

VIOLENCE IN MARITAL DISPUTES: A MEAN TO CONTROL WOMEN IN URBAN AREAS OF PAKISTAN

Shahla Tabassum*
Rukhsana Hasan**

Abstract

This study explores the implications of marital disputes on women. Radical Feminist theory remains the core theoretical lens to see violence as consequence of disputes to control women in marital relationship. For the present study, the sample size was selected by using two stage sampling procedure. The sample size was calculated 400 married women through systematic random sampling technique but only 318 married women participated. The tool used was self-structured close ended questionnaire for cross sectional survey of sampled population. It was found that, 98% women experience disputes during their marital life indicating marital conflict an acceptable social occurrence. The results further indicate that counterargument in disputes may result in violence, both verbal and physical. Radical feminist believed that challenging men's authority is perceived as a threat to their masculinity, thus men resort to violence in order to maintain their dominance.

Keywords: Women, Marital disputes, Violence, Control.

Introduction

The paper examines the complexity of violence in marital dispute and the way extent of violence is used to control women. In all kinds of relationships, even healthy ones, people face issues, differences and conflicts. People's behavior and actions during such arguments or conflicts distinguishes healthy relationships from unhealthy ones. In a healthy relationship there is no fear of physical or verbal abuse, therefore individuals discuss and attempt to resolve the issue. However, in an unhealthy relationship there is

*Shahla Tabassum, Assistant Professor, Department of Gender Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi. shahlasuhail@hotmail.com

**Rukhsana Hasan, Assistant Professor, Department of Gender Studies, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi. rukhsana1960@yahoo.ca

always a threat of violence and usually there are personal insults accompanied with yelling and abusive language. A recently published report in Daily English newspaper 'Dawn' by Faiza Illayas on November 6th 2016, has documented that every second women in Pakistan experience domestic violence of some form. The report has further indicated, "...prevalence of domestic abuse in Pakistan ranges from 21% to 50% and generally women suffer violence over conflict with husbands and in-laws, and mostly during the period of financial crisis." The previous literature on the current subject matter reveals that intimate partner violence/spousal abuse, is the most common form of domestic violence in many societies of the world, and is defined as any form of abuse that takes place in a relationship between adults (Hajnasiri, Gheshlagh, Sayehmiri, Moafi & Farajzadeh, 2016). In separate researches, Zakar et al (2013) and Nasrullah et al (2009), have also documented high percentage of domestic violence in Pakistan. According to the 2010 report of Aurat foundation there were 608 reported cases of domestic violence in Pakistan in 2009 (<http://www.af.org.pk/>). The UN Women (2017) report has also acknowledged that intimate partner abuse has been a major public-health issue affecting more than 2 million women worldwide, and one in three women have encountered physical or sexual abuse — generally by a spouse/partner. As per the statistics published in 2012, 1 among every 2 women, worldwide, has been killed by their partners/families. Domestic violence comes in many forms and varies across spectrum and cuts across class categories (Collins, 2009). According to Population Reports (1999), physical abuse by spouses against wives is from 10% to 50%.

Since, 1980s, domestic/marital violence, is considered to be the world's most serious social issue, cross cutting ethnic, cultural, social, and geographical frontiers and generally endorsed in all societies (Hajnasiri et al., 2016; Moasheri, Miri, Abolhasannejad, Hedayati, & Zangoie, 2012; Tavassoli & Monirifar, 2009), through legal ratification of subjugation of women. As documented by

Bodaghabadi (2007), domestic/marital violence encompasses verbal, sexual, physical, and economic abuse along with divorce and threats of divorce. Scholars have ascribed the occurrence and prevalence of spousal violence to a combination of private and communal aspects, along with wider social behavior.

While discussing the forms and extent of marital violence very few studies have documented the role conflicts/disputes have played in the context of marital abuse. Cox & Demmitt (2013) has documented, that family members believe that conflict happens when what one family member wants is at odd with what one or more family members want. A domestic dispute is any disagreement, especially between husband and wife, on a single issue, or on multiple issues, during their marital relationship, which may or may not include violence. It has also been documented in various researches that disputes/conflicts, between couples, are normal social realities that are essential for a healthy marital life (Asadi, Moghaddam, Hashemian & Akaberi 2013; Mahapatra, 2012; Yount & Li L 2010; Ostenson & Zhang, 2014). Issues related to money, domestic affairs, interpersonal behavior, personal liking and disliking, family matters, food habits, tastes, styles and communication patterns can lead to disputes (Olson & DeFrain, 1994). Apart from these, behavior of husbands, poor communication skills (David. 2014, Dildar, Sitwat & Yasin 2013; D'Souza, Karkada, Somayaji, & Venkatesaperumal, 2013; Samani. 2008), incompatible needs, lack of collaboration in the family, issues related to children and other family members ((Dildar, Sitwat & Yasin, 2013), son preference and rejection of female child, (D'Souza et al., 2013) and family background (Samani, 2008) can also be the causes of marital conflicts.

In Pakistani society, marital disputes are acceptable social reality among married people (Abbott et al., 2006). Generally, in the societies, like Pakistan, disputes are considered constructive in the marital relationship for the development of the couple's harmonious relationship. Gender based socialization, that assist

men to dominate women, and trained women to be docile and to be used as sex objects (Ollenburger & Moore, 1992), also plays an important role in creating marital disputes among couples. Researches have documented that economic responsibility and financial issues are major reasons of marital disputes which in turn may lead to violence in the relationship, according to Bourgois (1996) violence against women becomes a social norm in situations where men can no longer control or economically support their families. Furthermore, Jewkes (2002) has documented a close relationship between spousal conflict, poverty, power and manhood. Elaborating the concept, she cited Gelles (1974), also supported by the findings of Dobash & Dobash, (2011) and Dildar, Sitwat, & Yasin (2013), who believed that generally men living in poverty, because of their inability to fulfill their responsibility of bread winner, are unable to live up to the criteria of “successful” men, hence, in case of disputes, had to resort to violence. Similarly, in many societies, wife is responsible to look after the domestic chores (Abbott, et al., 2006) and if she fails to fulfill her responsibilities due to any reason, including women involvement in the paid economic activity, marital dispute may occur (Christine & Leonard, 1992).

In situations where the disputes begin to verbalize within the family and friends (Shaw & Lee, 2014) the pressure is on the women to adapt to the precarious situation. Hence, encouraging men to depend on the use of force to maintain control (Renzetti et al., 2001), it has already been documented by Brownmiller (1975), in her book “Against our Will: Men, Women and Rape”, that violence is one vehicle for attaining male dominance. Formation of power hierarchies within the family creates a patriarchal structure that may increase the risk of violence against women. This risk of violence exists and keep increasing with in the patriarchal family structure as it reinforce the relationships in which males are accorded higher statuses than females (Anderson, 1997), thus men consider it their right to control women by using different strategies

of violence, what Johnson (1995) refer to "patriarchal terrorism" in his work on intimate partner violence. Keeping this scenario in mind, the study investigate the extent of marital disputes that leads towards violence and how that violence is used as a strategy to control women.

Theoretical Framework

This research uses sociocultural model and radical feminist theory to evaluate patriarchal ideologies that are learned through socialization, and cultural doctrines which have led to the heightened risk of abuse in marital relationships. According to one sociocultural perspective marital violence is a socialized behavior where people are trained to use violence (Stets & Straus, 1990; Straus, 2008) and to conduct violent actions condoned by the family and society (Gelles & Straus, 1988).

Another sociocultural perspective view marital abuse as a form of violence by men to induce fear and to enforce a patriarchal social order in different institutions of society, especially in the family. Scholars have acknowledged that abusive behavior has political support that legitimate male control and domination across multiple levels of society (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Walker, 1979; Pence, 1983; Bograd, 1988). As documented by Archer (2006), in cross cultural analysis, the rate of violence against female partners is higher in societies with greater gender inequality and strong sexist attitudes, indicating that violence is not natural, rather an outcome of patriarchal socialization and gender inequality. It has also been documented that men are overwhelmingly the perpetrators of such crimes and that women are just the sufferers (Mackay, 2015). Radical feminism defines male violence against women as a symptom of patriarchy where such violence is both cause and a consequence of male domination and female subordination. According to Radical feminist theory violence against women is a form of societal control, thus even when targeted violence occurs it affects generally all women. Violence not only restrict women's freedom, liberty and personhood but it also control women's lives, well-being, and self-respect (Mackay, 2015). It explains that the fear of male violence is used to force women to depend on family and male partners. The theory also contests the portrayal of men as protectors of women as it is documented that

women are more at risk from known men at home than someone unknown from outside. Hence, it can be concluded that male violence has nothing to do with nature but it is socially constructed. Males are expected to be aggressive, and exploitative; thus creating a patriarchal system that condones exploitation of women' (Jeffreys et al., 1985).

Methodology

Objectives

- To investigate the causes and frequency of marital disputes among married couples.
- To explore the nature and extent of violence in case of marital disputes.

Material and Method

Survey research method was used to collect the information. A self-designed close ended questionnaire was employed to explore the causes of marital disputes, and extent of violence in cases of marital disputes. The instrument was validated through content, face and criterion validity. Two stage sampling technique was adopted for data collection. Two cities, Lahore and Rawalpindi were selected and from each city two union councils were chosen that were densely populated. Based on the information of local maps, streets and houses were selected to obtain the sample. The criteria used for sample selection was having at least one year marital experience and currently living with their husband. Informed consent was also obtained as well as confidentiality of the respondents was also ensured. There were 4000 houses of four union councils and through systematic random sampling technique 400 married women met the criteria but only 318 married women volunteered to participate in this study. Initially, all the women had given their consent to participate in the study but 82 women changed their decision after going through the questionnaire. At that stage of the research it was difficult to add on other 82 respondents as replacement. The tool was pre-tested and then used for the study. Interviews were conducted within the women's homes by female interviewers in either Urdu or Punjabi language depending upon the language they were fluent in.

Results

In any society, economic characteristics of group members play an important role in developing behavioral pattern. Therefore, it is imperative to explain the economic conditions of the respondents.

Table 1
Monthly family income

Income	Frequency	%
Less than Rs. 20,000/-	149	47
Rs. 20,001- 50,000/-	104	32
Rs. 50,001-80,000/-	41	13
Above Rs. 80,000/-	24	08
Total	318	100

The table 1 specifies that almost 80% of the respondents had total family income of Rs. 50,000/- or less, indicating that majority of the respondents belong to lower income group.

Table 2
Experience Disputes

	Frequency	%
Yes	314	98
No	04	02
Total	318	100

The table #.2 shows that 98% women in their marital life time experience disputes for number of reasons.

Table 3
Frequency of Marital Disputes

MD	Frequency	%
Daily	43	14
Once in a week	54	17
Twice in a week	47	15
Once in a month	86	27
Twice in month	50	16
Every six month or more	34	11
Total	314	100

The table # 3 indicates that the percentage of respondents experiencing disputes is 14, 17, 15, 27, 16 and 11 on daily, weekly, twice a week, once in a month, twice in a month and every sixth month or more, respectively.

Table 4
Reasons of Marital Disputes

Sr. #	Reasons of MD	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Lack of money	177	56	141	44
2	Infertility	47	15	271	85
3	House not cleaned	95	30	223	70
4	Meal not prepared	130	41	188	59
5	Due to behavior of children	151	47	167	53
6	Jealousy	78	25	240	75
7	Loose temper	187	59	131	41
8	Moodiness/irritability	161	51	157	49
9	Irritating behavior	149	47	169	53
10	Infidelity	70	22	248	78
11	Absence from home	109	34	209	66
12	Came late at home	204	64	114	36
13	Due to in-laws	163	51	155	49

The table 4 indicates the reasons of marital disputes, which are, financial issues, (56%), infertility (15%), house not being cleaned properly (30%), meal not prepared on time (41%), behavior of children/family members (47%), Jealousy (25%), husbands' loose temper (59%), the moodiness/irritability of the husband (51%), irritating habits, (47%), infidelity (22%), absence of husbands from home (30%), husbands' late arrival at home (64%), and because of too much involvement of in-laws (51%).

Table 5
Subjected to Abuse

	Type of Abuse	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Verbal abuse*	190	60	128	40
2	Physical abuse**	94	30	224	70

* $\chi^2 (1) = 12.088, P < .001$ ** $\chi^2 (1) = 53.145, P < .000$

The table 5 reveals association between nature of abuse and whether women faced abuse or not. The results indicate significant differences of verbal and physical abuse faced by women during marital disputes.

Table 6
Nature of Threats During Marital Disputes

Sr. #	Nature of Threats	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Remarry	65	20	253	80
2	Separation	54	17	264	83
3	Divorce	57	18	261	82
4	Take away children	40	13	278	87
5	Withhold money	47	15	271	85
6	Threaten to commit suicide	24	8	294	92

The table 6 reveals the threats used by the male partner during disputes to control women. The results show that 20% respondents were vulnerable to the threats of remarry, 18% were threatened with divorce, while threats of separation were faced by 17% of the respondents, 15% have to face the threats of withholding money, 13% were intimidated with the threats to take away their children.

Table 7
Nature of Physical Abuse During Marital Disputes

Sr. #	Physical Abuse	Yes		No	
		F	%	F	%
1	Throw something	86	27	232	73
3	Pushing	87	27	231	73
4	Slapping	94	30	224	70
5	Grabbing	62	19	256	81
6	Twist of arm	63	20	255	80
7	Use of leg	54	17	264	83

The table 7 is about different forms of physical abuse perpetrated during the disputes with the partner. The 30% respondents were subjected to slapping, 27% faced pushing and tossing of something at them, respectively. The rest 20%, 19% and 17% of the respondents had to face twisting of arm, grabbing and kicking by their husbands, respectively.

Discussion

The main objectives of this study were to investigate the causes of marital disputes and to explore the nature and extent of violence in case of marital disputes. It has been discussed that the violence in marital disputes enables men to control women. The participants in

the study belonged to lower income group, (working class) of Lahore and Rawalpindi, having Rs. 50,000/- or less in the form of total family income from all sources. The results showed that 98% of respondents experience disputes in their marital relationship, because it is considered as a normal occurrence in society and this is supported with field observation under study that one of the woman said dispute is, "*Too too maan maan*" skirmishes. Another woman commented that "*mun mari ty hoee jandy aye*", "minor skirmishes do occur in the relationship". An old woman observed that "*dwo pandey hawoon gay, ohoey thee karkaan gay*", i.e., "where there are two utensils they will make noise", implying that when people live together, they will have difference of opinion or argument. Another respondent discussing the importance of dispute said, "*Adee nal tee piar da pata chalada aye*", i.e., "these disputes indicates the love the couple have for each other". Several other studies have also supported these results that considered marital disputes a natural and normal behavior in the society (Asadi, Moghaddam, Hashemian & Akaberi 2013; Mahapatra, 2012; Yount & Li L 2010; Ostenson & Zhang, 2014, Anderson, 1997) indicating that disputes are common social realities and are valuable for a healthy marital life. Olson and DeFrain (1994) explained that conflict is not only acceptable but highly desirable if it is constructive for meaningful relationship, while Abbott et al. (2005) was of the view that although marital disputes are considered to be a part of a normal behavior, yet marital disputes are more acceptable for men than for women.

The frequency of the disputes was different as it was highest on monthly basis and the rest was divided almost equally on daily, weekly, and fortnightly basis. The major reasons for marital disputes, cited by the respondents, was loose temper, the moodiness & irritating behavior of the husband, and finance related issues, these reasons are also supported by the previous researches (David. 2014, Dildar, Sitwat & Yasin 2013; D'Souza, Karkada, Somayaji, & Venkatesaperumal, 2013; Samani. 2008) as well as by Olson and DeFrain (1994) who have highlighted four reasons of conflict in marital relationship, i.e., money, family issues, communication styles and personal tastes. The study by Jewkes (2002) has also documented that there is a close relationship between marital conflict, poverty, power and manhood. Results

strengthened the claim by Gelles (1974) that due to poverty men were unable to live up to their ideas of "successful" manhood, thus leading to conflict and violence against women.

The results of the study have also indicated that different forms of psychological violence were used by the husbands during marital disputes, like threats of divorce, remarriage, separation, economic pressures like withholding money because of their control over financial resources as majority of the respondents were economically dependent on them. Leone et al. (2004) who have documented that in some cases women do not experience physical violence in their relationship but they are more prone to psychological distress, and economic violence. This is also supported by the work of Johnson (1995) who argued that various forms of threats, economic subordination, isolation and other control tactics during marital disputes have resulted in different forms of violence, which according to him is the product of the patriarchal tradition of a man's right to control his woman.

As discussed above, based on the responses of the participants, psychological and verbal abuse, including accusations of infidelity, was a common occurrence. These were the tactics husbands use to stop them from counter argument. This is supported by Radical feminist theory that states male dominance in marital relationship maintain authority through the subjugation of women and violence is one means for achieving it (Brownmiller, 1975). It is further argued that the oppression of women is a sex-based class phenomenon. Renzetti et al., (2001) have also discussed the relationship between the ideology of violence and masculinity and mentioned that men are more prone to depend on the use of power to retain control over women. Radical feminist believed that male dominance is structured into the institution of family/marriage, as it reproduces and reinforce asymmetrical power relations in the society. Also supported by Abbott et al. (2005) that families embody power relationships that generally result in conflict, abuse and unequal distribution of work and resources. Conway-Turner & Cherrine (1998) believed that marital relationship prescribed women with roles that consolidate women's subordinate position thus creating conditions for female oppression within the family. It is the ideology of male dominance, which legitimizes the use of force

in relationship, and where women themselves reconfirmed male authority/power.

The causes of conflicts leading to domestic violence are complex; however, in order to understand the relationship between marital conflicts and domestic violence, Jewkes (2002) has specified two important factors, i.e, unequal situation of women in a particular relationship and normative use of abuse in case of dispute. In many societies, especially where women lack the social and economic ability to leave the relationship and return to their family or live alone, have severely curtailed their ability to act against an abuser. Normative nature of violence, reinforced during childhood experiences, increases the likelihood of male perpetration and women's acceptance of abuse.

Conclusion

Disputes are a common occurrence in the marital relationship and it is an acceptable reality but to what extent these dispute transform into domestic violence was the issue to be explored in the research. It has been documented that various forms of violence are used to control women. The study has specified various reasons for marital disputes ranging from moodiness of the husband, poverty, interference of the in-laws, infertility, infidelity and not performing household chores while extent and frequency of violence varies based on the reason of dispute. The disputes may trigger and become violent if women counter argue with the husband. Generally, when the husband is unable to control the situation, he resorts to violent tactics, either verbal or physical, to exert his power. Results have indicated that along with verbal abuse and threats, different coercive tactics are also utilized to control women, which in some cases, culminate into physical violence. If reasons of conflict are analyzed, then it becomes clear that conflicts about transgressions of gender norms and failure to fulfill cultural stereotypes of good womanhood are among the most important variables for violence in case of marital relationship. During and after disputes generally, the pressure is on women to resolve the issue and keep the relationship intact. The structure of the society keeps reinforcing the submission of women. It is vital to create awareness about the complex web of patriarchy that benefit the system, especially the few who control the system. The system can

be reformed if a clear understanding is developed about the complexity of patriarchy and its effect on both men and women. Cross-cultural research suggests that societies with stronger ideologies of male dominance have more cases of marital violence. Violence against women is thus seen not just as an expression of male powerfulness and dominance over women, but also as being rooted in male vulnerability arising from social expectations of manhood that are unattainable because of several factors. It can be concluded that male violence is a socially constructed phenomenon where males are expected to be aggressive, and exploitative, thus creating a patriarchal system that condones exploitation of women. Radical feminist theory states that violence against women is a form of societal control. The study supports the stance of radical feminist theory that violence is a form of social control enforced to subjugate women so that the patriarchal authority can remain unchallenged.

References

- Abbott, P., Tyler, M., & Wallace, C. (2006). *An Introduction to Sociology: Feminist perspectives*. Routledge. Chicago
- Archer, J. (2006). Cross-cultural differences in physical aggression between partners: A social role analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*.10, 133-153.
- Asadi Z, Moghaddam Hosseini V, Hashemian M, Akaberi A. (2013) Application of BASNEF Model in Prediction of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) Against Women. *The Journal of Asian Women*.29(1):27-45
- Bodaghabadi M. (2007). Prevalence of violence and related factors in pregnant women referring to Shahid Mobini hospital, Sabzevar. *Med J Hormozgan Uni*. 11(1):71-6
- Bograd, M. (1988). *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse: An introduction*. In M. Bograd, & K. Yllö (Eds.), *Feminist perspective on wife abuse* (pp. 11-26). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Bourgois P. (1996) In search of masculinity—violence, respect and sexuality among Puerto Rican crack dealers. *B J Criminology*.36:412-27.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. Simon & Schuster. New York

- Chester, DS & DeWall, NC (2017). The roots of intimate partner violence. *Current opinion in psychology*. *Sciencedirect.com*. 19: 55-59
- Christine, D. & Leonard, D. (1992). *Familiar Exploitation: A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies (Feminist Perspectives)*. Polity press. Cambridge
- Collins, R (2009) Micro and Macro Causes of Violence. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. 3(1): 9-22.
- Conway-Turner, K. & Cherrin, S. (1998). *Women, Families, and Feminist Politics: A Global Exploration*. Haworth Press. New York
- D'Souza MS, Karkada SN, Somayaji G, Venkatesaperumal R. (2013). Women's well-being and reproductive health in Indian mining community: need for empowerment. *Reproductive Health*.10(24):1-12.
- David P. (2014) *Research Findings on the Major Sources of Marital Conflict*. Pair Bonding & Repair: Essays on Intimacy & Couple Therapy. p. 28. Available from: <http://pauldavidphd.com/wp-content/uploads/Pair-Bonding-Repair.pdf>
- Dildar S, Sitwat A, Yasin S. (2013) Intimate Enemies: Marital Conflicts and Conflict Resolution Styles in Dissatisfied Married Couples. *Middle-East J Sci Res*. 15(10):1433-9.
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. (2011). What were they thinking? Men who murder an intimate partner. *Violence Against Women*.17(1), 111-134.
- Dobash, R. E., & Dobash, R. P. (1979). *Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy*. New York: Free Press.
- Eisner, M. (2009). The uses of violence: An examination of some cross-cutting issues, *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 3(1), 40-59.
- Gelles, R. J., & Straus, M. A. (1988). *Intimate violence*. New York: Free Press.
- Hajnasiri H, Ghanei Gheshlagh R, Sayehmiri K, Moafi F, Farajzadeh M. (2016). Domestic Violence Among Iranian Women: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *Iran Red Crescent Med J*. 18(6)
- Hoffman KL, Demo DH, Edwards JN. (1994) Physical wife abuse in a non-Western society: an integrated theoretical approach. *Journal of Marriage & Family*. 56: 131-46

- Jeffreys, S, McNeil, S & Rhodes D (1985) in Karstedt, S., & Eisner, M. (2009). Introduction: Is a General Theory of Violence Possible? *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 3(1), 4-8.
- Jewkes R, Penn-Kekana L, Levin J. (2002) Risk factors for domestic violence: findings from a South African cross-sectional study. *Social Science & Medicine*.55(9):1603-17
- Jewkes, R (2002). *Lancet*. 359: 1423–29
- Mackay, F. (2015). *Radical Feminism: Feminist Activism in Movement*. Palgrave Macmillan. UK
- Mahapatra N. (2012) South Asian Women in the U.S. and their Experience of Domestic Violence. *Journal of Family Violence*.27(5):381–90.
- Moasheri N, Miri M, Abolhasannejad V, Hedayati H, Zangoie M. (2012). Survey of prevalence and demographical dimensions of domestic violence against women in Birjand. *Modern Care Journal*.9(1):32–9.
- Nasrullah, Muazzam; Zakar, Rubeena; Zakar, Muhammad (2014). "Child Marriage and Its Associations With Controlling Behaviors and Spousal Violence Against Adolescent and Young Women in Pakistan". *Journal of Adolescent Health*. 55: 804–809
- Ollenberger, Jane, C. & Moore, Helen, A. (1992). *A Sociology of Women: Intersection of Patriarchy, Capitalism, and Colonization*. New York: Sage
- Olson, David H., and DeFrain, John D. (1994). "Family strengths and coping strategies." *In Marriage and the family: Diversity and strengths*. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 563-575.
- Ostenson JA, Zhang M. (2014). Reconceptualizing Marital Conflict: A Relational Perspective. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*.34(4):229–42.
- Pence, E. (1983). The Duluth domestic abuse intervention project. *Hamline Law Review*.6, 247–275.
- Rao V. (1997). Wife-beating in Rural South India: A qualitative and econometric analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*. 44: 1169–80
- Renzetti, C.M., Edleson, J.L. and Kennedy Bergen, R. (eds) (2001). *Sourcebook on Violence against Women*. London: Sage.
- Samani S. (2008) The Important Factors of Marital Conflict Between Married Students in Shiraz University. *Journal of Family Research*.3(3):657–68.

- Shaw, S. & Lee, J. (2014). *Women's Voices, Feminist Visions: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. (B&B Sociology).
- Stets, J., & Straus, M. (1990). *Gender differences in reporting marital violence and its medical and psychological consequences*. In M. Straus & R. J. Gelles (Eds.), *Physical violence in American families: Risk factors and adaptations*. (pp. 151–166). New Brunswick, NJ
- Straus, M. A. (2008). Bucking the tide in family violence research. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*.9(1) 191–213.
- Tavassoli A, Monirifar S. (2009). Sociological study of the impact of socioeconomic status on violence against women in the marriage. *J Family Res*.5(20):441–54
- Walker, L. D. (1979). *The battered woman*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Yount KM, Li L. (2010) Domestic Violence Against Married Women in Egypt. *Sex Roles*.63(5–6):332–47.
- Zakar, Rubeena; Zakar, Muhammad; Mikolajczyk, Rafael; Kraemer, Alexander (2013)."Spousal Violence Against Women and Its Association With Women's Mental Health in Pakistan". *Health Care for Women International*. 34: 795–813.
- http://www.medicinenet.com/domestic_violence/article.htm
- <http://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/multimedia/2015/11/infographic-violence-against-women>