 18-65 years. Sampling process was developed with official statistical agency (Rosstat in Russia) variables: the place of residence, sex, age, education, number of children.

In this research we find the correlation between the prevalence of family violence in families and different social, demographic and psychological characteristics of spouses. On the first stage of research we divide the sample

into clusters by prevalence of violence¹. By main characteristics of the groups we can define the portrait of family with violence against woman. On the second stage of the research we are constructing logit-regression models, which define the ties between different characteristics of spouses and families as independent variables and probability of violence (three main types of it: physical, sexual and psychological ones) occurrence.

Results

The portrait of victim

After the preliminary analysis we made a decision to observe only results for women, because in men's questionnaires there are many missing variables in case of questions about violence.

First of all we should find the occurrence of family violence (do not matter sexual, physical or psychological). To define the violence we use the following variables.

- Variable, responsible for psychological and, with lower probability, for sexual violence. The answer on the question "How often did you have to do smth or abandon smth, because of your husband's will?"
- Variable, responsible for psychological violence. The answer on the question "Do you feel that your husband wants to insult or degrade you?"
- Variable reflected all sorts of violence by self-definition "Do you think that your husband's attitude towards you is violence?"
- Variable responsible for physical violence. If the respondent claims that beat his wife at least once.

During the cluster analysis only 16 respondents of 1076 were excluded due to missing variable. Consequently the sample was divided in normal and problem families. The number of respondents belonging to the clusters is reported in the Table 1.

¹ As an instrument we use 2-step classification.

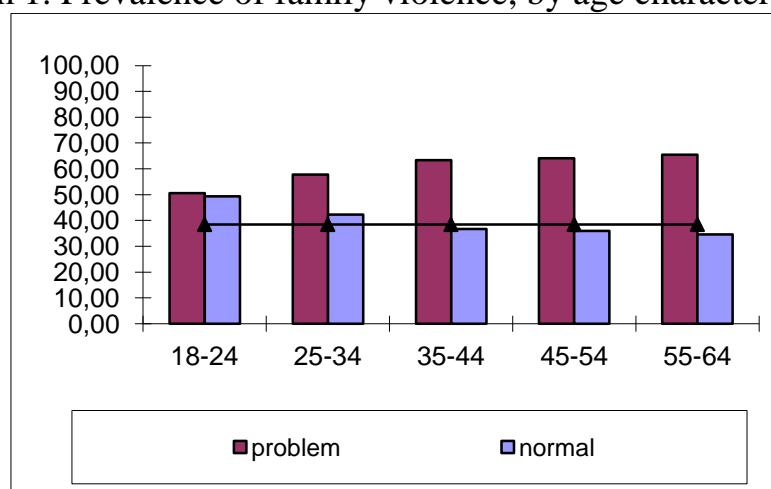
Table 1. Prevalence of family violence (total)

	Absolute figures	Percentage
Families with violence (“Problem families”)	653	61,6
Families without violence (“Normal families”)	407	38,4

Now we should observe the main socio-demographic characteristics of the families from “normal” and “problem” cluster.

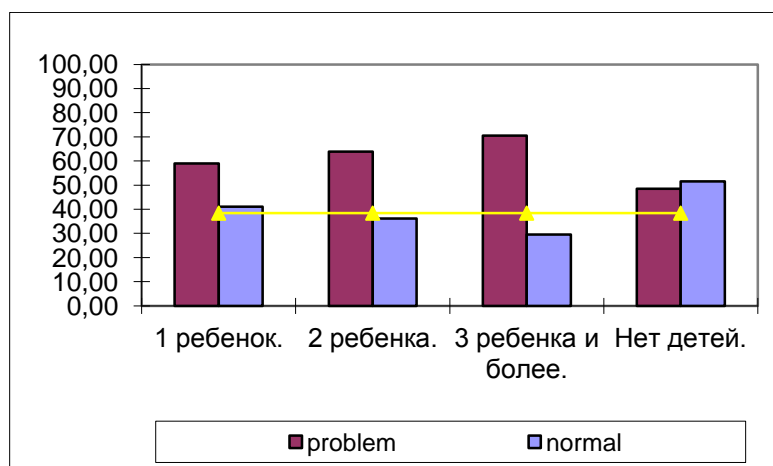
Age. According to the diagram 1 we can arrive to conclusion that the security in families is decreasing with age. The common conclusions take place if we analyze the length of marriage (partnership). There is no significant difference in the violence patterns according to the age gap between spouses if we do not use extreme cases (like 10 year gap, when the level of violence is higher).

Diagram 1. Prevalence of family violence, by age characteristics (%)



Number of children. Families with more than one child are more likely to be included in the problem cluster (see Diagram 2). However this phenomenon should be explained by the same factors as in case of age characteristics, as spouses without children or with one child might live together for a short time period.

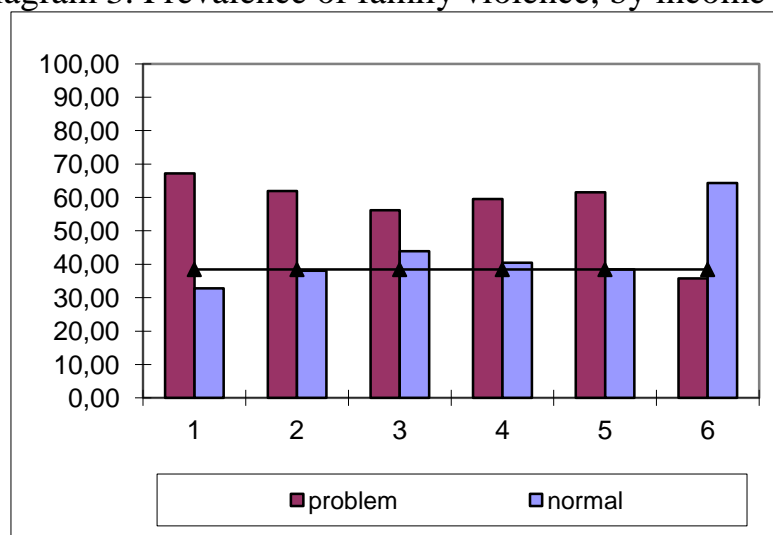
Diagram 2. Prevalence of family violence, by number of children (%)



Education. Education gap leads to the increase of share families in problem cluster. Wives with lower education have greater probability to be the victims of violence (77,5% belong to problem families) than women with higher education (52,9% belong to problem families).

Income. If we observe 6 income groups we can make a conclusion that the poorest ones are on average problem families. The normal families are concentrated among the richest families and families with average income.

Diagram 3. Prevalence of family violence, by income (%)



Finally, the portrait of women a victim of family violence is the following: lower educational level (in some cases there is an educational gap with husband), low or high (but not the highest) income, long marriage, two or more children.

Socio-demographic characteristics of families with family violence

We constructed 8 models during our regression analysis: 4 for wives and 4 for husbands (Annexes 1-8). Let's us to observe separately probability of physical, psychological and sexual violence as well as the probability of the violence as a whole.

Occurrence of sexual (sex_viol), physical (phys_viol), and psychological (phyc_viol) violence in case of wives is identified by the following conditions.

Sexual violence (at least 1 condition):

1. Answer on the question «If your husband wants intimate relationships and you do not, what is the result of this situation?» should be: «If my husband wants sex he will get it».
2. Positive answers to the following statements:
 - «You had to be in intimate relationships with your husband, otherwise he could make a scandal or stop communication with you, and so on»;
 - «Your husband made you to be in intimate relationships even if you did not want and told him about it».
3. If cases when wife and husband had sex after she was battered took place at least once.
4. If the respondent is agree that husband has a certain sexual pressure on wife.

Physical violence (at least 1 condition):

1. In the event that her husband frequently or occasionally happens, "stall" at others, under the hot hand he catches his wife.
2. If husband inflicted strong pain to his wife
3. If husband beat his wife more than once during their life.
4. If the respondent is agree that husband has a certain physical pressure on wife.

Psychological violence (at least 1 condition):

1. If husband requires reports from the wife about most of her expenditures.

2. The presence in the home of frequent or periodic (at times) of major scandals
3. If wife has to do smth because of husband's will.
4. Widespread wife's sensation, that husband wants to insult her.
5. Widespread or periodic abuse of wife
6. If the respondent is agree that husband has a certain psychological pressure on wife.

We identify the occurrence of violence in families by husbands' answers using the same indicators with some minor corrections, based of questions gender specific.

Dependant variables included several groups²:

- Household's type and composition,
- Age of spouses and length of partnership,
- Costs in case of divorce (who of the partners loses more in case of divorce),
- Influence of the environment (occurrence of the violence in families of relatives, friends, parents, existence of special protective centers or shelters for victims)
- Psychological characteristics of partner,
- Respondent's attitude to the violence,
- Socio-demographic portrait of husband.

Results of the study (see table in Annex 1-8) largely confirm the dependence of the probability of domestic violence propensity of respondents to a more patriarchal attitudes to gender relations, from a patriarchal environment.

The highest value in all models of factor takes a passive attitude to his wife's domestic violence, namely, when the wife is not inclined to seek the assistance of external organizations in case of violence, and believes that the husband has the right to beat his wife. Symmetrically increases the likelihood of violence in families where the husband does not condemn violence.

² For detailed description of models and variables please see Annexes.

In addition, the influence of patriarchal environment (domestic violence friends and relatives, serious consequences of domestic violence for his wife's parents) also increases the likelihood of violence in almost all the above types of violence. Lack of information on crisis centers - another factor influencing the higher the chances of violence (the absence of institutions to protect women from violence, to spread the ideology of egalitarian gender relations).

The absence of children for more than five years after the start of living together that is the factor of growth of violence like a factor of pressure patriarchal society in which the wife "deserves" punishment is an "inferior woman," if she cannot have children.

Alcohol abuse from the husband - a factor of high probability of violence in all models. In addition, the likelihood of psychological violence reaches its maximum value in families where the husband is registered with the psychiatrist or a husband or someone from the other household members in prison.

The fear of his wife, that in case of divorce deterioration in her living conditions will happen (in sense of house ownership, material and psychological conditions, and especially the threat to reduce the possibility of sex), increase the likelihood of family violence as well as keep the woman in the partnership and to provoke a passive reaction.

With increasing duration of marriage increases the probability of physical and general domestic violence. Perhaps, the relationship of violence on the duration of the marriage is not linear, and after a certain period of cohabitation (presumably 16 years) decreases the likelihood of violence again. But we could not determine this fact because the survey was mainly affected the respondents are married less than 20 years, long-term marriages over 30 years in the sample almost did not get.

The age difference between spouses 3-5 years in favor of the husband increases the likelihood of violence in pairs (the married couples with smaller or bigger age difference are more likely to establish relations without violence).

The officially registered marriage (no cohabitation) reduces the likelihood of violence of all kinds, except the physical one.

Living with husband's relatives increases the likelihood of psychological violence.

Deterrent factor is the fear of her husband, that deterioration in his living condition (losses of flat or part of ownership) will happen in the event of divorce. Other potential losses (including losses of opportunity to contact with children) do not have the same effect and increase the likelihood of violence.

The variables describing the socio-demographic portrait of her husband were in most cases significant. High education of the husband reduces the likelihood of all kinds of violence, except sexual. In families with more intensive work schedule of his wife (as compared with the schedule of husband) the likelihood of violence is reduced, and in families with higher income in favor of husband is growing. This is probably evidence of the influence of patriarchal patterns in the distribution of the budgets of time and resources of the household on the likelihood of domestic violence. Ambiguous impact of religiosity: it increases the likelihood of psychological violence, not increases the likelihood of sexual one and reduces the likelihood of physical violence.

Conclusion

On the basis of this study we can produce a number of conclusions. First, the rate of domestic violence against women in Russia is high. Secondly, the probability of domestic violence is high in families living in disadvantaged environments (prevalence of violence in the home of friends and relatives, the absence of crisis centers, and information about them). Third, the probability of domestic violence is also high in families, where the wife may, for whatever reason, be considered like "junk" (f.e., she has not children more than 5 years) and / or she takes a passive position in relation to violence. Fourth, the presence of her husband's mental disorder, imprisonment history, alcohol abuse, low educational level increases the risk of violence against woman. Fifth,

demographic characteristics of family with violence correlate with so called "traditional families" ones (higher level of marriage's duration, two or more children (or absence children during five or more years of marriage), living with husband's relatives, etc.).

The main conclusion is that the likelihood of domestic violence against women is dependent on the tendency of respondents to have a more patriarchal attitudes to gender relations, a patriarchal environment, patriarchal social and household institutions.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Sexual violence (female, R-sq = 0,2)

	B	Exp(B)
alc* – husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,599	1,821
divor** – I think about divorce often.	,595	1,813
pris** – husband or other member of household was imprisoned.	,632	1,881
lose1* – in case of divorce wife loses more in material status.	,444	1,558
lose10* - in case of divorce wife loses more in sex.	,588	1,800
lose15** – in case of divorce wife loses more in happiness.	,483	1,621
ac_v* – wife does not criticize family violence	,519	1,681
fr* – violence takes place in families of friends and relatives.	,532	1,703
sciel* – wife does not want to find support in external centers (police, crisis centers), though she knows about them	1,258	3,517

Hereinafter: * - 1% - significance, ** - 5% - significance, *** - 10% - significance.

Annex 2. Physical violence (female, R-sq = 0,28)

	B	Exp(B)
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,708	2,030
divor* - I think about divorce often.	,772	2,164
lose1** – in case of divorce wife loses more in material status.	,353	1,424
lose2* - in case of divorce wife loses more in habilitation.	,526	1,692
lose10* - in case of divorce wife loses more in sex.	,865	2,374
lose14** - in case of divorce wife loses more in self-worth.	-,648	,523
fr* – violence takes place in families of friends and relatives.	,756	2,129
no_inf* - no information about crisis centers.	,830	2,293
sciel* – wife does not want to find support in external centers (police, crisis centers), though she knows about them	1,390	4,015
long_m11* - spouses live together more than 16 years.	,561	1,753

Annex 3. Psychological violence (female, R-sq = 0,21)

	B	Exp(B)
lose2** - in case of divorce wife loses more in habilitation.	,485	1,624
fr* - violence takes place in families of friends and relatives.	,444	1,559
no_inf* - no information about crisis centers.	,634	1,885
sciel* - wife does not want to find support in external centers (police, crisis centers), though she knows about them	1,078	2,940
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,621	1,861
divor* - I think about divorce often.	1,544	4,682
lose4* - in case of divorce wife loses more in leisure opportunities.	,610	1,841
lose7* - in case of divorce wife loses more in respect from other people.	,973	2,646
lose13*** - in case of divorce wife loses more in working opportunities.	-,371	,690
o_m** - family is in official marriage	,436	1,547
paren*** - quarrels of wife's parents finished by fight or scandal	,401	1,493

Annex 4. All sorts of violence
(female, R-sq = 0,25)

	B	Exp(B)
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,653	1,921
divor* - I think about divorce often.	1,529	4,612
lose2* - in case of divorce wife loses more in habilitation.	,631	1,880
lose4** - in case of divorce wife loses more in leisure opportunities.	,519	1,680
lose7** - in case of divorce wife loses more in respect from other people.	,670	1,955
lose10* - in case of divorce wife loses more in sex.	,782	2,185
fr* - violence takes place in families of friends and relatives.	,569	1,766
no_inf* - no information about crisis centers.	,906	2,475
sciel* - wife does not want to find support in external centers (police, crisis centers), though she knows about them	1,588	4,893
ac_v** - wife does not criticize family violence	,343	1,409
long_m7** - spouses live together more than 10 years.	-,324	,723
long_m6*** - spouses live together more than 21 years.	,272	1,312

Annex 5. Sexual violence
(male, R-sq = 0,2)

	B	Exp(B)
divor* - I think about divorce often.	2,156	8,636
o_m** - family is in official marriage	-,706	,493
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	1,157	3,181
ac_v* - husband does not criticize family violence	,970	2,639
paren* - quarrels of husband's parents finished by fight or scandal	1,259	3,523

Annex 6. Physical violence
(male, R-sq = 0,17)

	B	Exp(B)
lose1* - in case of divorce husband loses more in material status.	,664	1,942
lose2*** - in case of divorce husband loses more in habilitation.	-,367	,693
lose5** - in case of divorce husband loses more in everyday life	,407	1,502
lose6*** - in case of divorce husband loses more in social status.	,476	1,609
divor* - I think about divorce often.	1,810	6,109
h_educ** - husband has higher education	-,420	,657
phyc*** - husband is under psychiatrist's observation	1,029	2,800
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,912	2,488
relig* - spouses are religious	-,564	,569
intensiv** - wife's work is rather more intensive than husband's	-,418	,658
income* - husband's income is rather higher than wife's.	,462	1,587
ac_v* - husband does not criticize family violence	,436	1,547
paren* - quarrels of husband's parents finished by fight or scandal	1,076	2,932

Annex 7. Psychological violence
(male, R-sq = 0,15)

	B	Exp(B)
lose3*** - in case of divorce husband loses more in opportunity to communicate with children.	,248	1,281
ad_rel*** - other relatives apart from spouses and their children (younger than 18)	,230	1,258
pris** - husband or other member of household was imprisoned.	1,369	3,932
h_educ** - husband has higher education	-,373	,689
phyc*** - husband is under psychiatrist's observation	1,541	4,667
o_m* - family is in official marriage	-,725	,484
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,655	1,925
fr* - violence takes place in families of friends and relatives.	1,038	2,825
relig* - spouses are religious	,388	1,474
intensiv* - wife's work is rather more intensive than husband's	-,651	,521
gap_4* - wife is 3-5 years younger than husband.	,319	1,375
long_child** - partners live together without children 5 years or more	,376	1,457

Annex 8. All sorts of violence
(male, R-sq = 0,15)

	B	Exp(B)
lose1* - in case of divorce husband loses more in material status..	,696	2,006
lose2*** - in case of divorce husband loses more in material status.	-,327	,721
lose3** - in case of divorce husband loses more in opportunity to communicate with children.	,384	1,469
intensiv* - wife's work is rather more intensive than husband's	-,705	,494
income** - husband's income is rather higher than wife's.	,325	1,384
h_educ** - husband has higher education	-,341	,711
pris*** - husband or other member of household was imprisoned.	,990	2,691
ac_v** - husband does not criticize family violence	,311	1,365
fr* - violence takes place in families of friends and relatives.	1,070	2,914
divor*** - I think about divorce often.	1,320	3,745
o_m* - family is in official marriage	-,596	,551
alc* - husband abuses alcohol (drunk more than once a month).	,684	1,982
long_child*** - partners live together without children 5 years or more	,402	1,495