

Gender Violence in Matrilineal Society: A Study on Meghalaya

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ABSTRACT: *Violence against women (VAW) is a common phenomenon in male dominated orthodox Indian society. Within patriarchy, Meghalaya an Indian state caters matrilineal society where women become the legal heir of the property. Current study based on the project funded by ICSSR attempts to find out whether any sort of VAW exists in this society, and if any, the reasons for such incidence. Women in this state found to experience both domestic and community violence though the rate of domestic violence is higher than community violence. Besides structured questions, women are asked about the reason for VAW. Addressing those, policy makers can adopt effective measures to tackle the issue of VAW in the matrilineal society.*

KEYWORDS: *Women, violence, matrilineal society, Meghalaya,*

I. Introduction

Violence against women is observed globally across different class, culture and creed. However, the worst manifestations are observed in South Asia a most gender-sensitive region in the world [1]. Violence against women (VAW) is defined as “any act of gender-based violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” [2]. Women experience numerous forms of VAW such as gender-based abortion, female infanticide, child neglect, sexual intimidation, rape, domestic violence, burden of work, rejection of healthcare facilities, abuse and neglect of older women etc. throughout their life [3]. Consequently, gender-based violence leads to long-term mental and physical problems like disability or death. It is also a violation of human rights to safety and security [4]. However, this is not just an incident that persists within patriarchy but also observed in the matrilineal society [5].

VAW is a clear personification of inferior social status occupied by women. It is used as a tool to strengthen and maintain gender roles as well as to punish women who transgress the social norms. Therefore, domestic violence is justified for the wives who are unable to perform their wifely/motherly duties properly. Another reason for increasing trend of VAW is insufficient social and legal actions, as well as the failure to implant existing pro-women policies [4]. After several dowry deaths in late 1980s, domestic violence commenced to be considered as a criminal act in India, as a result several legislative measures are adopted by Indian Government such as 498A of the Indian Penal Code, 304, IPC (1961), Dowry Prohibition Act (1961), etc. [6]. VAW is an alarming gender issue, deeply connected to the social organizations of the society where women become the victim of marital violence and men are frequently identified as perpetrators [7,8,9,10]. Generally, women experience

verbal, emotional, physical and psychological violence that are linked to traditional gender expectations and power imbalances within relationships.

It is expected that women in matrilineal society should not experience any sort of VAW, but several reports ratify about the prevalence of such incidence. Meghalaya is a state in northeast India and is mainly inhabited by Khasi, Jaintia, and Garo tribes who are mostly Christian by religion. This state is known for its unique matrilineal social structure where lineage, inheritance and residence after marriage are traced through women. They enjoy equal rights, opportunities and freedom to earn and support their family [11]. Very few studies on gender violence are found in matrilineal society. In this context, current study aims to assess the nature and extent of violence against women (VAW) if any in Meghalaya and identify the underlying reasons for such incidence. It seeks to fill the gap in research by exploring how matrilineal social structures influence gender dynamics that contribute to VAW.

II. Literature Review

Majority of the study on VAW are conducted within patriarchal societies where women with unstable employment mostly experience intimate partner violence [12]. Usually, orthodox men follow traditional gender norms and use violence as a weapon to control women [13]. Additionally, male-centric structural arrangements in social, political, and economic organization provides lesser access and lower accountability to women [14]. This structural setup promotes systemic subordination of women, ensuing increase in VAW. According to the control theory, husbands develop standards of satisfaction for domination of their wives and children [15]. When this domination is threatened, they feel deprived and suffer from psychic distress which generates uncontrolled rage among men. This instigates them to beat their wives to restore control on them. Women experience violence if they earn relatively more than their husbands [16,17]. Similar findings are found in an Austrian survey where women are subjected to larger partner violence if they earn more than their husbands. Moreover, an inverse association is observed between socio-economic status and intimate partner violence [18,19].

Gender-based violence emerges as an alarming issue in Meghalaya [20,21], while, Bhowmik pinpoint the consequences of VAW on women's health. Gradual encroachment of patriarchal influence leads to undermine the traditional strong roles of women in Meghalaya thereby leading to VAW which may be reduced by enhancing legal protections and cultural reassessment [22].

III. Methodology

3.1 Data

Present study is a part of the project 'Gender Violence in India: Its Roots, Nature and Extent' funded by Indian Council of Social Science Research, 2016-18. This survey concentrates on the married couples of two Indian States namely West Bengal and Meghalaya. Current study concentrates only on the married women of Meghalaya covering the age group 15- 80 years. From each selected household one married couple is selected for interrogation. To avoid non response, both husband and wife are simultaneously interviewed in separate room. This enables wife to answer freely without any interference.

3.2 Sampling design

Meghalaya is divided into three administrative divisions namely Khasi, Jaintia, and Garo Hills. Each division includes several Community Development (CD) Blocks. Based on the population size, population density per square kilometer, sex ratio, literacy rate, and percentage of main workers, CD Blocks in each of the three divisions are classified into two categories: (i) advance and (ii) backward. From each division, one advance and one backward CD Block are randomly selected. Thus, Mawphlang and Mawkynrew are selected as advance and backward block from Khasi Hills Division. Similarly, Amlarem and Thadlaskein are selected as advance and backward block from Jaintia Hills Division. Also Rongram and Dambo Rongjeng are selected as advance and backward block from Garo Hills Division. Two villages are selected randomly from the list of villages under each of the selected block. Thus, twelve villages are selected for the study. Among the few, six towns are selected in

Meghalaya, and from each selected town three to four wards are covered depending on the number of wards available in that town.

3.3 Methods

Multi-stage sampling procedures are followed to assess VAW. Depending on the nature, all types of violence committed against women are classified into six groups (Table A1) namely (1) verbal abuse (2) threats (3) Neglect, isolation and control (4) economic exploitation (5) physical assault and (6) sexual assault.

Chi-square test is conducted to identify the association between VAW and various socio-economic factors. Besides, binary logistic regression is carried out to pinpoint the specific factors that are responsible for violence.

3.4 Computation of awareness index

Awareness index (AI) is computed based on the statements given in Table A2. All the responses appeared as 1= indifferent, 2= don't know and 3= agree. AI is obtained by summing the score and then dividing the total by the number of questions answered. Then AI is classified as low, medium and high using the formula $(\text{maximum} - \text{minimum})/3$.

3.5 Computation of childhood experience of violence

Childhood Experience Index (CHI) is computed based on the statements mentioned in Table A3. All the answers appear as 1 = Often, 2 = somewhat, and 3 = never. CHI is obtained by summing the score and then dividing the total by the number of questions answered. CHI is subsequently-classified as Good, moderate, and poor.

3.6 Profile

Meghalaya is one of the eight states of north-east India where matrilineal society prevails. It is a land locked territory sharing its international boundary with Bangladesh. It is predominantly a home to tribal population consists of three major tribes namely Khasi, Jaintia and Garo. Present study covers total 673 women in Meghalaya of which, 249 are taken from rural and 424 from urban areas (Table 1). Majority of the women in Meghalaya are Christian (83%), very few are Muslim (10%) and Hindu (7%). By caste demarcation, 84 percent women are Scheduled Tribe (ST), 11 percent are Schedule Caste (SC), and rest 4 percent belongs to General caste. On an average, 48 percent households have 1-4 member family. Majority of the households earn less than Rs. 50,000/-. Only 6 percent household earn more than Rs. 50,000/-. By literacy, about 21 percent women are illiterate or barely literate, 51 percent women have Primary to Secondary level education, and only 28 percent women opt for higher level education. It is revealed from the study that 42 percent women in Meghalaya do not opt for job. Among the employed, majority of women are either daily labour or engaged in agriculture (28%) followed by sales and/or clerical (22%), and professional and/or managerial (9%) jobs. Due to the influence of Christianity, love marriage (77%) is common in Meghalaya followed by arranged marriage (23%).

IV. Findings

4.1 NCRB Findings

According to NCRB report, crime against women in Meghalaya increases from 571 to 685 over the period 2018 to 2021 (Table 2). Thus, rate of total crime against women increased from 36 percent to 42 percent during the period 2018 to 2021. Except the cases of assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty, other crimes including rape increases, thereby leading to rise in proportion of IPC crimes over the period 2018 to 2021. Incident of cruelty by husbands and relatives rises from 1.1 percent to 1.3 percent between the periods 2018 to 2021. Rape cases decreased from 6 to 5 percent over the period 2018 to 2021 but, attempt to commit rape cases increased by 0.2 percent during this period. Kidnapping and abducting of women for forced marriage increased by one percent during 2018-2021. Meghalaya is free from dowry deaths in 2021 but women's abetment of suicide cases increases by 0.1 percent during this period. However, the case of insult modesty of women increases from one percent in

2018 to 2 percent during 2021. No cases of acid attack are found in Meghalaya but compared to 2018 case of miscarriage increases by 0.1 percent in 2021.

4.2 Study Findings

Women in Meghalaya experience both the domestic and community violence, but majority of them (28 %) are subject to domestic violence (Table 3). Compared to urban (22%), rural women (37%) are more prone to domestic violence. Not only that, rural women face each type of violence at a higher rate than their urban counterpart. Majority of the women declare that they have never experience or witness any sort of community violence. About 11 percent women admit that they become the victim of community violence; another 13 percent women reported that they have witnessed some women to face the same violence. Commonly, women are subject to molestation in Meghalaya followed by rape or other types of violence. About 10 percent women experience molestation in their lifetime and 11 percent has seen other women to be the victim of molestation. Only 0.3 percent and 0.6 percent women disclosed that they have seen women to be the victim of rape and other types of crime.

A Chi-square test is carried out to find the association of various socio-economic factors to VAW. It is revealed that rural-urban difference is significantly related to VAW (Table 4). Rural women experience larger violence than that of urban one. Religion is significantly associated to VAW; it is found that Muslim (13.0%) women experience relatively less VAW than that of Christian (28%) and Hindu (41%). Caste has no significant effect on VAW but age of women is found to be a significant factor. Women aged 36-49 years are more prone to domestic violence (34%) compared to 18–35 years (23%) and above 50 years (25%). Education of women is significantly related to VAW. It is found that women having higher academic qualification experience relatively less violence. Also, women's occupation and duration of marriage are significantly related to VAW. Among the unemployed, around 35 percent women experience VAW whereas, among the employed women who are engaged in agriculture or daily manual (27%) jobs face higher VAW relative to those who are in sales or clerical jobs (22%). Surprisingly, women who are in professional or managerial jobs (10%) also experience VAW.

Marital duration significantly influences VAW where, women (32%) married for 1-15 years, experience maximum VAW compared to those are married for 16-30 years (23%) and 31-52 years (20%).

Additionally, the analysis reveals a surprising pattern concerning family income. Family income is another important factor that regulates VAW. Study depicts that women whose family income is less than Rs. 5000/- per month experience less violence (9%) compared to the families having income Rs.5001 to 10,000/- and more than Rs. 10,000/-. However, VAW is maximum (42%) in the families having income Rs.5001 to 10,000/- which slightly reduces (31%) for the families with income more than Rs. 10,000/-. Besides, women's contribution to family income also acts as a significant causal factor to VAW. Most of the unemployed women (40%) experience VAW. Whereas among the employed, about 22 percent face VAW for not contributing to the family income and that increases for those (23%) who contribute less to more than half and it reduces for those (15%) who have full contribution.

Husband's occupation plays a key role to VAW. Wives (37%) of the husbands who are daily manual or skilled labor experience higher violence than that of are in business (29%) and secured jobs (14%). Rather, wives (20%) of the unemployed husbands are relatively subject to less violence. Regarding relative education, women (36%) who are more educated than their husbands are subject to higher violence than that of have less (26%) or same (21%) education. Women's relative earnings also show a similar pattern to VAW. Wives who earn same (33%) or more (29%) than their husbands are subject to higher violence than that of earn less (16%) than their husband. However, there is no significant association between empowerment levels (low, medium, or high) and VAW, as indicated by the Chi-square result.

Study corroborates that women's childhood experience of violence enormously influences the endurance of violence in their adulthood. About 40 percent women with poor childhood and 61 percent with moderate childhood tolerate violence in their adult life. Surprisingly, 15 percent women having good childhood also endure violence in their adulthood.

It is perceived that women (73%) with low awareness mostly experience VAW and it decreases as their level of awareness towards social relations among men and women increases from moderate to high.

Logistic regression analysis is carried out to pinpoint the triggering factors that are responsible for VAW. In this regard, factors that are found to have significant association to VAW through chi-square test are taken into account. It is found that rural urban difference, age, education, occupation, duration of marriage, family income, occupation of husband, earning relative to husband, childhood experience and awareness towards social relations have significant influence on VAW (Table 5). Rural women are likely to experience higher violence compared to those in urban areas. VAW varies proportionately with their age. However, it reduces as their level of education and occupation increases. Further, with increase in marital duration, violence against women reduces. It is to note that VAW increases along with the enhancement of family income. Normally, violence against women reduces with increase in their husband's level of occupation but if employed wives earn more than their husbands then VAW on them increases noticeably. A move from poor to good childhood reduces violence against women in their married life. Besides, violence reduces along with the increase in awareness of women about social relations.

Above findings confirm the prevalence of VAW in matrilineal society but in search of the reasons, women are also asked to provide their opinion regarding the causes of VAW. To them, alcoholism of men, excessive freedom and provocative dress patterns of women, lack of education, male chauvinism, imitation of Western culture, social moral degradation, loneliness, delayed legal process are the main causes of VAW (Table 6).

V. Discussion

Meghalaya is known for its unique matrilineal social structure where women enjoy better economic control, higher social participation, rights to property inheritance and greater influence over decision-making processes [23]. Still, women are excluded from major family and political decision-making due to the presence of structural patriarchy within the matrilineal society. In fact, female cannot take any important decision without men's consent. Besides, women have no property selling right [24].

Irrespective to the type of society, rural women always endure higher violence than urban one. Possibly, urban women are more aware about their rights and responsibilities than that of rural folks. Besides, low education, lower category jobs and widespread alcoholism among men with aspiration for property rights leads to VAW. Additionally, age, education, and employment status are strongly responsible for VAW in Meghalaya. Women aged 36-49 years are more prone to domestic violence compared to those in younger or older age groups, possibly due to specific marital dynamics or caregiving responsibilities their control on family loosens. Also VAW is higher among the illiterate women and it reduces with increase in level of education from medium to high. Perhaps, higher education generates awareness, self-confidence, and self-esteem among the women that help them to fight against violence. Employed women in Meghalaya are considered as the primary breadwinners of the family hence, they usually-experience lesser violence. Generally, majority of the women in Meghalaya earn for the family, therefore, unemployed women are considered to be dependent of the family and are subject to VAW, this contradicts to that of patriarchal societies, where unemployed women endure less violence than employed one [25]. However, better category jobs failed to protect women from violence.

Women in Meghalaya face maximum violence during their first 15 years of marriage may be during this period they have less maturity to tackle family affairs that leads to repeated conflicts and invites VAW. Surprisingly, VAW escalates in Meghalaya along with rise in family income. Probably, in very low income group both the couples are busy with life struggle hence; they have less time for conflict. Whereas, with increase in family income leisure time increases, as a result, different issues arise as a topic of conflict that instigate VAW. Furthermore, occupation of the husband is a key determinant of VAW. Women whose husbands are mainly daily manual or skilled labor report more violence even more than the wives of unemployed husband. Possibly, husband's petite earning from low level jobs, alcoholism and unsatisfied demand due to poverty and despair instigate them to be more violent. Conversely, unemployed husbands are completely dependent on their wives and that restrict them to be violent. Surprisingly, wives whose husbands are engaged in high-level jobs also report

for experiencing abuse, may be it is the manifestation of husband's job related anger, stress and frustration on their wives. Besides, men have no property rights nor they are the main breadwinner, therefore, they have less importance in the family that generates VAW.

Generally, employed women experience relatively less violence but the scenario changes if women earn relatively more than their husbands, may be such income imbalances create tension among the spouses and that lead to VAW [25,26].

Noticeably, women who experienced violence in their childhood are found to accept VAW without protest in their adulthood. Probably they are habituated to accept violence as a normal phenomenon in their life. Consequently, rate of VAW among these women seems to be higher than those who won't experience any sort of childhood violence.

Despite living in a matrilineal society with enough privileges, women are found to be the victim of violence due to poverty, absence of basic amenities and poor standard of living, etc. [20,27]. All the above mentioned factors collectively lead to VAW in Meghalaya.

VI. Conclusion

It is expected that women in matrilineal society of Meghalaya will be free from VAW but surprisingly it is found that they also experience VAW. Reason for this paradox is existence of the matrilineal society within the patriarchal structure. Various reports on Meghalaya indicate that there is an alarming rise in domestic and community violence against women. In general, women hold the property rights, but men retain control over public and administrative decisions, which significantly contributes to the prevalent VAW.

Discussions with Block Development Officers (BDOs) and respondents reveal that both men and women are ready to accept patriarchal form of society because women aim to shift some family responsibilities including earning onto men whereas men seek the property right.

To combat VAW government and NGOs should implement awareness programs to change societal attitudes towards women. Increasing educational and employment opportunities for both men and women, along with addressing the issue of alcoholism are essential steps in tackling gender violence. Additionally, integrating gender equality training from childhood can help to mitigate the influence of cultural norms. Awareness should be generated among women about safe use of internet and social media to avoid mingling with unknown individuals thereby reducing the chance of VAW. Moreover, imparting moral values among children by their parents may help to tackle this social problem. Administration must act swiftly and transparently in handling the cases of violence so that perpetrators are held accountable and justice is served without undue delays.

Addressing the root causes of VAW expressed by women may help to adopt effective policies. Training girls and women in self-defense can also empower them to protect themselves. Further, a comprehensive approach including education, enforcement of effective laws, economic stability and social awareness create a safer environment for women.

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Tables

Table1: Socioeconomic features of women in Meghalaya, 2016-2018

Factors	Categories	Meghalaya
Total no. of women surveyed		673
Place of residence (Number)	Rural Urban	37.0 63.0
Religion	Christian Hindu Muslim	82.5 7.3 10.3
Caste	Schedule tribe Schedule caste General	84.4 11.3 4.3
Household size	1-4 members 5 & more members	48.3 51.7
Family income:	Less than Rs. 50000 Rs. 50000 and above	94.2 5.8
Education of the respondent	Low (Illiterate) Medium (Primary to secondary) High (Higher secondary & above)	21.2 51.1 27.6
Occupation of the respondent	Unemployed Agricultural/daily labour Clerical/sales Professional/managerial	41.5 27.8 21.8 8.9
Type of marriage	Love marriage Arrange marriage	76.8 23.2

Source: Survey data

Table 2: Percentage share of crime against women by type in Meghalaya

Types of crime	Rate	
	2018	2021
Case reported	571	685
Percentage state share to all India (2018 & 2021)	0.2	0.15
Rate of total crime against women (2018 & 2021*)	35.7	41.7
Cruelty by husband or his relatives	1.1	1.3
Kidnapping and abduction of women (Total)	3.6	3.7
Assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty (Total)	6.0	5.6
Rape	5.5	4.6
Attempt to commit rape	1.4	1.6

Kidnapping and abduction of women to compel her into marriage (Total)	0.4	0.5
Dowry deaths (Sec 304B IPC)	0.1	0.0
Abetment of suicide of women (Sec 305/306 IPC)	0.0	0.1
Insult modesty of women	1.0	1.5
Acid attack (Sec 326A IPC)	0.0	0.0
Miscarriage (Sec 301 & 314 IPC)	0.0	0.1

Source: National Crime Records Bureau Report (NCRB), 2018 and 2021 Note: (1) Crime Rate is calculated as Crime per one lakh of population.

Table 3: Percentage of women experience violence by type in Meghalaya, 2016-18

Types of abuse	Rural/Urban			Community violence		
	Rural	Urban	Overall		Faced	Seen
Domestic violence	36.9	22.2	186	Number	74 (11.0)	85 (12.6)
Verbal abuse	20.5	10.6	96	Molestation	64 (9.6)	71 (10.7)
Threats	14.1	8.5	71	Rape	01 (0.2)	02 (0.3)
Neglect, control & isolation	32.5	18.4	159	Others	0.2	04 (0.6)
Economic control	13.7	3.8	50	Total	665	665
Physical assault	20.1	9.4	90			
Sexual assault	1.6	1.4	10			
Total	249	424	673			

Source: survey data Note: figures in parenthesis state the percentage

Table 4: Relationship between Socio-Demographic Factors and VAW in Meghalaya, 2016-18

Associated factors		VI			Chi-square Value
		Number	Total	%	
Residence type	Rural	92	249	36.9	17.13**
	Urban	94	424	22.2	
	Total	186	673		
Religion	Hindu	20	49	40.8	11.72**
	Muslim	09	69	13.0	
	Christian	157	555	28.3	
	Total	186	673		
Caste	General	12	29	41.4	4.40
	SC and OBC	16	76	21.1	
	ST	158	568	27.8	
	Total	186	673		
Age	18-35	76	328	23.2	8.80**
	36-49	92	272	33.8	
	50 & above	18	73	24.7	
	Total	186	673		
Education	Low (Illiterate)	62	143	43.4	27.93**
	Medium (Primary to secondary)	92	344	26.7	
	High(Higher secondary & above)	32	186	17.2	
	Total	186	673		

Occupation	Unemployed	98	279	35.1	19.76**
	Agricultural/daily labour	50	187	26.7	
	Sales,clerical, etc.	32	147	21.8	
	Professional, managerial etc.	06	60	10.0	
	Total	186	673		
Duration of marriage	1-15 years	121	382	31.7	7.33*
	16-30 years	57	251	22.7	
	31-52 years	8	40	20.0	
	Total	186	673		
Family income (Rs)	Less than 5000	17	196	8.7	56.78**
	5001 to 10000	88	212	41.5	
	More than 10000	81	265	30.6	
	Total	186	673		
Contribution to family income	Unemployed	89	223	39.9	27.49**
	No contribution	16	71	22.5	
	Less to more than half	68	292	23.3	
	Full contribution	13	87	14.9	
Husband's occupation	Unemployed	20	99	20.2	26.95**
	Daily manual /Skilled lab	100	273	36.6	
	Business	46	159	28.9	
	Employed (Secured jobs)	20	142	14.1	
	Total	186	673		
Wife's education relative to husband	Less	77	294	26.2	10.99**
	Same	40	188	21.3	
	More	69	191	36.1	
	Total	186	673		
Women's earning relative to husband	Less	34	208	16.3	19.51**
	Same	142	430	33.0	
	More	10	35	28.6	
	Total	186	673		
Empowerment	Low	24	76	31.6	0.90
	Medium	114	431	26.5	
	High	46	164	28.0	
Childhood experience	Poor	02	05	40.0	142.52**
	Moderate	113	186	60.8	
	Good	71	482	14.7	
	Total	186	673		
Awareness	Low	16	22	72.7	42.11**
	Moderate	162	552	29.3	
	High	8	99	8.1	
	Total	186	673		

Source: survey data Note: ** implies significant at 1% level and * means significant at 5% level

Table 5: Influence of Causal Factors on VAW in Meghalaya, 2016-2018

Casual Factors	B
Rural-Urban	-1.166**
Age of women	.539**

Education of women	-.580**
Occupation of women	-.348**
Marital duration	-.891**
Family income	.963**
Occupation of husband	-.394**
Women's earning relative to their husband	.552**
Childhood experience	-1.592**
Awareness of women towards social relationship	-1.106**

Source: Survey data. Note: ** implies significant at 1% level and * implies significant at 5% level

Table 6: Perception of Women about the Root Causes of VAW in Meghalaya, 2016-18

Casual Factors for domestic violence	Casual Factors for domestic violence
1. Alcoholism of men 2. Provoking Dress pattern of female 3. Excessive freedom of female 4. Lack of education 5. Male Chauvinism 6. Imitating Western culture 7. Increasing consumerism 8. Unemployment/frustration/poverty 9. TV/mobile/social media/face book/many friends	10. Hangout with unknown male friends/late night party 11. Social moral degradation 12. Lack of street light/lack of safety/unsafe environment 13. Adamant behavior of female & male 14. Weak administration/administrative negligence 15. Loneliness/ignorance/selfish attitude 16. Extra marital affairs

Source: survey data

APPENDIX

TABLE A1. Violence committed against women are classified according to their nature as follows

Violence category	Variables related to
Verbal Abuse (VA)	(i) insult in front of others, (ii) call as stupid/crazy/irrational, and (iii) accuse of cheating, (iv) criticise/taunt spiritual beliefs
Threats (TH)	threats to (i) hurt/harm, (ii) take away their children from women, (iii) make bad reputations, (iv) abuse loved ones and (v) commit suicide.
Neglect, isolation, control and spiritual abuse (NICS)	(i) treat as unimportant, (ii) disallow to visit doctors alone, (iii) lock in the room without phone, (iv) disallow to work or stay at her own will, (v) isolate by keeping away from relatives/friends, (vi) restrict leisure time and activities, (vii) restrict dress code, (viii) restrict to whom visit/talk over phone, (ix) had forceful access to respondent's personal belongings, (x) overhear while talking to someone/through phone, (xi) restrict to meet male friends/colleagues, (xii) restrict to visit temple of own choice, (xiii) force to join/stay in a cult
Economic Exploitation (EE)	(i) disallow to spend own money, (ii) force to spend all her own income & savings, (iii) spouse willingly accept the type of job done, (iv) exert control on own property (v) use credit/ATM card without permission
Physical Assault (PHA)	(i) push/shake/throw something, (ii) twist arm/pull hair/slap (iii) punch with fist/something to hurt, (iv) kick/drag/beat, (v) attack with knife/gun/any other weapon (vi) torture out of sexual jealousy
Sexual assault (SA)	(i) force to make merry with other person, (ii) force to abort/have surgery to prevent pregnancy

Source: Survey data Note: All the violence related answers appears as yes, no or don't know.

TABLE A2: Questions regarding attitude of women towards social relationship

1.Women has the right to express their opinion	9. Women's most important role is to take care of her home and her family
2.Employed couples should share household chores	10.Women must be submissive in the family & society
3.Women can work outside home, even if the family does not need money	11.There are times when a women deserve to be beaten
4.Opportunity of male decreases when female enter into job market	12.Men should have final word about household decisions
5.Giving rights to women leads to decrease of controlling power of men	13.Women should tolerate violence to keep family together
6.When a woman is raped, she is sometimes responsible	14.If someone insults you, you will defend your reputation by force
7.Women's provoking dresses sometimes responsible	15.Men are superior to women
8. In most of the cases, some women are responsible for violence on women	16. Presence of more wife cannot be the reason of VAW
	17. Chance of violence on women increases due to extra marital relation

Source: Survey Data

TABLE A3. Childhood experience of violence

Questions	Responses
1. You are taught to accept superiority of the male members of the family	(i) Often (ii) Sometimes (iii) Never
2.You saw/heard your mother being beaten by her husband	
3.You were insulted/humiliated in the family in front of other people	
4.You were slapped/beaten by your parents or adults at home	
5.Your parents were too drunk to take care of you	
6.You were threatened with physical punishment at home	
7.You were molested by someone at school/other places	
8.You have been followed by a man in a way that frightened you	
9.Felt uncomfortable by someone's inappropriate comments about your body	
10.have been forced/attempted to any sexual activity by threatening/holding down/ hurting you in some way by male	