

**DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN INDIA:
Case Studies of Delhi and Kolkata**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I, Swagata Basu, hereby declare that the thesis titled “**Domestic Violence in India: Case Studies of Delhi and Kolkata**” submitted by me to the School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is a bonafide work that has not been submitted so far in part or in full for the award of any other degree of this university or any other university.


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CERTIFICATE

It is hereby recommended that the thesis may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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Chapter 1

Introduction

To study any problem systematically, the problem must be defined well. For problems related to crime and criminal behaviour, criminologists' take a lot of care in defining 'crime' and the search for definition occupies a significant part of their discipline. Utmost care is taken to arrive at a definition of 'crime' since if definitions leave out certain aspects of that criminal behaviour, then research on such 'crimes' could fail to capture the details of the phenomenon. A definition of crime that is too broadly defined may also lead to confusion.

The way any society responds to a particular criminal behaviour can be explained by in depth study of criminology, sociology of crimes and also the ongoing political debates around controlling crime and the impact of crime on people as a social group. Studies on 'crime' therefore must be reflected on in the light of historical data on crimes pertaining to particular locations; since the way a society reacts to a certain crime is historically conditioned. As power regimes alter, the idea of crime and punishment related to it also undergo changes.

The relative nature of crime:

The idea of crime is not absolute; the concept of crime varies with time and place. From the times when crimes had not been defined or codified; justice was delivered by the affected party. Retributions were organised to satisfy revenge.

The concept of crime and criminal law developed with the beginning of the state or monarchy. Initially, only acts against the monarch were considered crimes by the state. With passing time, ideas regarding the duty of the state took forefront and the option of financial compensation for crimes appeared as an alternative to eliminate private vengeance. Following this development, the state began taking up the administration of justice by defining crimes, codifying laws and implementing the jural system.

Definitions and codification of crimes have altered over space and time in the last century and so has the nature of crimes. Laws pertaining to tax evasion, auto thefts, white collar crimes, and cyber crimes, etc, were non-existent a century ago. These laws vary over space too. An act which may be against the law in one jurisdiction, could possibly be

considered legal in another. For comprehending the variable nature of crime over time and space, scholars have adopted various approaches to define crimes. A few of those approaches are being discussed in the following section.

The Legal definition of Crime.

Any act can be treated as criminal behaviour only when it fails to comply with the law. Without law, there can be no official crime. With time, the perception changes regarding acts which are considered as crimes and there arises demand for their abolition and some other behaviour is accepted as crime. Acts which are ‘believed to be wrong in them, or naturally evil, or inherently dangerous to public welfare’ are termed as ‘*mala in se*’. On the other hand ‘acts prohibited by statutes but inherently wrong’ are referred to as ‘*mala prohibita*’.

Before an alleged crime becomes a legal fact, the state must present a ‘prima facie case’ that the crime has been committed. The criminal may be of commission or of omission to do something where possible, when a legal duty to act exists.

The Social Definition of Crime:

Social definition of crime includes ethical considerations on what constitutes criminal behaviour and what doesn’t. Crime could be defined as anti-social behaviour that may lead to harm to those social interests which rules conduct of self in society¹

Any immoral acts as racial injustice, sexual discrimination, and international aggression may be treated as criminal behaviour. Social definition of crime also questions the flaws that exist within the legal system. An act of crime, if goes un-detected or un-apprehended would still remain to be a crime even though the act may not get punished. The following definition explores the complicated nature of crimes. “Crime is a socially recognized status constructed by societal members or their representatives in the course of labeling someone as criminal”.

The exploration of crime and the construction of the criminal relates to shifting domains of law, social experience and state power. Rao and Dube (2013) interrogated what constitutes crime, when and to whom?² Within social space, where does crime appear as

¹ Manley W H and Hirschel J D (1988) *Fundamentals of Criminology*, Prentice Hall, NJ. pp 1 -11.

² Dube S and Rao A (2013) *Crime through Time*, OUP, New Delhi. pp xxi - lxiii

a politically powerful or/ and a culturally critical expression of aberrance? How has crime entailed a definitional apparatus as well as a disciplining one? Do articulations of crimes also tell about historical actors and social institutions?³

This social production of crime is a nexus between gendered bodies, colonial legalities and modern law, the nation state and the citizen subject. History of crime is also the domain of power which segregates normal from the criminal. Michel Foucault's analysis of what constitutes crime, who has the power to categorise those and the proliferation of the ideas of what constitutes normal and what is considered as deviant behaviour, helps in understanding the codification of criminal behaviour in a post-colonial nation. Foucault saw a shift in the technique adopted by modern states from visual expressions of power to a more dispersed form of power and subjects were monitored through the project of self-surveillance.⁴

Foucault also contended that individuals were the locus of agency in society and enters into relationships of responsibility and obligation with other individuals. The process also creates what Foucault calls 'subjects' which is not simply the final outcome of a person in terms of autonomy and anatomy, but the process of subjectification.

Foucault wasn't trying to pit the individual against the State but found power to be more effective if it cuts through the state /society divide. It works both as an external power and also internalization of the same. Power for him produces social types and definitional categories, requiring constant surveillance. The categories are then encouraged to speak about their 'abnormalities', and later disciplined through re- training the body through spatialization of power through institutions like the prison, the school, the courtroom.

One also needs to look at what existed before the modern power was made effective. During the pre-colonial times and the transition to colonial regimes have witnessed change from one mode of socio political organisation to the other. Pre-colonial political economies of were based on control over territory but were of redistributive nature. Crimes were neither social nor simply political, but were a means of conquering territories, asserting political sovereignty and express identities.⁵

³ Ibid. PP xxi - lxiii

⁴ Foucault M (1995) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Tras. Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, New York. pp 135 -169.

⁵ Dube S and Rao A (2013) Crime through Time, OUP, New Delhi. pp xxi - lxiii

The experiences of a country like India, that were subjected to foreign rule, exhibited a saga of continuity – rupture – change, which has impacted the ethno – social fabric including the criminal laws. With the beginning of the colonial period, the shift in policies signified rupture from the localised region bound practices of authority to centralisation and codification of legal regimes which eventually led to the codification of Hindu Law and Muhammedan Law and ushered in a new dimension of “culturisation” of crimes and criminalization of social practice. As colonial courts imposed their authority on the natives on matters of governance, those judgments became the procedural law and the rest were treated as custom. Though the colonial laws has wider impact on the overall legal system, yet it was more specifically felt in case of laws on women. The existing laws related to women often conflicted with “Brahminical ideology”⁶, and at times coupled with it too. The law justified the earlier forms of patriarchal control, while infusing conceptions of agency, consent and individuality. These new sets of laws possessed an inbuilt mechanism of discrimination as those laws affected upper caste/ class and lower caste/ class women differentially.⁷ There is no doubt that the laws enacted by the colonial power bought in a rupture in the existing legal system, yet it had benefitted in some respects and harmed in many ways, which also became the rallying theme of the anti-colonial movement. Post-Independence saw a rise in the demand for legal protection against violence against women. Domestic Violence as a category of crime to have found its space in the ambit of crimes has taken a long time. This is because gender differences within the family are seen as a natural phenomenon. These differences are articulated in and through familial ideology thereby buffer the law from any serious interrogation of substantive inequalities.⁸ Bhatla and Rajan(2003) write that in India like the other counties, domestic violence perpetrated by partners and close family members is usually considered as a private issue. Even though the “citizen subjects” are made aware of the legal provisions, issues of “guilt, shame and secrecy”

⁶ Drawing from Uma Chakravarti’s concept of Brahminical Patriarchy. See Chakravarti U (2006) *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*. Stree, Calcutta. pp 37 – 80.

⁶ Chakravarti U (2006) *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Stree, Calcutta. pp 81 -91.

⁷ Dube S and Rao A (2013) *Crime through Time*, OUP, New Delhi. pp xxi - lxiii

⁸ Crossman B and Kapur R (1996) Women, Familial ideology and the Constitution: Challenging Equality Rights In Crossman B and Kapur R eds. *Feminist Terrains in legal Domains: Interdisciplinary Essays on Women and Law in India*, Kali for Women, New Delhi. pp 61 – 99.

continue to shroud it in ignominy. The “formal institutions” replicate a similar mindset while addressing issues of domestic violence.⁹

The magnitude and intensity of domestic violence is so deeply embedded in the social structures that at times it is difficult to decipher the normal from the pathological. However, there are scholars and creative writers who have taken these hidden spaces to the fore.

Well known film maker Rinki Bhattacharya documents the functions of Majlis, a women centric organisation offering legal help to women. The documentaries¹⁰ drawn from the seventies and eighties decade along with Bhattacharya’s own experience with domestic violence capture the timelessness of the occurrence of the violence. The documentaries not only document the scenes of violence reconstructed from memories narrated by abused women, it juxtaposes women’s lives from urban, educated, elite families with that of rural, unskilled women and how the violence they experience is similar. Bhattacharya’s own experience is also documented along with celebrated feminist advocate Flavia Agnes.

Apart from documentaries, Bhattacharya documented incidences of domestic violence experienced by women in her book “Behind Closed Doors¹¹” through case studies of how women negotiate with family, law and children’s wellbeing while seeking justice. Bhattacharya’s own experiences as a victim and later her role as a crusader for justice against domestic violence shows how similar are the modes and techniques of power that operate in families that make women vulnerable to abuse¹². The sameness of the context of domestic violence reveals how the occurrence cuts across regional and class boundaries. It also brings out that potential agency in women that lies dormant with in women and how a little support can ignite that agential capacity to resist abusive behaviour and carve out one’s own identity independent of one’s marital partner.

⁹ Bhatla N and Rajan A (2003) Private Concerns in Public Discourse: Women Initiated Community Response to Domestic Violence, *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 26, 2003. pp 1658-1664.

¹⁰ Documentaries titled ‘Behind Closed Doors’ funded by Ministry of Women and Child, Government of India. The documentaries referred here are from Rinki Bhattacharya’s personal collection.

¹¹ Bhattacharya R (2004) *Behind Closed Doors: Domestic Violence in India*. New Delhi, Sage.

¹² Bhattacharya R (2015) Lecture at International Conference titled ‘Shifting Countours, Widening Concerns: Women’s History, Histrigraphy and the politics of Historical representation’ held at Research Centre for Women’s Studies, SNDT Women’s University, Mumbai. 11 – 13 February, 2015.

Violence against Women:

Global and national debates on violence have placed the issue of violence against women within the rubric of development. Visaria (1999) quotes Amartya Sen in the context of violence against women and terms it as the “ultimate contributor to a profound lack of choices open to women and girls”.¹³

It is becoming increasingly evident that violence against women contradicts every goal of development be it social, economic or political. Violence against women thus needs to be viewed not only as a serious human rights issue but also as one impacting development, because it is an impediment to the realisation of the goals of “equality, development, social justice and peace” for all. Violence against women both “violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment of women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.” The inability to guarantee these rights for women should be a matter of concern for all nations. Knowledge about the causes and consequences and the measures needed to ameliorate it, has expanded with various International Organizations raising awareness among people regarding gender discrimination. In most societies, “women and girls are subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse that cuts across income, class and culture¹⁴. The low social and economic status of women can both be the cause and consequence of violence against women.” (Hawkins and Humes, 2002).

India is a “signatory” to International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). India is therefore bound by the standards set forth by CEDAW. “The conceptualization of violence against women and girls as a violation of human rights was one of the achievements of the women’s movement during the world conference on the Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993¹⁵. The subsequent conferences held at Vienna, Cairo, Beijing are important milestones in the struggle of the women’s movement although they were preceded by significant achievements.” (Indian Social Institute, 2003)

¹³ Visaria Leela (1999) Violence Against Women in Gujarat, International Centre for Research on Women, Washington DC. <https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Domestic-Violence-in-India-1-Summary-Report-of-Three-Studies.pdf>. Accessed on 10.04.2019.

¹⁴ Hawkins D and Humes, M (2002) Human Rights and Domestic Violence, *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 117, Number 2. pp 231 -257.

¹⁵ Violence Against Women: CEDAW, General Recom. 19, A/47/38. (General Comments) Convention Abbreviations: CEDAW. Reproduced by Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.

The “Beijing Platform for Action” encouraged Governments to devise holistic measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women. The recommendations given are listed

“The term ‘violence against women’ means 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 accordingly, violence against women encompasses but is not limited to the following:

- a. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family including battering sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non spousal violence and violence related to exploitation
- b. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institution and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.
- c. Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the state wherever it occurs
- d. Other acts of violence against women include violation of human rights of women in situations of armed conflict, in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy
- e. Acts of violence against women include forced sterilization and forced abortion, coercive and forced use of contraceptives, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection
- f. Some groups of women such as women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, women migrants including women migrant workers, women in poverty living in rural or remote communities, destitute women, women in institutions or in detention, female children, women with disabilities, elderly women, displaced women, repatriated women, women living in poverty and women in situations of armed conflicts, foreign occupation, wars of aggression, civil wars, terrorism, including hostage taking.
- g. Acts or threats of violence, whether occurring within the home or in the community, or perpetrated or condoned by the state, instill fear and insecurity in women’s lives and are obstacles to the achievement of equality and for development and peace. The fear of violence and harassment is a permanent constraint on the mobility of women and their limits to the access to resources and basic activities. High social, health and economic costs to the individual and society are associated with violence against women. Violence against women and girls occur in the family or within the home, where violence is often tolerated. Neglect, physical and sexual abuse and rape of girl children and women by family members of the household as well as incidences of spousal and non spousal abuse often go unreported and are thus difficult to detect. Even when such violence is reported there is often a failure to protect the victims or punish perpetrators.
- h. Violence against women is a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women, which has led to domination over and discrimination of women by men and to the prevention of the women’s full advancement. Violence against women throughout the lifecycle derives essentially from cultural patterns, in particular the harmful effects of certain traditional or customary practices or all acts of extremism linked to sex race language or religion that perpetuate the lower status accorded to women in the family the workplace the community and the society. Violence against women are exacerbated by social pressures, notably the shame of denouncing certain acts that have been perpetuated against women; women’s access to legal information, aid or protection, the lack of laws that effectively prohibit violence against women, failure to reform existing laws; inadequate efforts on the part of the public authorities to promote awareness of and enforce existing laws; and the absence of educational and the other means to address the causes and the consequence of violence. Images in the media of violence adversely affecting the community at large in particular the women and children.” (FWCW Platform for Action, Violence Against Women (Beijing) Reproduced by the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi (2003)

Domestic Violence is slowly and steadily finding its own space both in the discourses and in the legislative bodies as various forms of Domestic Violence is on the increase. Women’s groups at both national and local levels have been constantly raising awareness

among people about the negative impact domestic violence has specifically on women and on the society as a whole.

Over the decades Domestic Violence has become a serious human rights issue and its immense evil effects are also brought into public domain both for discussions and for working out proper mechanisms not only to curb domestic violence but also eliminate it from society. At the international level, Vienna Accord of 1994 and Beijing Platform Act of 1995 have been responsible for giving visibility to such an important issue. With declaration on the Convention of Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is the first international instrument that exclusively and explicitly addresses the issues of violence against women. This declaration amplifies the gender bias that is inherent in the society and also underscores women's rights as fundamental to freedom.

Increased reports of violence within the domestic sphere are also raising disturbing questions regarding the so called 'inviolable' safety of the family. Feminist theory has always argued that the family is the site of patriarchal dominance and oppression. Govind Kelkar writes that "the systematic inequality is further strengthened and maintained over time by socialization process that embeds women strongly within the familial structures and hierarchic gender relations such as that they have little or no independent status and transgressions outside the family and male authority expose them to swift retribution and confirm their vulnerability." (ICRW, 2002)¹⁶.

Responding to the rising incidences of Domestic Violence in India, a parallel Act on the lines of CEDAW was passed in 2005. It is named as the "Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, (PWDVA, 2005)."

Earlier, when there was no law of the kind of PWDVA, 2005, married women in India were offered only remedial legal benefits after divorce, separation and maintenance. There was no legal provision to right to residence, and after marriage the residence of women shifted to their marital homes. With dismal rates of women's ownership of property in India, it was rather easy to make women compromise in cases of domestic

¹⁶ As cited in ICRW (2002), *Innovative Women Initiated Community Level Response to Domestic Violence: A Study of Nari Adalat, Baroda and Mahila Panch, Rajkot*. <https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Domestic-Violence-in-India-5-Women-initiated-Community-Level-Responses-to-Domestic-Violence.pdf>. Accessed on 10.4.2019.

abuse for the sake of her residence. The irony of the situation was for the sake of residence women were forced to return to their violent homes. In order to escape violence, women often agreed to divorce petition with mere return of their stridhan. There also followed social stigma towards a divorced woman, so there were a number of women who wanted to end violence in their matrimonial home but not want divorce.

The peculiarity of the legal provision forced women to resort to Sec. 498 A¹⁷. which derived the status of being 'misused' by women and related prejudices surrounding women who sought to use it.

The Lawyers Collective (2007) have documented the lacuna that existed in the legal system related to domestic violence before the PWDVA, 2005 was enacted¹⁸. A clear definition of domestic violence was absent; there was no law to assure women's "right to residence". Only women in matrimonial relationships could avail of legal provisions, the relief under civil law was extremely time consuming, criminal laws were rigid and all the provisions were not easily accessible by women experiencing abuse at their matrimonial homes. The creation of the new law PWDVA, 2005 was undertaken to eradicate the inadequacies of the earlier legal provisions available to women. The key features of the PWDVA, 2005 may be summarized for understanding how women in India are now in an advantageous position compared to her earlier legal entitlements in case she experienced domestic violence.

¹⁷ Section 498 A of the India Penal Code states "Husband or the relative of husband of a women subjecting her to cruelty- Whoever, being the husband or the relative of the husband of a women, subject such woman to cruelty shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine.

¹⁸ Lawyers Collective (2007) *1st Monitoring Report on the Functioning of PWDVA, 2005*.

The definition of Domestic Violence incorporated acts of omission and commission that may result in injury or harm or threats to cause injury and harm to women. Injury may be physical or mental in nature and conduct would include physical abuse, verbal and emotional abuse, sexual abuse and economic abuse.

Domestic relationship included not only marital relationships but included women who live or have lived in a shared household.

Living in a violence free home was considered as a right for women. Women would be provided with Protection Order – stop violence order may be provided to her abusers. Women would be eligible for Residence Order – where she would have the right to reside in her marital home and prevent dispossession.

Women were eligible for Monetary Relief – where she could claim the expenditure incurred for her medical costs, her maintenance as well as her loss of income.

Women may also have temporary Custody Order over her children and this temporary order would not have any impact on the other civil laws guaranteeing permanent custody.

Compensation Order would also be available to women to empower her in case she suffered mental or physical torture.

Women were eligible to for Ex parte or Interim Order where immediate and emergency relief would be provided in situations of violence.

Several Infrastructural Provisions were guaranteed for making PWDVA, 2005, accessible to women and ensure its delivery to the women who needed legal support.

Protection Officers were appointed to implement the law, and the PO would facilitate the aggrieved women to access the functions of the court. Service Providers were made available for all women who support and work with women in distress. Shelter Homes and Medical Facilities were to be offered by the State and women would have the right to get those facilities.

The Police were also responsible to offer the knowledge and the provision of this Law to women where ever they found the need to provide such information.

The courts would act on the application of the aggrieved woman in the basis of DIR (Domestic Incidence Report) and this DIR could be recorded by any Protection Officer or a Service Provider.

The provisions mentioned above under PWDVA. 2005 certainly makes PWDVA, 2005, a unique new piece of legislation which is women centric and one of the most easily accessible legal provisions guaranteed to women. It's success and universality depends on the Central Government and the State Governments allocation of funds to provide the infrastructural facilities to women as well as awareness generation about the provisions of the law to all citizens of the country.

Plurality of Legal Regimes and the Reach of Constitutional law on Women in India.

As discussed in the earlier section, it is well known that India offers a vast complex and contradictory space for the operation of Personal Laws where the traditional values exist with the modern legal system¹⁹. The various Personal Laws affecting married women are being discussed below.

Marriage and Personal Laws:

India like Rome was not built in a day and the process of building is an ongoing process. Apart from its geography, its assimilation of culture, history, economy, tradition are integrated to the process of making. It is especially significant in the case of Personal Laws which are pluralistic in nature. “Personal Laws under Seven Major systems may be found in practice in India. These are Hindu, Islamic, Christian, Parsi, Jewish, Civil and Customary.” (Agnes, 2011). The negotiations between the community and the State that take place due to the conflict of the customary, religions and the civil law are being documented in this section. Communities have charted their own road for negotiations with the personal laws. Family laws are more of customary dictates rather than scriptural dictates. Misconceptions about personal laws arise out of the assumptions that they originate from scriptures and are inviolable. But divine law can only be a source of law but not law in the modern context. Human interpretation is needed for application and lived experiences of those following the law, or is guided by it. There are diverse laws that are embedded in the customary practices which were modified under colonial rule and codified during the colonial and the post-colonial periods. Often trends are observed that there exists a binary relationship between traditional customary laws and state laws related to women, meaning that all customary laws as anti-women; and all state laws are pro-women. Histories of Women’s Rights have been moulded by several social, economic and political underpinnings. It is also important to understand that despite codification, a large section of the population of the country still resort to non-state mediation for dispute resolution.

¹⁹ Agnes F (2011) *Family Law: Family Laws and Constitutional Claims, Volume I*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. pp 1-9.

In the Hindu traditions, the Dharmashastras (or the Brahminical Smriti Laws) are the source of non-state dispute resolution. Smritis were the source of dharma rules, denoting ethics, morality and good behaviour (sadachara). Customs were the source of law. One must also bear in mind that there were great regional diversities within the Hindu customs which varied locally. Various castes and tribes were not governed by the Smriti codes. Menski (2003) writes that Hindu laws are of diverse origins and though there are scriptural sources and colonial legal intervention, yet, hegemonic imperial claims influenced the legal and political life of the subjects in a significant way²⁰. This journey towards 'Modernity' was welcomed by Indians as an opportunity to shed off their 'barbarianism' and progress towards a 'civilized life'. Significant legislation was introduced like the "Bengal Sati Regulation Act, 1829"; "Widow Remarriage Act, 1856"; and the "Age of Consent Act, 1860 and 1861"²¹.

Women's rights got constrained in terms of property with colonial codification. 'Stridhana' became the accepted principle of Hindu law for the entire territory of British India and women lost their right over their stridhana to will or gift it.

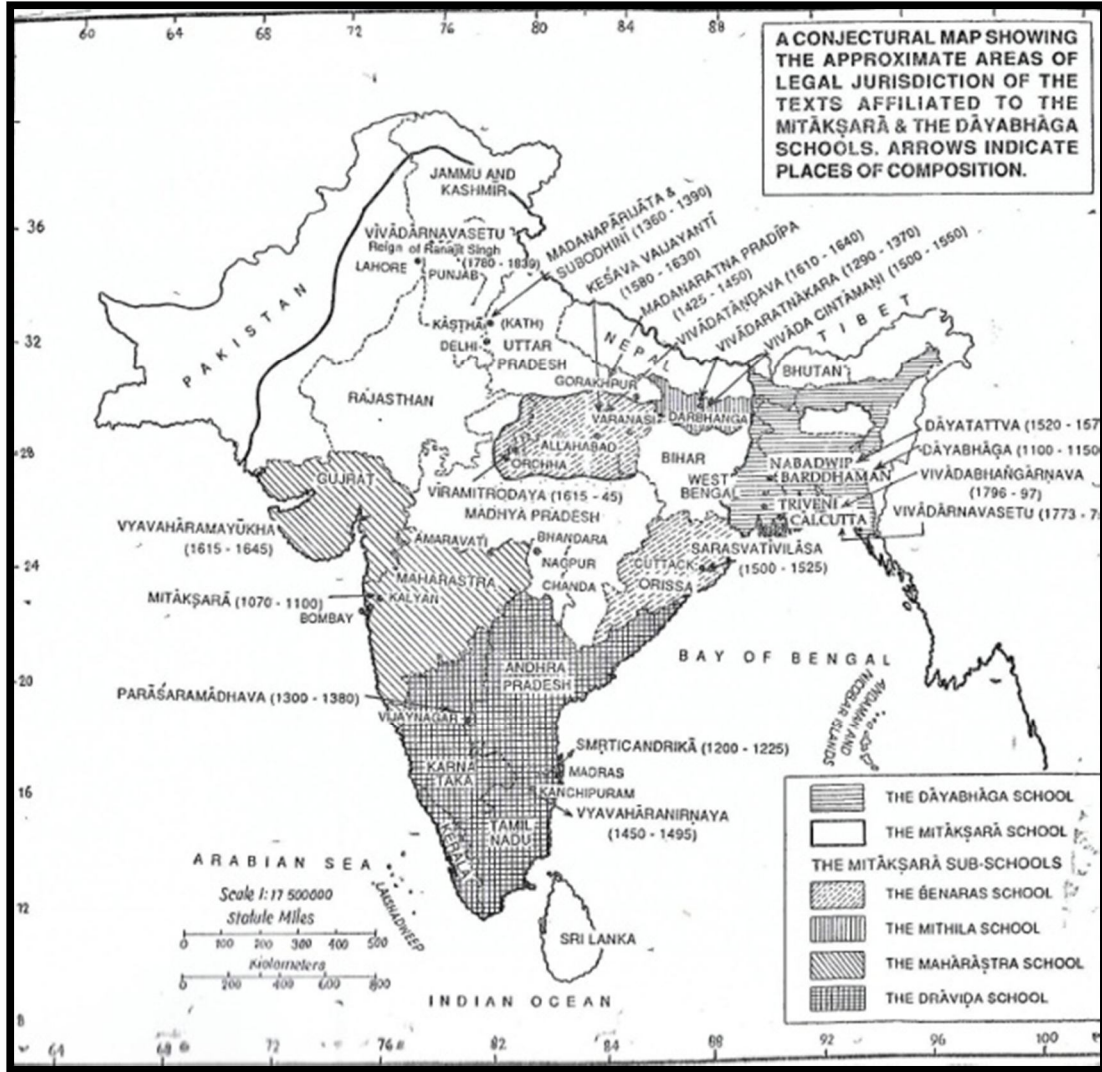
Sen (1995) in her seminal work made an elaborate analysis of Stridhana or women's property sources from ancient texts written in Sanskrit²². Beginning with Vedas and studying till the Dharmastras, Sen explores the difficulties of co-ownership of property as there is no individual ownership of common property. Husband had the preferential right in joint property. The various schools of rules applicable to Sridhana have been mapped by Sen, is being presented.

²⁰ Menski W (2003) *Hindu Law: Beyond Tradition and Modernity*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

²¹ Sarkar T (2007) *Conjugal and Hindu Nationalism: Resisting Colonial Reason and Death of a Child Wife* In Sarkar S and Sarkar T Eds, *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*. New Delhi, Permanent Black. PP 385 -419.

²² Sen S (1995) *The Institution of Stridhana in the Dharmasastra*, Sanskrit College Research Series No. CLI. Kolkata, Sanskrit College.

MAP1.1
AREAS OF LEGAL JURISDICTION OF MITAKSARA AND DAYABHAGA SCHOOLS



Source : Sen S (1995) The Institution of Stridhana in the Dharmasastra, Sanskrit College
 Research Series No. CLI. Kolkata, Sanskrit College.

The map above show regional expanse of various schools of thought which influenced women’s right to property in those regions.

In Islamic law, knowledge stems from Quran, Sunna, Ijma and Qiyas. Till the application of Shariat Act, 1937; many Muslims followed their pre-conversion customary practices duly upheld by the colonial courts.

The statutes governing the Christian marriage were enacted during the colonial period. (Indian Divorce Act, 1869 and Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872.) The Christian converts too continued to practice their local customary practices of inheritance of their pre-conversion days.

Laws governing the Christian marriages in Christian communities were fraught with contradictions and Christians were governed by the initial statutes conferred by the Colonial government which laid the foundation for reforming the personal laws of all other communities.

Christians in India belong to three different traditions of Orthodox Church, Roman Catholic Church and the Reformist Churches of the Protestant tradition. Apart from the three groups, large sections of tribal population are governed by their traditions and customs and customary laws and are not governed by the Christian personal laws. The Christian communities were also being governed by the caste based traditions of pre-conversion times. For divorce, maintenance and succession, a number of judgments have been made precedent to govern Christian women's lives. Mary Roy's case²³ elicits the role of the laws in pre Independence erstwhile Princely States and how those laws continued to influence women's lives.

Even though Parsis and Jews brought with them their personal laws of the region of their origin, yet they too blended with the local population resulting in adoption of the local languages and customary practices. Parsis adopted the Panchayat System. The Jewish law is not completely applicable to the Jews living in India.

The existence of the plural customary laws in diverse locations of the country veers the discussion towards the power of the modern state and codified law to impact on all its citizen's in an equal manner.

It is out of this irregularity, that the quest for Uniform Civil Code (UCC) had arisen. The debates surrounding the Uniform Civil Code reveal the conflicting constitutional guarantees to all the citizens of India. "The Guarantee of equality and non-discrimination

²³ Mary Roy vs State of Kerala, AIR 1986 SC 1011.

(Articles 14 and 15) along with enactment of Uniform Civil Code (Article 44 of the Constitution) is a Directive Principle of State Policy; which states that equality and protection of minority culture and justiciable Fundamental Rights.” (Agnes, 2011).

In the context of women’s rights vis a vis family law, these two aspects come into conflict because in the process of safeguarding a community’s customary/ religious law- all women belonging from all social groups cannot be treated equally.

The demand for Uniform Civil Code may be retraced to the women’s movement which began in the pre-Independence era. All India Women’s Congress was the pioneer in raising this issue²⁴. Beginning with the motive of ‘women’s upliftment’ the focus later shifted to ‘equal rights’ by beginning with a comparative study of family laws of different communities. In 1940, National Planning Committee though devoted to economic dimensions of women’s rights resolved that women should be equal to men in a planned society and the Uniform Civil Code was a way to achieve this goal. Even though the newly independent modern state of India pushed the Uniform Civil Code to regulate the civil life of the citizens, the partition of the country and the unfortunate events that followed it made the minority communities defensive of their religious identities and needed assurance for retaining their cultural identities. The enactment of Special Marriage Act, 1954 has been the only significant move to secularize family laws. In 1974, the publication of ‘Towards Equality’ exposed the plight of the women in the country bringing back the focus on the need for the enactment of Uniform Civil Code²⁵.

In 1995, the ‘Shah Bano Case’ gave a communal hue to the demand for Uniform Civil Code as Shah Bano (a muslim woman) was asking for maintenance from her divorced husband while the Muslim Personal Law Board contended that she couldn’t demand it after the ‘iddat’ period. She only had right on her ‘mehr’ alone. Relenting to the pressures exerted by the upholders of the religious law, the Congress government led by the then Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, met with severe opposition from the women’s groups as it excluded divorced Muslim Women from guarantee of maintenance and thereby defeating gender justice.

²⁴ Kumar R (1993) *History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women’s Rights and Feminism in India*, New Delhi. Kali for Women. pp 53 -73.

²⁵ Ministry of Education and Social Welfare (1974) *Towards Equality: Report on the Status of Women in India*, Government of India, New Delhi.

Anveshi Law Committee (1997) accuses the Indian Women's Movement for co-opting with the State it's and attempts to ignore the issues of plurality that exists in the Indian Society on the issue of Uniform Civil Code²⁶. The article also tries to hold the upper-caste, English speaking, elite urban women to hijack the issue from the women who are not so articulate and are guided more by customs than the State laws. Notable activists of the Indian women's movement refute the arguments put forward by Anveshi and asks that if all the plurality of caste and community laws are to be considered then who would be in the position to arbitrate?²⁷

Kumar (2002) writes that feminists in India have always confronted similar question of representation or representativeness. The position of the rural woman as opposed to the feminist is a dichotomous idea spread into the minds and psyche of the citizens of the state. This idea of the Indian feminist and her concerns being far removed from the hopes and fears experienced by rural women was widely spread in the face of communal fundamentalist self-assertion²⁸.

It is noteworthy that monogamy among Hindus as a norm was enshrined by the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. Post Shah Bano period also saw attempts were being made to draft the Uniform Civil Code and recommend compulsory registration of marriages as well as joint ownership of matrimonial property. Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 particularly is applicable to women of all communities across religious identities.

The debate on Uniform Civil Code resurfaced in 2017 when a Bill to criminalise Triple Talaq²⁹ was tabled before the Parliament on 28th of December 2017. Agnes (2018) refers the move as a ploy by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party to claim the credit for ensuring

²⁶ Anveshi Law Committee (1997) Is Gender Justice Only a Legal Issue? Political Stakes in the UCC Debates. *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 1 – 8, 1997. pp 453 -458.

²⁷ Chhacchi A, Khan F, Navlakka G, Sangari K, Malik N, Menon R, Sarkar T, Chakravarti U, Butalia U, Hasan Z (1998) UCC and Women's Movement. *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 28, 1998. pp 487 -488.

²⁸ Kumar R (1993) *History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India*, New Delhi. Kali for Women. pp 53-73.

²⁹ Triple Talaq, also known as *talaq-e-biddat*, instant divorce and *talaq-e-mughallazah* (irrevocable divorce), is a form of Islamic divorce which has been used by Muslims in India, especially adherents of Hanafi Sunni Islamic schools of jurisprudence. It allows any Muslim man to legally divorce his wife by stating the word *talaq* (the Arabic word for "divorce") three times in oral, written, or more recently, electronic form.

Muslim women their right overriding the norm of discussing with stakeholders and legal experts before enacting a law related to minority community.

The Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan (BMMA) spearheaded the campaign against Tripple Talaq armed with their report titled ‘Seeking Justice Within Family’ which was based on a study of 4710 women from marginalised communities. These women pointed out at Tripple Talaq, Polygamy and Nikah Halala³⁰ as the the prime concern of muslim women; ignoring questions of illiteracy, marginalisation and access to public resources.

Agnes (2018) also voices her fears of criminalising Tripple Talaq as she refers to Javed Anand, the convenor of Indian Muslims for Secular Democracy, who too felt that this proceeding may be used to target Muslim Men.

53 percent of the women interviewed by BMMA had experienced domestic violence but lacked the means to file for protection or maintenance under PWDVA, 2005. This raises a very serious questions that if women lack the resources to approach Protection Officers how would they be able to pursue criminal litigation? Quoting Pathak and Rajan (2018) the entire exercise was a reflection of what the British codification caused to Indian. At present it could be termed as ‘Hindu men are saving Muslim women from Muslim men³¹.’

Agnes (2018) also avers by the convenience of approaching informal courts compared to formal legal structures³².

It is evident from the above discussion that socio cultural diversities have added new dimension to the understanding gender based violence in India. These diversities are a result of multiple interrelated factors such as diverse historical experience, difference institutional memories and socio economic structures which need to be given more attention. But over and above all these factors lie the spatial diversities of India; which has played a crucial role in shaping the socio cultural and legal space in the country. For the purpose of the present study two most significant spatial realms have been selected to conduct an in depth study. Delhi being the capital of the country is the obvious choice and to make a comparative study Kolkata was chosen which was the capital of the

³⁰ Agnes F (2018) The Politics Behind Criminalising Tripple Talaq, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol LIII No 1. pp 12-14.

³¹ Pathak Z and Rajan R S (1989) Shah Bano, *Signs*, Vol 14. Spring 1989, pp 558 – 582.

³² Agnes F (2018) The Politics Behind Criminalising Tripple Talaq, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol LIII No 1. pp 12-14.

country for a large part of the colonial rule. The two cities have been studied in the backdrop of the experience of the country as a whole.

Personality of the Study Area:

A two-tier study area has been chosen for the study. A district-wise and city-wise study of crime rates occurring in India has been conducted to analyze the regional, cultural and historical areas within which crimes occur. For this part of the study secondary data have been used for analysis.

The study area for the present research are two metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata. The first reason for selecting these two major metropolitan cities is that the urban centers of India have been the nodes of development since the colonial times. These cities have been associated with modernisation, and hence one would like to assume that people living in the cities would be free from the age old traditional practices akin to patriarchal systems, which are rooted into the village soils. There would also be higher chances of intermixing of people of different cultures which would lead to the dilution of traditional practices relating to subjugation of women. This study is a quest to find out whether people at a higher level of development in terms of economic prosperity and broadened worldview would continue to give women a subordinate status? It is essential to note that family life in urban spaces mark a shift from the traditional gender roles. Fast paced economic transition of the city dwellers and the challenges it offers them to adjust to the milieu exerts tremendous influence on women who work within and outside their households. Women make extra efforts to balance work and family life in the changing socio-cultural processes that impact their lives. However, planners and policy makers call these changing gender roles to be essential fallout of development, but if Domestic Violence is to be viewed as an essential fall out of development in urban areas then it would be antithetical to the very goals of development paradigm. Economic processes operating in the large metropolitan cities at two disparate levels make women more susceptible to violence. Liberalization has opened up avenues for increased entry of women in the labour market, but most of the urban women are employed in the informal sector.³³ However, the economic forces that promote consumerist lifestyle on one hand,

³³ Mazumdar I (2010) *Women Workers and Globalisation: Emergent Contradictions in India*. Stree, Kolkata.

the same forces reinforce regressive gender roles on the other. Middle class women in the cities are being increasingly targeted as the ultimate consumers. Women are made to aspire for a lifestyle based on acquisition of consumerables and women are viewed as instruments through whom such economic activities could be made are possible. This is carefully done through the help of the media that projects an image of the savvy working wife who is able to bring all this into the matrimonial home.

Secondly, the two metropolitan cities are not only located in varied geographical locations, but they also belong to separate ecological niches, have distinct regional cultures and traditions of their own. The diversity within the research areas would give the study another dimension of studying Domestic Violence in a multi-cultural setting as both the cities would present one dominant regional culture sharing space with other regional cultures which would not be possible to find in a smaller town. It would also give the researcher a chance to observe the behavioral trends in terms of Domestic Violence among couples belonging to different cultural, regional and religious backgrounds as it would be easier to come across such mixed family patterns in the metropolitan cities.

Delhi and Kolkata have a number of similarities such as such as both cities experienced the spill factor during the partition of the Indian subcontinent in terms of refugees from across the borders and witnessed large scale communal violence. Apart from that, Kolkata happens to be the former capital of the country and Delhi the present capital. Both the cities have inherited the British legacy of modernization which breeds violence in its course of progress³⁴.

However, there are a number of areas where the two cities differ from each other, for example Delhi being the national capital is a more cosmopolitan region whereas Kolkata's population has a sizeable proportion of Bengalis and one could call it a city dominated by Bengali population.

Delhi has witnessed the process of successive waves of development and displacement more frequently than Kolkata. No particular culture has been able to grow its roots in Delhi for sufficiently long period of time whereas Bengal has been a more stable region

³⁴ King A D (1976) *Colonial Urban Development; Culture, Social Power and Environment*. Routledge. London; and Legg S (2007) *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. Blackwell Publishing. Oxford, UK.

ever since it came into prominence. More cultural aggrandizement are easily found among people in Kolkata in terms of various associations as clubs, etc, which helps reducing the sense of anonymity among the denizens of Kolkata. The very lack of the same factor heightens the sense of alienation among the people of Delhi.

The political expressions of the people in the two cities also have been different over the last fifty years. Kolkata though initially under the Congress have witnessed the Left Politics for the last quarter of the century barring the last few years, while Delhi has seen an oscillation between the centre and the right of the centre politics.

Variations in the historical memories of these cities have played a significant role in shaping up the attitude of the people and their ideals of 'Manhood' and 'Womanhood' in turn is influenced by the region one lives in and consequently different images of the 'self' and 'the other' are conjured by both men as well as women as they socialize with their social environment as well as the family. Families perpetuate the dominant discourses of the region in their creation of familial spaces where children imbibe the same imaginations of 'self' and their roles in society. Scholars argue that family is the space where heterosexual patriarchal ideals are nurtured and along with impact of "global media, family preferences and social expectations, young women consciously create, devise and formulate their own rules of conduct³⁵." (Thapan, 2009). The colonial construction of Indian women ensured control, regulation and westernization and the post-colonial construction is also quite similar though she is represented as a liberated and modern with more emphasis in her role in the public sphere yet faithfully reproduces traditional roles.

Women of the Kolkata Region.

Inspection before marriage is more of a requirement to find out if the bride is docile and obedient and is influenced by western education; even though her knowledge of English sometimes becomes a pre requirement³⁶. The build-up of romantic expectations from marriage acts as a defense to her fears regarding the *sasur bari*. The groom has greater freedom of rejecting a marriage proposal than the bride to be. Bengali wedding songs narrate stories of separation from natal home, inducing sadness in the bride. Interaction

³⁵ Thapan M (2009) *Living the Body: Embodiment, Womanhood and Identity in Contemporary India*. Sage. New Delhi. pp 63.

³⁶ Roy M (1992) *Bengali Women*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. pp 76.

with the husband and members of his household often lead to disappointment, and only after becoming a mother does she receive more attention and thus sees in a sense of achievement. From the husband's side too, the amorphous and undefined relationship crystallizes, as his purpose for having a wife is to beget a son.³⁷ Roy also explores the perennial dilemma of the Bengali man in establishing a romantic liaison with his wife through the cult of the worship of goddesses Durga and Kali in Bengal. Durga, on whom men depend on for protection, strength and nurturance, while she also has the aspects of Kali, naked, black, angry and destructive. Kali depicts the negative and the seductive as well as destructive side of women, becoming a figure of adoration as well as fear. The Bengali man thus has no problem in relating his mother sisters in the mould of Durga, but even though he must look upon his wife as Kali, yet the familial, social and cultural ideology she must be treated as the same category as the mother goddess, and this creates a lifelong confusion and ambivalence over a man's sexual relations with his wife.

Chowdhury (2001) through an anonymous Bengali poem problematizes the Bengali males' glaring dissimilarity in being a cowardly male worshipper of the martial female goddess Durga³⁸. The effeminate Bengalis stereotype was fallout of their acceptance of the colonial rule, but this gendered identification of the colonised men has womanly, came to be naturalized by repetitive constructions and reconstructions. It is worth observing how after years after the colonial rule, the construct of the Bengali male still exists within the memory spaces of the Bengalis and whether it has the power to affect intimate relationships.

Engles (1996) observes 'sexuality' to have been central to a number of discourses in Bengal through her readings of marriage manuals³⁹. The general emphasis has been on control of sexuality and the danger and disorder it may cause otherwise. Impulses for conjugal change came with female education, and women concept of courtships and nuclear families developed by the turn of the 20th Century. Ray (1995) observes that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bengali women lived under deplorable conditions of ignorance, superstition, illiteracy and physical seclusion. The emergence of

³⁷ Ibid. pp 73-123.

³⁸ Chowdhury I (2001) *The Frail Hero and The Virile History: Gender and the Politics of Culture in Colonial Bengal*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. pp 1-30.

³⁹ Engles D (1996) *Beyond Purdah: Women in Bengal 1890 – 1930*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

the new urban culture and the elite '*bhadralok*' did not really challenge the traditional patriarchal roles and strived to make men and women equal within the traditional patriarchal framework⁴⁰. Also women questioned the ambivalence of men participating in the freedom struggle while not concerned about the problems their own women faced. Women thus were taught to read and write to become *sumatas* and *sugrihinis*. But there are obvious linkages with women's political participation and their awareness of the issues of gender justice. Many women's organisations were also initiated by women to eradicate illiteracy, child marriage among women and other social evils prevalent in society and refashioned their personality.

As Kolkata was born out of men and women migrating in from the neighbouring villages, the community based folk art and culture got enmeshed with the urban motifs, through folklores, and women of all classes took interest in them⁴¹; and many of the concerns of the lower class women's culture appealed to the *bhadralok* class of women. The colonial education worked towards looking down on those cultural products and subsequently marginalising them. Of the religious genre the *agamani* and *vijaya* songs mark the mark the social problems of a young bride, the distance between natal and marital homes. Similarly, Vaisnavites composition too often highlighted the hypocrisy, irresponsibility and cowardice associated with male love. The Radha Krishna stories were also used as vehicles for voicing women's grievances in contemporary society. Kheurs too offered dissenting spaces as women from both the protected *zenana* upper classes and the lower groups were controlled by patriarchal values which were put as:

'Nao, ghora naaree – jae chorbey taari' - The boat, the horse and the women belong to whoever rides them.

Doggerels originating from everyday experiences became household proverbs which are used even today. A worthless husband is: *'Bhaat debar naam nei, Kil marar Goshai'* – He can't provide me with rice but quite mighty in beating me with fists; and *'Darbarey na mukh peye ghaare eshe maag thenge'* – Unable to speak out in the courts, he comes home and takes out on his wife. Colonial influence bred a feeling of contempt for the native

⁴⁰ Ray B (1995) The Freedom Movement and the Feminist Consciousness, In Ray B Eds. *From the Seams of History: Essays on Indian Women*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. pp 174 – 218.

⁴¹ Banerjee S (1989) Marginalisation of Women's Popular Culture in Bengal In Sangari K and Vaid S eds. *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*. Kali for Women, New Delhi. pp 127 -179.

popular cultural forms and led to its abandonment from public life, branding *kemta* dances as ‘loose’; even the *bhashaghar jokes* which were aimed at wreaking havoc on the male superiority were suppressed too. What emerged from this social process were *Bhadramahilas* refined, regenerated, recast and reorganised to fit in to white collar domestic bliss.

Karlekar (1991) documented the impact of learning and education on Bengali women, who became empowered to discuss social matters and finally contributed to the emergence of feminine consciousness during the Nineteenth Century⁴². With the spread of modern education going to school and college became popular and so also questioning traditional norms and participating in public debate became common among women. Using complex personal narratives of women’s experiences within the *antahpur* (inner chamber); *aturghar* (lying in room) and *bratas* (rituals). The antahpurs were quite metaphorically dimly lit, bereft of fresh air, and where tutoring through *bratas* (rituals involving, vows, fasts and abstinences) to help them adjust well to their marital homes⁴³.

Ashapura Devi’s trilogy traces the lives of three generations of women spanning across the colonial era to the post-colonial period. The three novels, *Pratham Pratishruti* (1964)⁴⁴, *Subarnalata* (1967)⁴⁵ and *Bakulkatha*(1974)⁴⁶ trace the emergence of the Bengali women as enlightened and empowered being struggling against the shackles of discriminatory norms imposed on women by society. The conservative upbringing of her generation is reflected in her writings and she goes on to show how different women reacted differently to the strictures⁴⁷. Some women would comply with the dictates of the male members of the family while other women would resist and protest and carve out their own ways of living. Ashapura Devi herself commented that social scientists record history of the evolution of society, and in her narrative, she tried to capture a rough sketch of that evolution. Quoting Indira Chowdhury from *Rethinking Motherhood*,

⁴² Karlekar M (1991) *Voices from Within: Early Personal Narratives of Bengali Women*, OUP, New Delhi.

⁴³ Ibid. pp 31 – 75.

⁴⁴ Debi A (1964) *Pratham Pratishruti*. Mitra and Ghosh Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Kolkata.

⁴⁵ Debi A (1967) *Subarnalata*. Mitra and Ghosh Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Kolkata.

⁴⁶ Debi A (1974) *Bakulkatha*. Mitra and Ghosh Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Kolkata.

⁴⁷ Chattopadhyay S (2012) Ashapura Devi’s ‘Women’-Emerging Identities in Colonial and Post Colonial Bengal’ *Argument*, Vol 2, (1). *argument-journal.eu*. Vol 2, 1/2012. pp 75 -95. <http://argumentwp.vipserv.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/pdfv2n1/argument-3-05-Suchorita.pdf>. Accessed on 10.4.2019.

Reclaiming a Politics, the trilogy “sees nineteenth century as the original moment for the formation of women as subject of their own discourses, and is a mirror of women’s changing sense of self and their interaction with the household and beyond”.

Ray (2011) in her book ‘Daughters’ traces the life histories of women over five generations and as Amarya Sen writes in his foreword, the book is a serious contribution of the social history of the Bengal depicted through the lives of women of an upper caste family in Bengal. Five generations of women are dealt with, beginning with Ray’s great grandmother eager to be educated but thwarted by the marital family. With successive generations the opportunities increased for women, even though not all Bengali women would have been in a position to reap the benefits of social changes that were spreading their roots in Bengal⁴⁸. To give a sense of history to the ordinary women of Bengal living in towns and cities over the last hundred years, Ray weaves their everyday stories of work, problem solving, progress, refashioning their lives.

Sulekha Sanyal (1928 – 1962) was a highly talented feminist writer of the undivided Bengal, though not very popular among the readers because of her untimely death. Sanyal’s writings are a sensitive collection documenting one of the most tumultuous period of Bengal’s social history with the occurrence of the famine, partition and the inevitable social disintegration that followed. Sanyal’s women struggle in this zone of conflicts and struggle to eke out their existence. Sanyal herself came from a decaying zamindari family, got the opportunity to get herself educated and had been a witness to the Chittagong bombing and these experiences moulded her as a writer. Other factors that influenced her life were the terrorist activities of the nationalist men and women who were actively striving to overthrow the Colonial rule in India. Sanyal too migrated from East Bengal (today’s Bangladesh) to India post partition of the nation. Her life as a refugee too influenced her creative self. Her novel Nabankur published in 1956 is among her major published works.

‘Nabankur’ (The Germinating Seed)⁴⁹ is set within a family of Zamindars of Bengal, whose fortunes are on the wane. The protagonist Chhobi is the daughter of the household

⁴⁸ Ray B (2011) *Daughters: A Story of Five Generations*, Penguin Books, India.

⁴⁹ Tharu S and Lalita K (1991) *Women Writing in India*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi. Vol II. pp 291-305.

who has been given the opportunity to get educated and who also enjoys the mobility to venture out of the household and interact with her peers and other acquaintances across all caste lines. The matriarch of the household Purnashashi does not approve of the amount of freedom given to Chhobi, and is often found to be indulging in discriminatory practices against the girl child even in matters of food. Chhobi is a rebel, a fighter, and registers her protests for each partial act done on the basis of her gender for which Chhobi is termed “poison ivy” of the house. Chhobi is a rational being and does not believe in the fault lines of caste and decides to choose her life partner – Tamal from a lower caste group. Exogamous marriages were a taboo in Bengal like in all other parts of the country and Chhobi is subjected to inhuman violence of being locked up in a dark room without food and other necessities for her refusal to get married to the boy chosen by her family members. Chhobi also gets involved with the movement for justice of the landless labourers who do not get any part of the produce. The landowning farmers and the zamindars pay taxes to the Colonial government and in turn are unable to share the produce with the labourers working in their farms. Chhobi’s transgression from home and the outside world, especially her free interaction with the low castes and the economically weaker sections, develops her humanism. Her journey, her negotiation within the home space cannot be analyzed independent of her activities outside the household. The social requirements of the time has forced women to get acquainted with the world around them, like Chhobi rallied for the rights of the landless peasants under the mentorship of her uncle Adir kaka. The family members relent to her constant persuasion to not get married and move out of the village to the city for further studies. The home space reveals the role of the elder womenfolk in shaping up the lives of the younger ones. Chhobi always had her mother Mamata’s love and sympathies even though Chhobi had the tendency to transgress boundaries and rules laid down at home. Right from questioning the unequal share of food served to boys and girls of the family, to her decision to choose her partner in life and also the time of her marriage, Chhobi has her mother’s empathy, though Mamata may not openly express her feelings to the family. Mamta’s pain of losing two earlier girl children and then yearning to have a girl child till Chhobi was born shows women’s natural affinity for girl children, through whom the

women see their hope and desires bloom. Chhobi's aunt too shows that same love and affection for Chhobi, and through Saraswati, the readers go through the silent sufferings of a woman who have no control over their reproductive rights, and are forced to bear children every year. Purnashashi the matriarch of the household, appears too harsh on Chhobi, expecting Chhobi to conform to the society's norms. Yet, finally one finds the expression of unalloyed affection that Purnashashi nurtures for Chhobi when she gifts her "clove earring" tucked away in her box of treasures, for Chhobi's marriage for Purnashashi knows that she might not be able to see Chhobi getting married. Chhobi's leaving the village and moving to the city by train for higher studies is the imagery of the modern influence on the rural hinterland and the precursor of the things to come. Home space in Bengal during the pre-Independence era was open to the news and activities that were happening in the public spaces too, as women were encouraged to imbibe the swadeshi ideals and support and facilitate the nationalist struggles. Women too inculcated a sense of defiance and confidence in the process as one observes Chhobi's demeanor in the short story.

Malini Bhattacharya (b. 1942) a Professor of English at the prestigious Jadavpur University, Kolkata, is a well-known and well regarded feminist in the feminist and leftist circles. *Meye Dile Shajiye (To Give a Daughter Away)*⁵⁰ was written by her to raise awareness about the perils of giving and taking dowry. The title itself suggests that the bride is being given away dolled up with ornaments and finery, along with all other traditional markers of a good bride. The attributes looked at in the 'marriage market' range from the bride's physical form, educational achievements, and talents acquired with diligence and efficiency on carrying out household chores. The protagonist is an eighteenth famous woman icon, popularised by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay in his novel 'Debi Chaudhurani.' Debi Chaudhurani was a bandit who robbed the rich and distributed their wealth among the poor. Debi Chaudhurani, in her young days as Prafulla, was harassed and driven out of the house by her husband and in laws who were zamindars in Bengal. The play here depicts a court like situation and Debi Chaudhurani

⁵⁰ Tharu S and Lalita K (1991) *Women Writing in India*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi. Vol II. pp 477-478.

presiding over a dispute related to dowry giving and taking of a twentieth century bridegroom and his father. The second wave of women's movement in India took up from where it left during the freedom struggle with the issue of bride burning and rising complaints of young brides being harassed in their marital homes for dowry. Till the publication of the 'Towards Equality' Report in 1975, in the words of Vina Mazumdar⁵¹, educated working women in India were busy with their professional lives alone, till research revealed the ground level condition of women in India, who were still uneducated, mostly working in unorganized sector and different forms of violence were being meted out to them including female infanticide and female foeticide which pulled down the sex ratio in certain regions of India to an appalling low.

The play questions the intention of the dowry takers. The accused men give alibis of richer families' committing the same crimes but going scot free. Debi feels that such offenders should in reality be in jails. A sense of anachronism is palpable in the play. Using Debi Chaudhurani as the leveler of social atrocities has mass acceptance, so the icon appears as the protagonist of the play to create a sense of fear and reverence among the people. Debi questions the need for acquiring safes, beds and bedding for the groom's household even when it empties the pocket of the bride's family. Debi is unhappy about the amount of gold the bride is required to wear and arrive at the marital home. She lists them as armlets, bracelets, necklace and rings. At some marriages cash is also received by the groom's party. The contemporary crisis is revealed through mention of articles such as wardrobe with Godrej label, dressing table. This kind of an exchange is typical of the middle class Bengali society in marriage and the givers and takers do not even realise that such exchanges can lower the status of the woman in society by attributing her value from the amount of dowry she is capable of bringing. The pressure that mounts on the parents of the bride in turn depreciate her value in her natal home since the time of her birth. The wealthier families too exchange gifts and money and tend to get away with those. There is an indication of the perpetuation of the dowry culture by the same brides when they grow old and become mothers in law. "Bride burning, stove bursting and a death a day statistics" bear resonance with the newspaper reports of the 80s. Counter

⁵¹Leading Feminist Scholar, the Founder Director of Centre of Women Development Studies. See Mazumdar V (2010) *Memories of a Rolling Stone*. Zubaan. New Delhi.

arguments are offered by the groom for being responsible for providing “fodder” to the bride all life, directly comparing her life to that of cattle. The Bride’s father thanks Debi for saving his face, where Debi tells him that his daughter has a face too. Women’s identity is always linked with the men in her life and stymies her ambition and her ability to decide her future. This is one of the reasons why women are accused of wishing to own gold and jewellery as she is socialized since childhood that these are the things that augment her value and not her education which is a means to “catch a catch”. The play reveals the futility of dowry as a safety net from domestic violence, since “Give her a million, she is still a doll; sometimes petted and sometimes mauled”. The play also reveals that nothing has changed for the bride since the time of Prafulla to the modern girl armed with a Bachelor of Arts degree. The play ends with a vow that daughters are not burden to the family, rather capable individuals and saying “No to Dowry” is the way forward. The message propagated through the play does have the power to set the audience thinking about making a difference in their own lives.

Women of the Delhi Region:

The construction of women’s lives in Delhi region has not been as elegantly carved out as one finds it in the Kolkata Region. Attempts have been made to present the ideas about women’s lives in Haryana and Punjab since women hailing from these two states comprise majority of the respondents of this study.

The Hindi speaking region has fewer documentations of the rise of the feminist consciousness in the early 20th century compared to Maharashtra Bengal and Tamil Nadu⁵². It was men who agitated against age old practices such as lack of opportunities like education, child marriage, widow remarriage, abolition of Purdah etc., Magazines like Bala Bodhini, Kumari Darpan, Grihalakshmi, Arya Mahila, Mahila Sarvasav, Chand and others brought up questions of personal good health, urging women to become equal partners of men, and not an old shoe, (“Ardhangini ya Paon ki Jooti?”), stop mismatch marriages. Uma Nehru even went to the extent of saying the traditional relationship between men and women as akin to hateful master and slave relationship and that love

⁵² Talwar V B (1989) Feminist Consciousness in Women’s Journals in Hindi, 1910- 20 In Sangari K and Vaid S eds. *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*. Kali for Women, New Delhi. pp 204 -232.

between master and slave is always revolting, unstable and unnatural, urging men and women to move towards companionship⁵³.

Chowdhury (1995) discusses the permissiveness of widow remarriage in colonial Punjab quoting proverbs like '*...aja beti lele phere*

Yoh margya to aur bhatere'

meaning come daughter get married, if this one dies there are plenty more. This practice is in contrast with the Hindus' elsewhere who follow the Brahminical code of prohibition of widow remarriage. Even though deep rooted suspicion is found regarding sexuality of widows, and probably this suspicion could be allayed by sanctions of widow remarriage⁵⁴.

Chowdhury (1989) looks into the role of 'geo-economic' needs of the Jat community of Haryana in shaping their constrictive attitudes towards women and the role of the colonial government in perpetuating those⁵⁵. The ubiquitous dominance of Jats in the region made their customs acceptable and projected for the entire region. In this chronically famine ridden zone male children were compared to rains and more than one son was desired as the mortality rates were high. Sayings like '*chora mure nirbhag ka: chori mure bhagwan ki*' though quite similar to Bengali saying: '*bhagyaban er bou morey aar abhagar goru*' but studies reveal that the low sex ratios resulted from famines and numerous child bearing rather than ancient practices of female infanticide. The economic importance of the hardworking Jat women was well documented in such studies.

The custom of *karewa* (levirate marriage) was popular for it helped to retain control over property rather than offering the right to choose the course of her life. Chowdhury (2005) reiterates the problems with levirate marriages (*karewas*) in post-colonial times too, as women especially in land owning communities go back under men's control. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 which gave absolute rights to the widows strengthened the

⁵³ Ibid. pp 204 -232.

⁵⁴ Chowdhury (1995) Popular Perceptions of Widow Remarriage in Haryana: Past and Present In Ray B Eds. *From the Seams of History: Essays on Indian Women*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. pp 37 – 66.

⁵⁵ Chowdhury (1989) Customs in Peasant Economy: Women in Colonial Haryana. In Sangari K and Vaid S eds. *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*. Kali for Women, New Delhi. pp 302 -336.

karewa tradition which in turn kept alive polygamy which has its repressive effects on women⁵⁶.

Sultana (2006) analyses the fallout of a practice similar to *karewa* tradition in rural Punjab; *Chadar Andazi*, which does not take into consideration the woman's aspirations, rather work towards consolidation family owned property⁵⁷.

Oldenberg (2005) in her exploration of Punjabi social history vis a vis female infanticide as a concomitant to marriage expenses; reveals that dowry rates were only a response to the colonial restructuring of land ownership and revenue system along urbanisation, monetization of agrarian economy and emergent middle class values⁵⁸. While documenting the kind of goods presented to the grooms family, the colonial documenters completely ignored the reciprocity of the gifting process; Oldenberg (2002) further demystifies the origin of domestic violence being categorised as a 'cultural crime'⁵⁹; dowry giving was never a problem rather a support and marker of social status and a safety net. It did not lead to impoverishment of peasants rather the establishment of property rights for peasants. Imperial policies created a more masculine economy and deepened the preference for sons in colonial Punjab. Since the lower middle class Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs moved in as refugees to the capital, Delhi after partition, experiencing how the changing political economy turned benign customs of dowry giving into a vicious practice.

Since violence against women within the home space carried out as practices cannot be discussed in isolation from the epistemic violence women of the north western part of India experience, historical analysis of the structures that facilitate the functioning of such violent acts against women need to be understood (John, 2014). Fictional work

⁵⁶ Chowdhury (2005) Conjugaluty, Law and State: Inheritance Rights as Pivot of Control in Northern India In Basu S eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 179-193.

⁵⁷ Sultana A (2006) Battered in Safe Haven: Women and Domestic Violence In Goel A, Kaur M and Sultana A eds. *Violence Against Women: Issues and Perspectives*, Deep and Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi. pp 37-46.

⁵⁸ Oldenberg VT (2005) The Tangled Tale of Turning a Safety Net into a Noose, In Basu S eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 227-245.

⁵⁹ Oldenberg VT (2002) *Dowry Murder: The Imperial Origins of a Cultural Crime: The Imperial Origins of a Cultural Crime*, OUP, New Delhi, 2002.

written by women may be resorted to for a better comprehension of the lives of women in those regions⁶⁰.

The stories written by women and about women and their spatial interactions within the given spaces pave way for excavating the lives of women; this subsequently offers an overview of how much women are valued vis a vis the spaces they occupy and produce.

The Maika (natal home) is the space a girl inhabits before her marriage but it is in this space that she gets conditioned to carry herself *appropriately* according to the norms of patriarchy. This space is viewed through the novel *Lihaaf*⁶¹ authored by Ismat Chughtai (1915 -1991), a celebrated author in the Urdu language, who in her own words, would write about women since women's issues would usually be pushed under the carpet. *Lihaaf* is a bold story of a little girl's encounter with lesbianism but the story clearly brings out the socializing processes of little girls with restricted and supervised movement outdoors; educational opportunities are there for her, but only secondary to the boys in the household. Though her stories revolve around well-off middle-class families, they allow the readers to get a glimpse into the psyche of the girl child who is aware of the deprivations she is subjected to. Gendering processes begin with instances of reprimanding a girl child playing with boys. The glimpses of the sasural (marital home) are also seen in the novel, where an upper-class married woman's existence is compared to being installed like furniture. Wajeda Tabassum (b. 1935)⁶² in her story "Uttran" meaning cast off, brings together the lives of young girls before marriage from two different classes. For girls from both classes, marriage happens to be the most important route to social mobility, and even from a very young age, class privileges are so well socialized from within the household and learn to treat people from other classes with suspicion. The young mistress comments about the wet nurse's daughter; "when she gets all my wedding castoffs, her dowry will be ready". There are constant attempts at transgressions across the class lines as are the efforts to preserve those lines. Questions

⁶⁰John M (2014) "Sex Ratios and Sex Selection: History and the Present", *Routledge Handbook of Gender in South Asia*, edited Leela Fernandes, Routledge: London and New York. pp 291-304.

⁶¹ Tharu S and Lalita K (1991) *Women Writing in India*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi. Vol II. pp 126-138.

⁶²Ibid. pp 409-415.

emerge from young voices about what becomes more important for social acceptability; one's abilities as an individual and one's class privileges.

The sasuraal (marital home) is the space within which the greater part of women's lives are spent. In a patrilocal marriage system, this arrangement requires a whole lot of adjustments from a married woman. In her novel *Ekadasi*, set in the backdrop of the reform movement of Arya Samaj, Subhadra Kumari Chauhan (1904 –1948)⁶³ a celebrated author of Hindi, critiques Hindu social practices of polygamy, child marriage, taboo, and widow remarriage. The protagonist's question: "today is Ekadasi- how can anyone eat sweets on this day?" elicits the enforcement of discipline and abstemious behaviour among women through rituals of vrats (fasts). Such conditioning stays with women till the end of their lives and the ideas of enlightenment and modernity that were driving the reform movements and the anti-colonial movement in India did not have any influence on women from lower economic echelon of society. Homvati Devi (1906 – 1951) a young widow herself from Meerut city, explores the issues of women's not having ownership of property in the story "Apna Ghar" (Our Home)⁶⁴. A young widow as the protagonist has no rights in her own natal home as her father's property had been transferred to her male cousin. Her own son was discriminated against as he had to walk to school in the rain as his cousins would keep "no place in the car". Her everyday negotiations to forage bare necessities for her only son, Neelam draws the reader's attention to the vulnerability women experience for not having property of their own. Mahadevi Verma (1907- 1987)⁶⁵ writes "Lachhma" about a hill girl married to a mentally retarded person. Lachhma was initially exploited and driven out of her marital home. At her natal home her sister in law dies of what appears to be a case of maternal mortality and Lachhma mothers her brother's children. Her extreme hard work is the only way to make ends meet and when she gets the opportunity to get educated she asks "do you think I am a human being like you? I am an animal". Yet there are flickering moments when she wishes to break free from the drudgery of labour and know about life beyond the

⁶³ Ibid. pp 419-423.

⁶⁴ Ibid. pp 437-443.

⁶⁵ Ibid. Vol I pp 459-469.

home. In her satirical short story “Kartavya” (Duty), Kamala Chaudhry⁶⁶ narrates the story of a woman abandoned by her husband during a boat ride and asks how society justifies his dastardly and selfish act. Usha and everyone related to Usha knew that her “husband loves her very much”. Women’s complete dependence over their husbands’ is reiterated through women’s unwillingness to acknowledge their mistakes. Shivani (b.1923)⁶⁷ is one of the most influential feminist voices in India. Within the world view of her fiction, there are hardly any contradictions which cannot be transcended with sympathy and goodness. In her work of fiction “Dadi” (Grandmother), a grandmother is unwelcome in her daughter-in-law’s house. An alternate role of a mother-in-law appears in her novel, of a de-sexualised grandmother, whose only concern is to keep her family members safe from the lurking dangers beyond the home space.

Tiwana (1980) exposes the life of a woman who lacks resources of having a home of her own once she is widowed and how she is driven to suicide for the lack of acceptance within family households⁶⁸.

Siddiq Begam Shevharvi (b.1925)⁶⁹, a member of the progressive writer’s association and influenced by Marxist thought, lived and worked with bidi⁷⁰ workers’ trade union. Her work of fiction *Tare Laraz Rahe Hain* (The Stars are Trembling) is a poignant story about how a woman’s life changes with marriage. In this story the lives of two young women of the household are juxtaposed to each other; one is not even free to go to a college and pursue higher education while the unmarried daughter of the household enjoys the same freedom. She is jeered upon as “an old mare wishing to deck herself with a red saddle” Even younger men of the family, exposed to the modern values aren’t sympathetic to the women’s desires of venturing into the public space after marriage.

The popular literature may have been based on imagination too, yet the stories reveal the distinct cultural codes women followed in the two different geographical regions. The

⁶⁶ Ibid. Vol I pp. 472-475.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Vol II. pp 180-187.

⁶⁸ Tiwana DK (1980) *And Such Is Her Fate*. Punjab University Press, Patiala.

⁶⁹ ⁶⁹ Tharu S and Lalita K (1991) *Women Writing in India*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi. Vol II. pp 197-204.

⁷⁰ Small, thin hand rolled cigarettes made of tobacco leaves.

academic research on women lives in private and public spaces in the two chosen regions have been surveyed below.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE:

Research on domestic violence in the current times have been organized in three categories, first recent studies on the domestic violence around the world in urban areas, and the next two categories focus on studies on domestic violence as well as the lived experiences of contemporary urban women in Delhi and Kolkata.

Domestic Violence: Ghadhially (2007) assesses the impact of the women's movement and activism through amendments of laws, reservation, research on women made a permanent mark on the conscience of women in the public sphere and also breaking the silence around private issues⁷¹.

From the initial pioneering studies of Dobash and Dobash (1992) recognizing the problem of wife abuse and collective action, charts women's movement, therapeutic measures for battered women and also engaging with the State, public policy and social change⁷².

Carlson (1984) presents various levels such as Individual, Family, Socio structural and Socio cultural levels at which domestic violence emerges and thrives⁷³. Johnson and Ferraro (2000) urges researcher to distinguish between types and contexts of violence to avoid casual generalizations and to focus on issues of control in relationships, why men need to control 'their' women⁷⁴. Straus and Gilles (1986) compared wife abuse rates over 10 year period in United States and attributed the decline in wife abuse rates as differences in method of studies, reluctance to report abuse, reduction in violence due to ten year long intervention, and spontaneous reduction; and these factors helped in future policy formulation for combating incidences of wife abuse⁷⁵. Johnson (1995) distinguishes between common couple violence and patriarchal terrorism, which is a

⁷¹ Ghadhially R (2007) Introduction In Ghadhially R Eds. *Urban Women in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi. pp 15-28.

⁷² Dobash R E and Dobash R P (1992) *Women, Violence and Social Change*, Routledge, London. pp 15-59.

⁷³ Carlson B E (1984) Causes and Maintenance of Domestic Violence: An Ecological Analysis, *The Social Service Review*, Vol 58. No 4. pp 569-587.

⁷⁴ Johnson P and Ferraro K J (2000) Research on Domestic Violence in the 1990s: Making Distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Vol: 62, No. 4. pp 948-963.

⁷⁵ Straus M A and Gelles R J (1986) Societal Change and Change in Family Violence from 1975 to 1985, as Revealed by Two National Surveys, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol: 48, August. pp 465-479.

systematic way of controlling women. It is important to distinguish between the two as it has implication for the implementation of public policy⁷⁶. Johnson (2005) in his response to a host of articles claiming that women too can be as violent as men in intimate relations, he lists three kinds of violence within intimate relationships: violence enacted in the service of taking general control over one's partner (intimate terrorism), violence utilized in response to intimate terrorism (violent resistance) and violence that is not embedded in a general pattern of power and control but is a function of the escalation of a specific conflict or a series of conflicts (situational couple violence) and studies always confirm intimate terrorism as high as 4/5th of the samples⁷⁷. Warrington (2001) deconstructs home as a space of safety and support, in reality is a place of violence, and restriction of women in spaces whether in the homes or shelters, are not free of anticipation of violence by their partners⁷⁸. Doan and Kelly (1997) in their exploration of geographical concentration of cases of domestic violence in metropolitan area of Duval County, Florida, with the help of police records they established that assaultive violence was concentrated in areas of poverty concentration⁷⁹. Melzer (2002) studied the effects of occupation on intimate violence and inferred that men with in violent jobs with dominant women at work often have a spill-over effect of being violent at home⁸⁰. Tauchen, Witte and Long (1991) links domestic violence to non-cooperative families where violence is used as a controlling behaviour. Low income households with single earning member are at a higher risk as the dominant member uses violence as a gratification for control as well as release of frustration⁸¹.

Williams and Barry (2004) looked into factors that lead to reoffending among the perpetrators of domestic violence through models and risk assessment may be done for

⁷⁶ Johnson MP (1995) Patriarchal Terrorism and Common Couple Violence: Two forms of Violence against Women, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol 57, No. 2. pp 283-294.

⁷⁷ Johnson M P (2005) Domestic Violence is not about Gender: Or is it? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol 67, No.5. pp 1126-1130.

⁷⁸ Warrington M (2001) 'I must get out': the geographies of domestic violence, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol 26, No. 3. pp 365-382.

⁷⁹ Doan RM and Kelly S (1997) Geographic concentration of Violence between Intimate Partners, *Public Health Reports*, Vol: 112, No 2. pp 135-141.

⁸⁰ Melzer S A (2002) Gender, Work and Intimate Violence: Men's Occupational Violence Spillover and Compensatory Violence, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol: 64, No. 4. pp 820-832.

⁸¹ Tauchen H V, Witte AD, Long S K (1991) Domestic Violence: A Nonrandom Affair, *International Economic Review*, Vol: 32, No 2. pp 491-511.

victims whether they would be subjected to further violence⁸². Flynn (1990) agrees that women too use violence at times in intimate relationships which is often played down by researchers for the fear that attention would be diverted from the more serious male offender, but it too should be addressed in an objective manner, which would be helpful in critically understanding of relationship of violence⁸³. Umberson, Anderson, Glick and Shapiro (1998) in their findings reveal that low self-esteem of the perpetrator contribute to partner abuse but the effects of abuse has a far more detrimental effect on lowering women's self-esteem⁸⁴. Rothenberg (2002) contest Leonore Walker's theory of battered women's syndrome through her empirical study and contest the idea of women staying in violent relationships as a function of cultural conditions alone⁸⁵.

Padayachee and Manjoo (1996) pointed out that law alone cannot deter cases of wife abuse; networking among social workers holds the key to successful implementation of laws against wife abuse⁸⁶. Go, Johnson, Bentley, Sivaram, Srikrishnan, Celentano and Solomon (2003) studied victims of domestic violence where violence was routinely used to discipline wives and enforce gender norms. Changing the norms of socially accepted violence may be the key to lower incidences of violence among partners⁸⁷.

Rudd (2007) points to the economic factors stating that often dowry is demanded to relieve financial pressure. The financial changes at the macro level impacted the familial situation of adjusting with inflation, fewer jobs for sons whose parents had paid a high price for their education and a general feeling of desperation to maintain their present standard of living⁸⁸.

⁸² Williams K R and Houghton A B (2011) Assessing the Risk of Domestic Violence Reoffending: A Validation Study. *Law and Human Behaviour*, Vol.28, No. 4. pp 437-455.

⁸³ Flynn C P. (1990) Relationship Violence by Women: Issues and Implications, *Family Relations*, Vol. 39, No. 2. pp 194-198.

⁸⁴ Umberson D, Anderson K, Glick J and Shapiro A (1998) Domestic Violence, Personal Control and Gender, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol 60, No. 2. pp 442-452.

⁸⁵ Rothenberg B (2002) The Success of the Battered Woman Syndrome: An Analysis of How Cultural Arguments Succeed, *Sociological Forum*, Vol 17, No.1. pp 81-103.

⁸⁶ Padayachee A and Manjoo R (1996) Domestic Violence support Services will fail without Agency Networking, *Agenda*, No. 30. pp 73-78.

⁸⁷ Go V F, Johnson SC, Bentley ME, Sivaram S, Srikrishnan A K, Celentan D D, Solomon S (2003) Crossing the Threshold: Engendered definition of socially acceptable violence in Chennai, India, *Culture Health and Sexuality*, Vol 5, No 5. pp 393-408.

⁸⁸ Rudd J (2007) Dowry Murder: An Example of Violence Against Women, In Ghadhially R Eds. *Urban Women in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi. pp 89-99.

Tolman and Raphael (2000) link the impact of domestic violence on employed women and women who gain from welfare schemes. Since researchers of domestic violence are not trained to evaluate poverty and welfare schemes, there exists a gap in the findings⁸⁹.

Ranadive JD (2002) uses micro situations to understand how an increase in the social space can have a positive impact on their economic spaces and vice versa⁹⁰. Ranadive (2008) elucidated the emotive nature of familial dynamics which make economic analysis of the choices women make within families difficult⁹¹.

Srimati Basu (2005) questions links between the traditions of gifting during marriage and the burning of brides in their marital homes and finds dowry to be an over-determined signifier of a complex range of sexual violence. She uses Strauss's and Marcel's argument to understand the gifting process as a symbol of status and culture and later through Gayle Rubin's argument that it is specific ideologies of sexuality and links it to political economy, class and other hierarchical structures⁹². Basu also discusses Laurel Bossen's argument which challenges the role of women as passive homogeneous category; and women too reject, veto, and nullify agreements made by men making them scramble for economic order when women disrupt their arrangements; making them subverters and transactors of material relations⁹³. Though value of women and dowry/bride price dichotomy has gained coinage, yet there isn't a shift from dowry to bride price even when there is an improvement in the status of women in the community. Basu talks of multiple ways of altering the culture of marriage payment by boycotting dowry, avoiding extravagant weddings, extending full inheritance to daughters or making women co-sharers of marital property. Sheel (1999, 2005) in her research on the political economy of dowry, looks into the process of modernization of the dowry giving as a

⁸⁹ Tolman R M and Raphael J (2000) A Review of Research on Welfare and Domestic Violence, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol 56, No. 4. pp 655-681.

⁹⁰ Ranadive JD (2002) *Space for Power: Women's Work and Family Strategies in South-East Asia*, Rainbow Publishers Limited, Noida.

⁹¹ Ranadive JD (2008) Introduction In Ranadive JD Eds. *Democracy in the Family: Insights from India*, Sage, New Delhi. pp 1-22.

⁹² Basu S (2005) The Politics of Giving: Dowry and Inheritance. In Basu S. Eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp i-liv.

⁹³ Ibid. pp i-liv.

response to the volatile money economy, rise of the organised sector, and the continuing process of sanskritisation that still gives meaning to dowry giving and taking⁹⁴.

Kishwar (2005) despairs that there had been little demonstration effect of the boycotters of dowry in the form of giving, taking as well as attending wedding which indulged in them. Kishwar blames that lack of inheritance laws for women which prompt women to not lose out on the small part women get during marriages. The real problem is never the amount of dowry that leads to harassment but is about who controls them and the women⁹⁵. Palriwala (2005) critiques Kishwar's earlier stand of focusing on Dowry alone and not linking it to devaluation of women in later day India⁹⁶. As money became the measure of value women's declining ability to bring in cash has led to a devaluation of women. Lakshmi (2005) too critiques Kishwar's claim of women themselves willing to take dowry, Cultural chauvinism apart for women's declining status are reasons that perpetuated it even in the southern regions of the country⁹⁷. Kishwar (2005) clarifies her position calling all existing inheritance laws for women as paper laws, and based on her personal research claims that women who are harassed for dowry are usually the ones whose fathers and brothers do own some property or business. She suggests 'wills' should be made invalid which do not include women, all land and property and succession law should be amended and daughters to be included; and any document in which a woman disinherits her property should be considered invalid.

Sen, Biswas and Dhawan (2011) aver the need to study family relationships in their historical, geographical and cultural contexts. The disillusionment with the post Independent India's socialism and the new liberalization during the 90s projected urban middle class women as liberated consumers, pursuing careers and symbolized a nation free from gender discrimination. This stereotypical 'politics of forgetting' the poor and working classes associated with capitalist societies, not addressing the structural

⁹⁴ Sheel R (1999) *The Political Economy of Dowry: Institutionalization and Expansion in North India*, Manohar, New Delhi; Sheel R (2005) *The Political Economy of Dowry*, In Basu S Eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 246-264.

⁹⁵ Kishwar M (2005) *Rethinking Dowry Botcott*, In Basu S Eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 268-278.

⁹⁶ Palriwala R (2005) *Re-Affirming the Anti-Dowry Struggle* In Basu S Eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 279-290.

⁹⁷ Lakshmi C S (2005) *On Kidneys and Dowry* In Basu S Eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 291-297.

inequalities that leave women at a lower status. De-territorialization of media has challenged the stereotypical roles of women without recourse to the binaries of vamp and virtuous⁹⁸.

According to Dasgupta (2010), the Indian diasporic community in the Western world too have been addressing concerns regarding Domestic Violence, and how women are expected to not make their complaints public in order to keep the 'model community' reputation strong within the larger milieu of the American society⁹⁹.

Sunny (2003) lists need for sensitization for tackling problems of domestic violence from her study based on select districts of Kerala¹⁰⁰.

The literature discussed above summarises research on domestic violence in India and other parts of the world, the following section discusses research that were conducted in the selected study areas, namely cities of Delhi and Kolkata. The case of Delhi may be drawn from the following studies.

Basu (2005) in her research on dowry and inheritance of women found out that even though women have substantive rights to inheritance in the post-colonial era, but rarely lay claim to the property of natal family citing ideological hindrances.¹⁰¹ Refusals of property not only shows women acceptance of cultural norms, rather the negotiation of material, social and emotional needs, a complex mix of consternation, affection and optimized survival strategies¹⁰². Coupled with the socio-cultural prescriptions of what befits a good daughter/sister's behaviour in relinquishing parental property, the political economy too plays a potent role in determining the value of women in society. Oldenberg from her research on dowry murders in Punjab¹⁰³ found that the colonialists brought in the notion of private property rights in land, and replaced communal or joint rights so 'land' too became alienable, as property is. As the tillers got titles from the British, land

⁹⁸ Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N (2011) Introduction In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N (2011) eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 1-31.

⁹⁹ Dasgupta S D (2010) An Intimate Dilemma: Anti-Domestic Violence Activism among Indians in the United States of America In Datta B eds. *9 Degrees of Justice*, Zubaan, New Delhi. pp 52-82.

¹⁰⁰ Sunny C (2003) *Domestic Violence against Women in Ernakulam District*, Discussion Paper 55, Kerala Research Programme on Local Level Development, Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram.

¹⁰¹ Basu S (2005) Haklenewali: Indian Women's Negotiations of Discourses of Inheritance. In Basu S Eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 151-170.

¹⁰² Ibid. pp 151-170.

¹⁰³ Oldenberg V T (2002) *Dowry Murders: Imperial Origins of a Cultural Crime*, OUP, New Delhi. pp 1-20.

became a commodity, but since women never got the titles, they got alienated from the land and thus devalued¹⁰⁴. It was the altered political economy that changed the benign custom of dowry giving which also acted as a safety net¹⁰⁵ for women after marriage, took vicious proportions and assumed an extortionary mode. The traditional patriarchal value of women not getting part of the parental property works in tandem with modern patriarchal values and normalises women's impoverishment and perpetuates her dependent status.

Chowdhury (2005) reiterates the enforcement of the repressive custom *karewa* or the levirate system of widow re-marriage is a way to appropriate the property rights of the widow, thereby forcing her to relinquish her rights of inheritance, her desire for relative autonomy- both economic and sexual.¹⁰⁶ Chowdhury (2011) also notes that the dominant ideology of pro boy child also has severe impact not only on the sex ratios but the expectations for men to be able to beget sons. The men too are treated socially inadequate if unable to beget male child and this displaced masculinity escalates forms of gender based violence¹⁰⁷.

Padhi (2011) links agrarian crisis in Punjab and women forced to fend for their own selves besides looking after domestic chores. The quiet resilience of these women's daily negotiations open up spaces to rethink ideas of empowerment and reformulate politics to redress the mechanisms of socio-economic conditions which further entrenches the hold of patriarchy on women's lives¹⁰⁸.

Singh and Singh (2013) in their analysis of women victims of Domestic Violence in Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh, suggest that apart from the role of the State, Non Governmental Organizations too can make efforts to raise awareness and offer means of empowerment of women to prevent incidences of Domestic Violence¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. pp 1-20.

¹⁰⁵ Oldenberg V T (2005) The Tangled Tale of Twisting a Safety Net into a Noose, In Basu S eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 227-245.

¹⁰⁶ Chowdhury P (2005) Conjugal, Law and State: Inheritance Rights as Pivot of Control in North India. In Basu S eds. *Dowry and Inheritance*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 171-193.

¹⁰⁷ Chowdhury P (2011) Men, Marriage and Sexuality in Northern India In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 241-262.

¹⁰⁸ Padhi R (2011) Impact of Agrarian Crisis on Women in Punjab In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 218-240.

¹⁰⁹ Singh S and Singh M B (2013) The Women Victims of Domestic Violence in Narayanpur Block, Mirzapur District, Uttar Pradesh, *National Geographical Journal of India*, Vol: 59 (3) Sept. pp 271-278.

Tanwar (2007) used empirical data to understand the problems and issues of Dowry in North India¹¹⁰.

Sheel (1999) looks at historical aspects of colonial rule and the post-colonial state in institutionalising dowry in North India¹¹¹.

Grover (2011) documents low caste, class women's experiences with marriage, love, caste and kinship support in a slum of Delhi. The conjugal contracts women enter in and how the ideas of the male breadwinner shape love, affection and the creation of an exemplary husband and wife model. The subaltern working lives and the conflicts between ideals and experiences of women open newer spaces for negotiation for women and the supportive role of the kinship is also explored through these experiences¹¹².

Bhatia (2012) elicits the reliefs the civil law offer women after the watershed legal intervention of the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 was passed. The new law has been able to offer relief to women in live-in relationships which were not recognized earlier as conjugal relationship¹¹³. Though the study was representative of all caste categories, upper class respondent were unwilling to discuss their private lives, and Bhatia also found an overwhelming lack of legal illiteracy among the women. The Act is not quite able to control sexual violence, but it has helped reduce the amount of litigation between natal and marital families of women as earlier they had to resort to only Section 498A of Indian Penal Code¹¹⁴.

Dasgupta (2010) exposes the kinds of violence couples face for independently choosing partners in the North India, particularly Haryana.¹¹⁵ Reiterating Chowdhury's (2012) observation that marriage in this region is more of a social rather than an individual act and individuals needs and desires are ignored and for the sake of alliance between families for material transaction. Disciplining errant women by means of unleashing violence on them is an accepted norm. Dasgupta also brings out the unacceptability of

¹¹⁰ Tanwar R (2007) *Dowry: The North Indian Perspective*. Hope India. Gurgaon.

¹¹¹ Sheel R (1999) *The Political Economy of Dowry: Institutionalisation and Expansion in North India*. Manohar, New Delhi.

¹¹² Grover S (2011) *Marriage, Love, Caste and Kinship Support: Lived Experiences of the Urban Poor in India*, Social Science Press, New Delhi.

¹¹³ Bhatia M (2012) Domestic Violence in India, Cases under the Protection of Women From Domestic Violence Act, 2005, *South Asia Research*, Vol 32(2) New Delhi. pp 103-122.

¹¹⁴ Op Cit.

¹¹⁵ Dasgupta R (2010) Criminalizing Love, Punishing Desire In Datta B eds. *9 Degrees of Justice*, Zubaan, New Delhi. pp 229-257.

inter-religious marriages and the retribution for such transgressions through violent retaliations. The lack of awareness about the existence of honour killings is widespread in the country. That is also one reason for such incidents to not receive their due importance. Chowdhury (2012) looks into the social reality that is behind the breached social norm of arranged marriages in North India. The state apparatus remains helpless as legitimate becomes illegitimate and illegitimate becomes legitimate through caste panchayats¹¹⁶. Paul (1990) had observed that dowry demand in Delhi region often happened after marriage, and not during the period when the marriage was getting finalized; and greater than sixty percent women respondents were unaware of the laws which protect women from dowry demand¹¹⁷.

The studies referred to in this section offer a comprehensive idea regarding the prevalence and issues related to Domestic Violence in Delhi. To get a similar idea about the studies that were conducted in Kolkata, the following research work were selected.

Manisha Roy (1992) in her study of the life cycle of Bengali women focuses in the overarching goal of getting married; overshadowing women's other engagements in life. Upper class women's resistance to being inspected before marriage is well documented as it acts as an insult to her 'self' because her lower class counterparts are subjected to the same. The romantic expectations from marriage acts as a defense to her apprehensions regarding the *sasur bari*; and the later disappointments that follow are documented.¹¹⁸

Bhattacharya (2000) in her study of poor households of Kolkata tries to revalidate that in poor households where women are the breadwinners, experience less violence and have a higher status, but contrary to that, she finds that dependence on husbands is an ideological construct rather than a mere economic feature¹¹⁹. Sen (1999) through her empirical study of victims of domestic violence in Calcutta reveals that employed status of women alone do not act as a deterrent for violence but social networks women forge,

¹¹⁶ Chowdhury (2012) *Contentious Marriages, Eloping Couples: Gender, Caste, and Patriarchy in Northern India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

¹¹⁷ Paul M C (1990) Dowry related Crimes against Women: A Study of Delhi metropolis, *Social Change*, Vol 22, No. 4. pp 34-47.

¹¹⁸ Roy M (1992) *Bengali Women*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

¹¹⁹ Bhattacharya M (2000) Iron Bangles to Iron Shackles: A Study of Women's Marriage and Subordination Within Poor Households in Calcutta, *Man in India*, 80 (1 & 2). pp 1-29.

do make a difference. Collective resistance to domestic violence can enhance a women's personal control¹²⁰.

Arup Kumar Chakrabartty (2011) in his study of Domestic Violence in municipal areas of Sonarpur and Rajpur in Kolkata, found that younger women, women with lesser education and women who were not employed were at a higher risk of being subjected to violence and the women's links with the community can provide relief and also alter violent situations at home¹²¹.

Madhurima Mukhopadhyaya (2011) in her study of Hindu Bengalis of various economic classes in Kolkata¹²²; found that in modern context of love marriages, individual choices are gaining importance over familial wishes and the pre destination in matchmaking. Present day women have a better say in negotiations before marriage, even though they mostly tied to hegemonic norms and values.

Dhawan (2011) argues that legal and social norms diverge and converge in varied and multiple ways and these norms consolidate the caste class hierarchies in marriage and hence the need for feminist politics to question those practices are needed, which are out of the realm of legal and perpetuate hegemonic structures in marriages¹²³.

Datta (2011) focuses on the multiple structures of oppression working within the household which make it difficult for women to optimally use their agential capacities as specific gender based ideologies consolidate and reiterate patriarchal inequalities¹²⁴.

Sengupta (2011) analyses marriage from the site of a working class household, and draws a link between women's earning capacities and their control over resources. For women

¹²⁰ Sen P (1999) Enhancing Women's Choices in Responding to Domestic Violence in Calcutta: A Comparison of Employment and Education, *European Journal of Education and Research*, Vol: 11 (2). pp 65-86.

¹²¹ Chakrabartty A (2011) *Domestic Violence Against Women in an Urban Area in West Bengal, India*. VDM Verlag Dr. Muller GmbH & Co. Saarbruken, Germany.

¹²² Mukhopadhyay M (2011) Choice and Agency in Marital Decisions: A Study Among Hindu Bengalis across Class in Kolkata In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 121-148.

¹²³ Dhawan N (2011) The 'Legitimate' in Marriage: Legal Regulation and Social Norms in Kolkata In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 173-194.

¹²⁴ Datta D (2011) At the Crossroads? Gender and Multiple Patriarchies in marriage and Family in Contemporary Bengali Society in Kolkata In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 173-194.

both staying married and taking up paid jobs are outcomes of specific existential needs and work outside home may create dissension or may build partnerships of solidarity¹²⁵.

For specific studies on feminist intervention in Family Law, which is the core area of the present research, the following studies were referred to.

Kapur and Crossman (1996) call the feminist legal terrain as a discursive area where battles over normative meanings of gender are fought. Legal reforms do serve political purposes and could act as “subversive sites” for reversal of gender stereotypes.¹²⁶

Menon (2004) contends that the liberating power of the constitutional provisions have exhausted itself in the post-colonial times. It is time to look beyond legal reforms while engaging with women’s issues within the domain of family.¹²⁷

Gangoli (2007) avers Menon’s point of view, and observes that right from the inception of the women’s movement, various women’s groups in India had adopted various non-legal methods of negotiating issues of Domestic violence. With time Domestic Violence came to be recognized as violation of human rights and Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code had been used as a negotiating tool for women.¹²⁸

Jaising (2005) highlights the problems of having plural legal systems which was fallout of the colonial legacy.¹²⁹ Jaising (2014) charts the journey into the making of the Protection of women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, eliciting the changes in defining domestic violence, domestic relationships, shared household; right to residence and the monitoring of the working of the Act by the organisation named Lawyer’s Collective¹³⁰.

¹²⁵ Sengupta N (2011) The Double Burden: An Exploration of Domestic Worker Households of Kolkata In Sen S, Biswas R and Dhawan N eds. *Intimate Others: Marriage and Sexuality in India*, Stree, Kolkata. pp 195-217.

¹²⁶ Kapur R and Crossman B (1996) *Subversive Sites: Feminist Engagements with Law in India*, Sage, New Delhi.

¹²⁷ Menon N (2004) *Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*, Permanent Black, New Delhi.

¹²⁸ Gangoli G (2007) *Indian Feminisms: Law Patriarchies and Violence in India*, Ashgate.

¹²⁹ Jaising I (2005) Gender Justice: A Constitutional Perspective In Jaising I eds. *Mens’s Laws Women’s Lives: A constitutional perspective on religion, common law and culture in South Asia*. Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 1-22.

¹³⁰ Jaising I (2014) Bringing Rights Home: Review of the Campaign for a Law on Domestic Violence. In Kannabiran K Eds. *Women and Law: Critical Feminist Perspectives*. Sage. New Delhi. pp xv-xxi.

Kannabiran (2014) brings out the importance of law for not only touching women's lives but whether the law engages with punitive, legislative, restitutive, interpretive or positive actions.

Sen (2010) draws from her personal experiences to reveal the insensitivity of the law which turns a deaf ear to women's everyday sufferings, and how narratives can help expose the personal pains women endure in marriage and how they are translated in the legal language. She concludes that even though the women's movement was successful in getting violence within marital homes recognized, yet the everyday sufferings of women and their pain of silence remains 'un-politicized'¹³¹.

Within the ambit of feminist interventions in Family Law, the most significant is the introduction of Alternate Dispute Resolution Systems that are now turning popular among social groups in urban and rural areas. The studies mentioned below document recent research on the subject.

Mirchandani (2006) in her analysis of domestic violence cases in Salt Lake City, Utah finds transformation in governance of gender and gender of governance which earlier like all state agencies were patriarchal, guided by men's interests and reproducing their dominance. State also co-opts feminism while retaining patriarchal inclinations. Social movements from below can make a difference in legislature as well as the judiciary¹³².

Basu (2006) in her ethnographic study of the family courts and women's grievance cells in Kolkata, discovers that these institutions were used for the purpose of negotiation between family members for the restoration of family life and women are often counseled under the overarching archaic patriarchal values of being subdued and conform to the ways of the natal home, and often advised to not invoke Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code as it often leads to closing possibilities of women returning to her matrimonial home¹³³.

¹³¹ Sen R (2010) Women's Subjectivities of Suffering and Legal Rhetoric on Domestic Violence: Fissures in the Two Discourses, *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol: 17. pp 375-401.

¹³² Mirchandani R (2006) Hitting is not Manly: Domestic Violence Courts and the Re-imagining of Patriarchal State. *Gender and Society*, Vol 20, No 6, Dec. 2006. pp 781-804.

¹³³ Basu S (2006) Playing off the courts: The Negotiation of Divorce and Violence in Plural Legal Settings in Kolkata, *Journal of Legal Pluralism*, nr.52. pp 41-75.

Basu (2012) exposes the procedural patterns of family courts dealing with cases pertaining to Domestic Violence¹³⁴. Basu too like Mirchandani finds that family courts do make a dent into patriarchal spaces even though there may be a pro-reconciliation mode of operation in these spaces.

Vimochana (2007) an NGO based in Bangalore narrates their experiences with advocacy for domestic violence victims. The apathy of the community, the resistance from the natal family for the girl to shift back to the natal home, and often women are willing to forgive their abusers in order to revive their relationship¹³⁵.

Magar (2007) explores contemporary intervention strategies to counter domestic violence against women in slums of Delhi through the interactions of NGOs. Social and political participation of victims of domestic violence through the Mahila Panchayats enhances their individual capabilities of addressing the violence that was meted out to them as well as group capabilities by becoming a part of the network of women¹³⁶.

Anand (2012) contributed to literature on Alternate Dispute Resolution through her narration of life stories of victims of Domestic Violence at the Women Cell of Delhi located at Nanakpura in Delhi. She narrates how women use their agential capacities with the support of law, police and counselors at the crime against women cells¹³⁷.

Vanka and Kumari (2008) studied the proceedings of family courts in Andhra Pradesh, where settlement of family disputes are sought through informal sans the rigid rules of procedures. The socio-economic background of the victims as well as the counselors often determined the outcome of a case, along with the workload and the resources available with the lawyers¹³⁸.

Bhatla and Rajan (2008) studied cases of domestic violence through women initiated community responses. The three systems studied were, Shalishi system in West Bengal, Nari Adalat/ Mahila Panch of Gujarat, and Nari Adalat/ Sahara Sangh of Uttarakhand and

¹³⁴ Basu S (2012) "Judges of Normality: Mediating Marriage in the Family Courts of Kolkata, India" *Signs* 37.2 (2012) pp 469-492.

¹³⁵ Vimochana (2007) When Homes are Torture Chambers In Ghadhially R Eds. *Urban Women in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi. pp 100-108.

¹³⁶ Magar V (2007) Empowerment Approaches to Gender Based Violence: Women's Courts in Delhi Slums In Ghadhially R Eds. *Urban Women in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi. pp 118-136.

¹³⁷ Anand R (2012) *Room 103 Nanakpura Thana*, Times Group Books, New Delhi.

¹³⁸ Vanka and Kumari (2008) Sustaining Democracy within the Family through Family Courts In Ranadive JD Eds. *Democracy in the Family: Insights from India*, Sage, New Delhi. pp 113-127.

Uttar Pradesh. Through democratic methods, these forums seek a middle path between the erring partners for negotiations and finally changing social norms to redefining justice by making space for feminist perspectives¹³⁹. Creating a model of preventive justice, often work towards subverting the interests of the dominant and acting as a deterrent for violence within homes.

Sramajibi Mahila Samiti (2008) documents community based responses in Domestic Violence in West Bengal. Community based interventions brought about a distinct change in women's lives and their reach spread wider among different communities, though the author feels that community based interventions may prevent domestic violence yet they must be used with caution as their success depends on the ideology of the community¹⁴⁰.

Alternate Dispute Resolution in Domestic Violence cases in India as Ghosh (2004) puts it, is more about preserving marriage and cessation of abuse. Very rarely a divorce or separation is arbitrated. Since violence is used for controlling women, who take marriage as their career, and have very little access to resources, the hierarchical structure within the household makes it impossible for women to look for an alternate mode of living, but raising the culpability and accountability of men as perpetrators of domestic violence may hold the key to the transformation of the family structure¹⁴¹.

The review of literature brings to light the aspects of domestic violence research that have been conducted in India and also the areas that need require more attention. On the basis of the review, the objectives of this research have been presented below.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The objectives of the of the study have been listed below.

1. To study the differences in the rates of crimes in general, among the rates of crimes against women and rates of domestic violence at all India level(district-wise and city-wise patterns)
2. To identify the presence of regional subcultures of violence.

¹³⁹ Bhatla and Rajan (2008) Private Concerns in Public Discourse Courts In Ranadive JD Eds. Democracy in the Family: Insights from India, Sage, New Delhi. pp 128-150.

¹⁴⁰ Shramajibee Mahila Samiti (2008) The Shalishi in West Bengal: A Community Based Response to Domestic Violence In Ranadive JD Eds. Democracy in the Family: Insights from India, Sage, New Delhi. pp 151-179.

¹⁴¹ Ghosh H A (2004) Chattels of Society: Domestic Violence in India, Violence against Women; 2004; 10; 94. DOI: 10.1177/1077801203256019. pp 94-118.

3. To identify the types of domestic violence experienced by women in the two metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata
4. To identify the role of education, employment of the complainants and their adherence to the rules endogamy on experiences of domestic violence.
5. Evaluate the role of the state including the third sector in generating awareness and mitigation of the conflict among family members.

In order to situate the objectives of this research within the framework of existing information on the research topic, hypothesis for testing the assumptions were formulated and those hypotheses have been presented below.

HYPOTHESES:

The hypotheses that have been framed for the study in relation to the objectives chosen for the study have been listed below.

1. Areas with higher rates of crime in general might have high rates of crimes against women but the reverse might not be true, and areas with high rates of crimes against women would not necessarily have higher rates of domestic violence.
2. Higher rates of economic dependence of women on male members of the family will show higher incidences of domestic violence.
3. With change in the level of education of the women, the nature of violence is likely to change.
4. Presence of the third sector active in the residential areas will show greater urge to gender equality.

The study has been arranged into different sub-sections. For ease of presentation of theoretical bases, the data generated for the study and finally the analysis that was arrived after the completion of the research, the thesis has been organised into eight chapters. The organisation of the chapters is being presented in the following section.

ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

For organizing the various facets of the thesis, the body of work has been sectionalized into chapters. The scheme of the chapters is being presented below.

1. Introduction : Problematizing the concept of Urban Crimes, Personality of the Study Areas, Survey of Literature, Objectives of the Study, Hypotheses and Organization of Chapters
2. Interrogating the problematic of Crimes against Women: A Theoretical Exposition
 - (i) Gender Geographies – need to incorporate Geographical perspectives to Intimate Violence
 - (ii) Theories on Intimate Partner Violence
 - (iii) Theories of Urban Crimes
 - (iv) Alternate Dispute Redressal
3. Data Base and Methodology
4. Spatial Morphology of Crimes against Women in India – a District wise Study
5. Crimes against Women in Urban India
6. Determinants of Domestic Violence in metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata.
7. Feminist Legal Geographies - Impact of the Presence and Intervention of the Third Sector and Everyday Formations of Legal Spaces: A Qualitative Analysis of making Sense of Law and Spatial Relations.
8. Summary of Conclusions: for collating and presenting a comprehensive overview of the findings of the research.

Concluding Remarks:

To conclude the introductory chapter, it may be said that through this chapter, the topic of research has been introduced by beginning with defining crimes, its relative nature in the context of time and space following its legal definitions which too alter with time. The social definition of crimes was discussed in the context of the state power, the modern law, colonial legalities, as is the case in the post-colonial nations, and the creation of subjects. In the scheme of codification of law, the issues of crimes against women have been highlighted along with discussion on international conventions to which nations have been signatories, which in turn became a binding on those nations to introduce such

laws. The law on domestic violence in India has been a product of complying with international conventions. The new law Protection of Women from Domestic Violence, 2005 brought into its fold physical, emotional and sexual abuse into the definition of violence along with provisions of a civil law and treating all relationships of the nature of marriage to be dealt by the law. The issue of plurality of legal spaces and its impact on domestic violence law has been seen in the light of the personal laws that govern the religious groups and their marital lives. The conflicts arising from the juxtaposition of the laws leads to the questions of enacting a Uniform Civil Code to govern all marital relationships irrespective of the couples religious backgrounds.

The chapter then veers towards the selection of the study area and a detailed discussion on the personality of the study areas. The macro level analysis involving all districts of India and for urban areas all mega cities were selected for the analysis over two time periods, namely, 2001 and 2011. The next level of analysis was focused on the two metropolitan cities, Delhi and Kolkata. The ideals of manhood and womanhood in the diverse social spaces of Delhi and Kolkata was laid down by delving into literature where the pre-colonial traditions and customs were seen in the light of colonial rule and its impact on the changing nature of women's roles in the family and the public space. Novels and other literary work were also considered for analysis of the roles women were expected to play in the specific geographical settings. This was followed by a detailed and comprehensive overview of the volume of research work that has already been conducted on domestic violence in India. This led to the formulation of the objectives of the research and framing the research questions and hypotheses around the objectives of the research. Finally, the chapter closes with the scheme of the chapters that follow the present introductory chapter for better organization of the research work. This chapter paves the way for the following chapters to build on the body of the research work.

Chapter – 2

Interrogating the Problematic of Crimes against Women: A Theoretical Exposition

**“He is the bourgeoisie
The wife represents the proletariat” –Engles, 1884**

In order to situate any research on social issues, it is important to situate the work within the existing theoretical positions taken by scholars. In this chapter, theoretical bases have been organized thematically.

The chapter begins with integrating geographies of gender with theories of violence against women.

(i) Geographies of Gender – need to incorporate Geographical perspectives to Intimate Violence

Geography of Gender is about incorporating the ‘Women’s Question’ in the discipline of Geography. Locating the women’s question within the disciplinary boundaries of Geography is well in congruence with the mandate of the first National Conference of Women’s Studies. The mandate clearly sought to incorporate the women’s question and its implication in various disciplines rather than following the western model of having separate courses and programmes for women’s studies¹.

Social relationships are defined and worked out in place, space and nature, and geographers are interested in the ways geographies and societies are mutually constitutive.² Through the term “spatiality” geographers identify certain geographies which weaken or sustain social relation and power struggles and thus remakes geographies. Geography of Gender explicitly takes into account the socially created gendered structure of society; and in which commitment both towards the alleviation of

¹ Mazumdar V (1985) *Emergence of the Women’s Question in India and the Role of Women’s Studies*, Occasional Paper, CWDS, New Delhi.

² Katz C (2003) *Social Systems: Thinking about Society, Identity, Power and Resistance* in Clifford NJ, Holloway SL, Rice SP and Valentine G eds. *Key Concepts in Geography*, Sage. pp 236-250.

gender inequality in the short term and towards its removal through social change towards real equality, in the longer term is expressed.³

Nelson and Seager (2005) generalize themes of Geography of Gender as some explicit political commitments for fighting against oppression and making visible the workings of social power. Its inter-disciplinarity and engagement in re-reading of theoretical approaches and engages with post structural, psychoanalytic, critical race, post colonial and queer theory enriches its domain. It theorizes the *intersectionality* of multiple oppressions and how these oppressions are embedded in and produces through material and symbolic space and place while asserting the salience of women as a foreground of study and *gendering* as a spatial and social process.

Close to the theories of social oppression are theories that attempt to address social inequality. In the following section, theories on social inequality have been discussed.

Tackling Social Inequality: Redistribution and Recognition: Since all research is about bringing about change, philosophically it could be attributed to transformation from immanence to transcendence. In this regards, Fraser's (1995, 2003) contribution is important. She claims that it seems that social justice is increasingly to getting divided into two types;⁴ for redistributive claims - for just distribution of resources and wealth e.g., redistribution from 'North to South', 'Rich to Poor' and 'Owners to Workers' along with a second type of social justice claim in the "politics of recognition". Here, the goal is a difference-friendly world where equal respect wouldn't simply mean assimilation to the majority or the dominant culture. Examples include claims for the recognition of the distinctive perspectives of ethnic, racial and sexual minorities, as well as for gender difference. This type of claim has recently attracted the interest of political philosophers, some of whom are seeking a new paradigm of justice by putting recognition in the centre⁵. Fraser calls the concepts of redistribution and recognition as two "*folk paradigms of justice*"

These two paradigms, each with their respective conceptions of justice, proposed remedies, class or status collectives and kind of group difference, both inhabit all social

³ Women and Geography Study Group (1984) *Geography and Gender: An Introduction to Feminist Geography*. Hutchinson. London.

⁴ Fraser N (2003) Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics, in Fraser N and Honneth; *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political Philosophical Exchange*, Verso. London.

⁵ Ibid. pp 1-5.

movements to one degree or another⁶. It is important to develop a framework which would be in a position to question both the paradigms and ease out the antagonism and misunderstandings between them and contribute to the creation of a “counter hegemonic bloc”

Fraser also shed light on the problems of “interference” between the two axes: remedies for misdistribution which exacerbate misrecognition and remedies of misrecognition which exacerbate misdistribution.

The two folk paradigms do not fit into the socialism and identity politics paradigm dichotomy, rather all social movements are situated with some combination of the both. Fraser sums up the structure of the two paradigms as below:

First, the two paradigms assume different conceptions of injustice. The redistribution paradigm focuses injustices it defines as socio-economic and presumes to be rooted in the economic structure of society. The recognition paradigm in contrast, targets injustices it understands as cultural, which it presumes to be rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication

Second, the two paradigms propose two different sorts of remedies for injustice. In the redistribution paradigm, the remedy for injustice is economic restructuring but in the recognition paradigm the remedy for injustice is cultural and symbolic change

Third, the two folk paradigms assume different conceptions of the collectives that suffer injustice. In the redistribution paradigm the collective subjects of injustice are classes or class like collectives which are defined economically by a distinct relation to the market or the means of production. In the folk paradigm of recognition the victims of injustice are more like Weberian status groups rather than Marxian classes. Defined not by their relations of production, rather by the relations of recognition, they are distinguished by the lesser respect, esteem, and prestige they enjoy.

Fourth, the two folk paradigms assume different understanding of group differences. The redistribution paradigm treats such differences as unjust differentials. Far from being the properties of groups they are the socially constructed results of an unjust political economy. The recognition paradigm in contrast treats differences in either of two ways.

⁶ Blunden (2004) Nancy Fraser on Recognition and Redistribution. Retrieved from <https://ethicalpolitics.org/ablunden/works/fraser-review.htm>. Accessed on 10.4.2019.

In one version they are benign, pre-existing cultural variations and in the other differences do not pre exist their hierarchical order but are contemporaneously with it.

Honneth (2003) develops an alternative approach to the *perspectival dualism* of redistribution and recognition, and proposes a normative monism of recognition. Analysing recognition as a differentiated concept, which encompasses both the “recognition of rights” and “cultural appreciation”, he seeks to subsume the problematic of redistribution within it. He argues that the concept of recognition when properly understood, can subsume the question of redistribution within it, and can accommodate a modified version of the Marxian paradigm of economic distribution.⁷ The debate may be further deepened with ideas of Justice and Dignity becoming imperative to address within the reformation paradigm.

In the context of Indian society, it becomes pertinent to look at questions of dignity and justice through the existing patterns of social hierarchy as that of caste. In the following section, the realities of hierarchies stemming from caste based societal divisions that affect women’s lives is being discussed.

Question of Dignity and Justice

Rege (2013) points out the impossibility of doing research on women in India and not consider viewing it through the lens of ‘graded’ or Brahminical Patriarchy which is endemic to the region.⁸ Chakravarti (2006) in her study on how caste shapes the lives of women, finds that scholars on Indian society have often intellectualized caste as a system emphasising its ideology and ritual practices and thereby ignoring the material conditions and the questions of power.⁹

Rege’s re-presentations of ‘Riddles of Manu’s Madness’ authored by B R Ambedkar reveal the graded violence caste women are subjected to; ever since they had been the targets of Manu and other smritikaras cause of panic over tribes that rebelled against the ‘Brahminical Order’ and also women’s sexuality by anomalously listing caste groups and extolling pativrata dharma.¹⁰

⁷ Deranty J P (2003) Conceptualising Social Inequality: Redistribution or Recognition? CRSI Conference Proceedings, Retrieved from www.crsi.mq.edu.au/public/download.jsp?id=10573. Accessed on 10.4.2019.

⁸ Rege S (2013) *Against the Madness of Manu: B R Ambedkar’s Writings on Brahminical Patriarchy*. Navayana, New Delhi.

⁹ Chakravarti U (2006) *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Stree, Calcutta.

¹⁰ Rege S (2013) *Against the Madness of Manu*, Navayana, New Delhi.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar exposed inextricable links between caste and violence against women – exposing Brahminical Patriarchy’s double manoeuvre whereby it eulogized those practices which in reality denigrated women. Since caste endogamy is the method for its preservation, and it was formulated for intra group reproduction and also violent control of surplus women’s sexuality and further legitimizing these practices through ideology. It’s important to incorporate Ambedkar’s counter hegemonic take on caste for devaluation of caste ideals and restoration of women’s dignity since in the present day too, the chains of caste are still in place to make women behave ‘caste appropriately’. Linked to caste based differences in women’s social lives is their need for freedom and their desire of creating capabilities which is being discussed below.

Freedom and Creating Capabilities

Valuing freedom of individuals and going beyond the ‘opportunities approach’ brings us to the question of Individual capabilities being fulfilled vis a vis one’s aspirations. The quality of life humans live is being increasingly judged by well being and freedoms. Sen (2009) urges researchers to apply capability approach for measuring freedom. This assumes great importance in family research offering ways to measure inter and intra family aggregative as well as distributive levels of achievement of human capabilities. It focuses on the actual opportunities of living and on the means available to obtain those. As against the utility approach, capability approach judges a person’s capability to do things the person values. The reason it becomes important to measure capability rather than actual achievement is the responsibility and the obligations of society to help the deprived through public provisions within states. This would also lead to addressing questions of injustice.

Nussbaum (2011) lists central capabilities of women as, life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, practical reasons, emotions, affiliations, play, control over one’s environment. All these capabilities discussed get severely decimated if a person is exposed to domestic violence. In the context of domestic violence laws, men tend to resent those laws since those laws encroach on their freedom to not offer women the freedoms to attain their capabilities¹¹. This study documents resistance to the injustice

¹¹ Nussbaum M C (2011) *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Permanent Black. Ranikhet. pp 17-45.

through initial indignation, argument and subsequently scrutiny to obtain understanding of the basis of complaints and the means to address those.¹² Based on Wollstonecraft's appeal¹³ to reason in public, this approach can become an important feature of justice since it legitimizes the decisive process of justice and people agree that justice has been done.

Though plurality of reasons may become a hindrance for definitive decision, yet a broad theory of justice has to offer room for diverse opinions. The commonalities then can emerge as a broad theory of justice. Often partial ordering too is resorted to reach an outcome.

While delving into the issues of creating capabilities of women, it is essential to set the issue in the context of dialectics of women's spaces which has been discussed below.

Dialectics of Women's Geography

Borrowing the term from Lerner (1986) who used the phrase 'Dialectics of Women's History' to express the tension between women's actual historical experiences and their exclusion from interpreting it¹⁴; this study too is a quest in making sense of the geographies women occupy and produce; and yet are desisted from naming and zoning the experiences these spaces offer for women, how women negotiate through those spaces and reconfigure those spaces.

The quest to look for the existence of a regional pattern of Domestic Violence in India stems from kinship studies carried out by anthropologists which ascribed regional differentials in the status of women in marital homes. These studies were later incorporated by social geographers while attempting to make sense of the women's lives and their everyday use of spaces within and outside their homes, and place of work.

While Kandiyoti (2011) situates Indian male dominance within the rubric of Classical Patriarchy;¹⁵ the key to reproduction of the system lies in the patrilocally extended households. The two major studies on Kinship pattern and their implications on the status of women are those of Iravati Karve and Louis Dumont. Even though Uberoi (2000)

¹² Sen A (2009) *The Idea of Justice*, Penguin Books, London.

¹³ See Wollstonecraft M (1929) *The Rights of Woman*. J M Dent and Sons. London.

¹⁴ Lerner G (1986) *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Oxford University Press, New York. pp 3-14.

¹⁵ Kandiyoti D (2011) Bargaining with Patriarchy In Holstorm eds *The Socialist Feminist project: A Contemporary Reader in Theory and Politics*. Aakar Books, New Delhi. pp 137-151.

notes that the kinship studies have focused primarily on the norms rather than the pathology (deviance and breakdown) and so have not been able to address the practical issues that women face within such marriages¹⁶; the overarching structure of marriage practices in the country may be drawn from the two studies.

Karve (1993) found that the configuration of linguistic regions, the institution of caste and the family organization to be the three things necessary for understanding any cultural phenomenon in India. According to her, the linguistic regions have similar cultural traits and common language makes communication easy making it possible for marital alliances and confines kinship within the language region. She divides India's kinship regions into northern, central, eastern and southern zones. The northern region comprises of the states of Punjab, Kashmir, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and parts of Assam. The major practices and attitudes include inter gotra marriage, kulinism and hypergamy, spatial and geographical limits of endogamy and exogamy are maintained, young brides are sent to marital home post puberty through the gauna system. Though, the system of levirate was practiced, yet higher castes prohibited, polygyny and remarriage were allowed with joint family system.

The central region comprises of Rajasthan, where Rajasthani is spoken, Madhya Pradesh where Hindi is spoken, Gujarat and Kathiawad where Gujarati and Kathiawadi is spoken, Maharashtra where Marathi is spoken, and Odisha where Uriya is spoken. Kinship organisation follows the pattern of the north, while some castes show variations. Though different within the various sub regions, yet, many castes practice one type of cross cousin marriage and have aversion for the other type of cross cousin marriage.

In the Southern zone exchange of daughters is favoured, and marriages among close kin are favoured. A boy can marry any of his younger female cross cousins and also a daughter of his elder sisters. A bride is not a stranger to the household and a woman is also not thrown into completely unknown people after marriage. Marriages strengthen existing bonds.

¹⁶ Uberoi, Patricia (2005) "The Family in India: Beyond the Nuclear versus Joint Debate". in Mala Khullar, ed., *Writing the Women's Movement: A Reader*. Seoul: EWHA University & New Delhi: Zubaan Publishers, 2005, pp.361-396.

The Eastern region include people of the north east and the east, who speak Mundari and Mon khmer languages. The kinship systems do not follow a specific pattern¹⁷.

Dumont (1993) in his study of Kinship patterns in North and South India, critiques Karve's exposition of negatives as differences between North and South Indian kinship and marriage practices, and expresses similarities between them and tries to build on a Pan India pattern¹⁸. Variations within North Indian marriage patterns were well documented, while in Dravidian institutions they are easily expressed since the patterning of affinal relationship is overtly expressed in the South, and is consistent with the whole system.

Raju (2011) explores the regionally embedded gender regime of juxtaposing Northern and Southern regions. Using 'empirical leads' for the understanding of spatial hold, beyond the Hindu marriage customs and practices, she looks at female workforce participation rate, sex-ratio, total fertility rates, mean age at marriage, infant mortality rates, as proxy for women's better societal locations. Raju expresses her concern in bringing up such a facile way of interpreting regional patterns as regional norm are not monolithic with caste wise variations within regions too. Also her concerns are whether these parameters themselves are an indicator of the women's worth, or rather; the inherent gender norms make way for the women in those regions to have a better quality of life.¹⁹

The need to arrive at a region based analysis of Domestic Violence is often indicated within the core explanatory theories of its occurrence. The Ecological Model of Domestic Violence comprehensively measures the multiple determinants of domestic violence and realistically captures the social complexities of this phenomenon as has been made by B E Carlson (1984). Carlson applied Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development to the problem of domestic violence²⁰. This model of Domestic Violence is that it allows for observing multiple causal factors to understand causes of individual

¹⁷ Karve I (1993) The Kinship Map of India, In Uberoi P eds. *Family, Kinship and Marriage in India*, OUP, New Delhi. pp 50-73.

¹⁸ Dumont L (1993) North India in Relation to South India. In , In Uberoi P eds. *Family, Kinship and Marriage in India*, OUP, New Delhi. pp 91-111.

¹⁹ Raju S (2011) Reclaiming Spaces and Places: The Making of Gendered Geography of India In Raju S eds. *Gendered Geographies: Space and Place in South Asia*, OUP, New Delhi. pp 31-59.

²⁰ Carlson B E (1984) Causes and Maintenance of Domestic Violence: An Ecological Analysis, *Social Service Review*, Vol. 58, No. 4, The Chicago University Press. pp 569-587.

spousal abuse as well as domestic violence as a social problem. It is also useful in explaining the cyclical nature of spousal violence both within a particular family and across generations. The model conceptualizes ecological space consisting of four different levels which are nested within the next. These levels influence a person's behavioural traits. At **Individual level**, an adult brings with him/ her to the couple relationship such things as attitudes, skills abilities subjective perception of realities, personal problems and weaknesses. A number of factors like stress at work, marital problems and unemployment contribute to violent outcomes sometimes with interactions with alcoholism and poor self esteem of the assailant. The most important factor at the individual level is the history of violent behaviour in one's family. At the next level, i.e., the **Family Level**, includes the structure of the family and interactional dynamics acts on the individual. Family members take part in activities and events which differs among family members in terms of age, sex, ability and access to resources and can lead to disagreement and conflict. Change in gender role with wives taking up paid employment leading to their expectation of having a larger voice in family decision brews conflict in the marriage is the male member cannot accept that change. The subsequent **Socio-Structural Level** addresses major institutions in the society. Socio economic realities like phases of prosperity versus recession, high employment versus low employment and the way goods and services are distributed among groups in society, neighbourhood characteristics, and aspects of the world of work also affects family life. With regards to the role of economic factors, Structural Theory of Inter-family Violence offers a better analysis of the causes and maintenance of Domestic Violence. This theory states that societal resources are not equitably distributed across all social groups. These structural inequities cause deprivation and stress among families that are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Unemployment has a huge impact on marital conflict; poor families are more likely to be violent than affluent families. Since not all poor families resort to violence, poverty does not lead up to spouse abuse in a direct or straightforward manner; rather it contributes by creating stress and tension created by insufficient material resources.

Communities too can play a contributing or maintaining role by framing and implementing laws, norms, informal rules and by way of ignoring or responding to the

existent problem. Police departments, social service agencies have discretion in how they may respond to domestic violence cases. The attitudes and beliefs of the service provider can influence the formal and informal practices adopted in relation to the victim of Domestic Violence.

Finally at the **Socio-cultural Level:** societal norms, cultural values, and belief systems are studied and four sociocultural factors have been identified that contribute to causes and maintenance of Domestic Violence. These are sexism, sex role stereotyping, general acceptance of violence and norm about family in general.

Acts of sexism at home influence children's conception of gender roles. As a society, we tolerate and approve a tremendous amount of violence both real and functionalized, in our media, our public schools, in our sports and the acceptance of violence creates a context for toleration of violence in intimate relationships too.

Where women are treated as the property of their husbands and wife beating is a cultural norm, and as a result of these cultural norms, legitimizing physical violence between married partners.

Roles relating to child rearing also contribute to the existence of family violence. Traditionally, child rearing were seen as exclusive responsibility of women, and with only limited aspects delegated to men. This situation if analyzed in the light of the present nuclear family has turned problematic in many families where the male partner is unwilling to share his responsibilities of child rearing.

In the context of situating women's geographies various realms of Geographies have been carved by geographers. They are:

i. Geographies of Crime

Studies on Geographies of Crimes in India, have tried to delimit regions of higher rates of crimes within the subcontinent and have found associations of higher rates of violent crimes and with areas of subcultures of violence²¹.

Spatial patterns of crimes can reveal not only zones of concentrations of higher and lower crime rates but can act as direction for further analysis of the patterns and the reasons for

²¹ Wolfgang E and Ferracuti F (1967): *The Subculture of Violence*, Social Science Paperback, London. pp 95-163.

such similar crimes occurring and concentrating locally. It has been found out over different time periods that there exists a subculture of violent behaviour in the North Central region of the country²². Studies also reveal that the original north central zone of subculture has been spreading out and the emergent zone of violent subculture has been developing on the peripheral regions of the original zone.

Shaban (2000) attempted to find regional patterns of gender specific crimes in India with National Crime Records Bureau data, and points at north- central belt prone to more crimes against women which he attributes to lower sex ratio and urbanization²³.

Menon and Johnson (2004) explore regional differences in domestic violence in rural India based on National Family Health Survey (NFHS- 1999). Contrary to their hypothesis that women of southern India might experience less violence given their higher status, the study revealed that the odds of women in south being beaten by their husbands were two times higher than women of the north. Also women in joint families experienced less violence compared to the ones in nuclear households²⁴.

Doan and Kelly (1997) have explored geographical patterns of violence between intimate partners within metropolitan regions²⁵. Sahoo and Pradhan (2009) used logistic regression to predict the prevalence of Domestic Violence using responses using secondary data from NFHS 2 (IIPS)²⁶, and Sahoo and Raju (2007) analyzed the patterns of rural and urban working women's experiences of Domestic Violence in India again with the help of secondary data accessed from NFHS 2 (IIPS)²⁷.

Butola (2013) sends out a caveat to researchers relying on official statistics of crimes against women for their analysis. He points out at a number of limitations that stymie a realistic explanation which could be underreporting, owing to various systemic and

²² Dutt A, Pomeroy M and Wadhwa V (1998) Large cities crime pattern changes in India, *National Geographical Journal of India*, 44 (1-4) Varanasi, India. pp 73-90.

²³ Shaban A (2000) Regional Aspects of Gender Specific Crimes in India, *IASSI Quarterly*, Vol.19, No. 1. Pp 56-69.

²⁴ Menon N and Johnson MP (2004) A Feminist Study of Domestic Violence in Rural India, Retrieved from paa.2004.princeton.edu/papers/41834. Accessed on 10.4.2019.

²⁵ Doan R M and Kelly S (1997) Geographic Concentration of Violence between Intimate Partners, *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 112, No. 2. pp 135-141.

²⁶ Sahoo H and Pradhan MR (2009) Domestic Violence in India: An Empirical Analysis, *Man In India*, 01/2009

²⁷ Sahoo H and Raju S (2007) Domestic Violence in India: Evidences and Implications for Working Women, *Social Change*, December 37; pp 131- 152.

personal reasons, yet brings out the utility of such studies, as the error of under reporting is evenly distributed in all regions of the country²⁸.

Apart from delimiting geographies of crimes, the regional differences in occurrences of crimes have been theorized in the following research work being presented below.

ii. Regional Genderscapes

The concept of Regional Genderscapes has been developed by Datta (2011), which best describes the variety of gender roles and experiences of women across the diverse natural and cultural landscape of India²⁹. Her concept theorizes the influence of natural landscapes or terrain on the construction of feminine gender roles in India. The term 'Genderscapes' have been built on Sumi Krishna's use of the term Genderscapes³⁰ and Appadurai's notion of scapes³¹. Datta argues that terrain based regional constructs of women are the bases for a more fluid and complex Genderscapes. Mapping Genderscapes would involve recognizing the fact that women's lives in different parts of the country, differ widely with their traditional roles, degree of mobility and participation in society, agency and autonomy. Genderscapes would encompass not just the terrain based differences in the constitution of kinship, and differences in the levels of wellbeing women enjoy, but would also extend in the manner in which women in different regions draw their identity and norms and are seen and portrayed. Building on Sack's model of relational space, Datta constructs regional genderscapes³² by coalescing four realms that affect women's lives, namely Realm of Nature which is evolved out of landscapes and agro ecological conditions, followed by the Realm of Social Relations which is constituted by kinship regimes, third, the Realm of Meaning which defines dominant norms related to Gender, and finally, the Realm of Agency; determined by levels of wellbeing. The four realms together make up the genderscapes, the imagined space that normalises women's behaviour patterns and responses that are elicited from women's actions.

²⁸ Butola B S (2013) Women as Frontiers: Crime Against Women or an Ontological War? In Datta M eds. *Gender and Human Development in Central and South Asia*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi. pp 183-202.

²⁹ Datta A (2011) Natural Landscapes and Regional Constructs of Gender: Theorizing linkages in the Indian Contexts. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 15(3) Sage. pp 345-362.

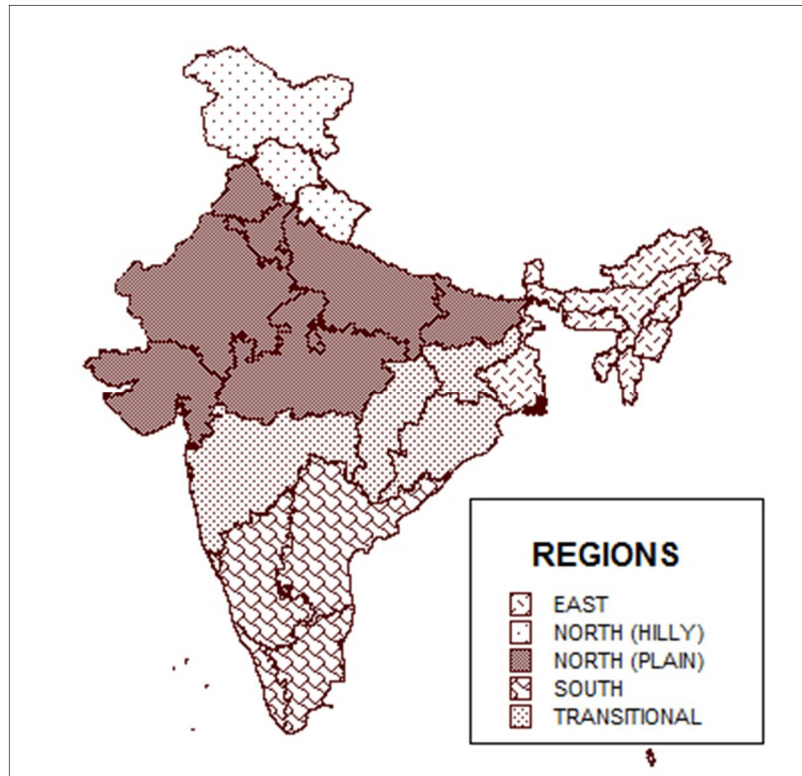
³⁰ Ibid. p 348.

³¹ Ibid. p 348.

³² Ibid. p 353.

Datta subsequently maps the genderscapes on the map of India to arrive at regionalisation of Genderscapes.

MAP 2.1. INDIA: REGIONAL GENDERSCAPES



Source : Datta (2011)

The map above reveals that five distinct Genderscapes have been delineated over India. The northern hills, northern plains, southern and eastern zones, each proffer very distinct Genderscapes. Between the northern plains and south lies a central belt that comprises mostly tribal areas. Accordingly, the northern plains have been designated as a patriarchal core or heartland, while contiguous hills and the remaining Genderscapes as rim land. Within the patriarchal heartland, that encompasses most of the northern and western parts of India, women's social value is derived primarily from their reproductive tasks, their mobility is restricted, in this region and their presence in public space contested. In contrast south and west offer softer constitution of patriarchy and women tend to have more autonomy.

Beyond the regional differences, the micro spaces of the homes are also influenced by myriad factors that are being listed below.

(i) **Theories on Intimate Partner Violence**

The past few decades have seen the rise of evidence regarding the phenomenon of domestic violence. Several concerned feminists, social scientists, human rights groups and social work practitioners have attempted to develop theories explaining the etiology of domestic violence.

According to Anjali Mahadeo of Nari Samata Manch, a Pune based women's group, theories related to domestic violence can be grouped into three categories.³³

psychoanalytical theories, social learning theories and the socio political critique.

Psychoanalytical theories focus on the emotions/feelings instilled during child rearing, which make women and men behave in a particular fashion. The social learning theories view violence as a direct consequence of socialization process and the family environments from which the men and women to be helpless and aggressive respectively. The socio-political critiques highlight the role of patriarchy in the manifestations of violence, which forces women into subordinate positions.

Two most discussed theories on battered women are Leonore Walker's 'The Cycle Theory of Violence' and 'Psychosocial Theory of Learned Helplessness'.

The cycle theory of violence comprises of three distinct phases in the cycle of violence – the tension building stage, the acute battering incident and the kindness and contrite loving behaviour.

The psychological theory of learned helplessness focuses on the factors, which reinforce battered woman's victimization; battered women operate from a premise of helplessness, which further serves only to serve passivity and a false acceptance of the exploitative situation.

As opposed to the cycle theory E W Gondolf and E R Fisher proposed the Survivor Theory in 1998 which views women not merely as passive victims but proactive help seekers and survivors. The assumptions of the survivor theory are in sharp contrast to the earlier theory. The survivor theory credits women with the capacity to innovate newer strategy of coping and acknowledges the efforts of the survivors seeking help from the the formal and informal sources. In addition the Survivor Theory also stresses the need

³³ Subadra (1997) Violence against Women: Wife battering in Chennai, *Economic and Political Weekly*, April. pp WS28-WS33.

for accessible and effective community resources for the women in the face of increased violence and lauds the 'female survivor instinct', which focuses on nurturing rather than destruction, the willingness to adapt and the efforts directed at furthering of self growth. Gondolf and Fisher's theory resonates with theories of power and a concise appraisal of power theories on interpersonal relationships might illuminate women's innovative behaviour in the face of violence.

Conscience Raising - The Women's Question.

Even though Marxist theory of 'Women's Question' developed primarily without reference to women, the women's question has been later 'fitted in'; yet it did abet in raising consciousness of the women's condition through various Marxist premises.

Beginning with insights into historical materialism, stating that the mode of production of material life, conditions the social, political and the intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, rather their social being determines their consciousness. In German ideology, Marx claims that it is the family where natural division of labour exists on the basis of age and sex. Family division created the first form of ownership of one person over the other.

Engles (1884) in 'Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' points out at the change in economic developments, the establishment of private property and the establishment of commodities to be used for exchange and profit is the junction in history that had overturned the primitive communist matriarchate and replaced by patriarchate. Women's domestic labour got accounted as man's wealth which he termed as 'the historical defeat of the female sex'³⁴. With property to bequeath, man became more concerned with ensuring his paternity. With man retaining a stronger material base, the position of women declined to servitude.

Drawing from Marx and Engles, the socialist feminist have been concerned with the role of the household in capitalist society. The most important question revolves around domestic labour, followed by women's question and women's relationship with modes of production as wage earners. The third concern links women with class (In the Indian context, caste location of women would also be applicable). The other concerns are the

³⁴ Engles F (1884) The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. People's Publishing House, New Delhi.

role of family in ideological socialization and finally on the idea of praxis and the nature of consciousness³⁵. Women's social location is intimately linked to the process of her subject creation and the process of subject creation which would be discussed in the following section.

Subject Creation; Use of Power and Violence in Intimate Relationships.

Hindess (1996) clarifies the conception of power that dominated the Western political thought in the modern period, is of power as a simple quantitative phenomenon. The second and the more complex understanding of power involves not only the capacity but the right to act, with both the capacity to act with the consent of those over whom power is exercised. Liberal Feminists use this Hobbsian concept of power as unequal power relations to be the cause of Domestic Violence. Luke's concept of power views it as an insidious power working on the thoughts and actions through the medium of social arrangements and behaviour patterns. This type of negative and sinister form of power is used by Radical and Socialist Feminists - not only to aver the role of Patriarchy in manipulating legal and institutional arrangements but also in the formation of institutional structures and helps in the creation of the gendered subject. Feminist lawyer Catherine MacKinnon (1982) argues that feminism has a theory of power with sexuality at it's centre³⁶. Andrea Dworkin's (1997) notion of power belongs to the structuralists' interpretation – belief in the existence of structures, such as patriarchy that has the ability to shape social life³⁷. Structural theories too fail to explain exceptions from the rule as how powerful women or change in women's status alone cannot overthrow the dominant power structure.

Dobash and Dobash (1992) and Hearn (1998) too contend that these theories are incompetent to explain the unabated love and desire to live with abusive partners³⁸.

Foucault insists that the study of power needs to move away from the obsession with sovereignty and conceives of power in terms of a 'structure of actions' bearing on the

³⁵ Donovan J (2012) *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions*. Continuum International Publishing House, New York.

³⁶ MacKinnon C (1982) Feminism, Method and the State: An Agenda for Theory . *Signs*. Vol -7, No. 3, Feminist Theory. Spring, 1982), pp 515-544.

³⁷ Dworkin A (1997) *Life and Death*. Free Press, New York.

³⁸ Dobash RE and Dobash RP (1992) *Women, Violence and Social Change*. Routledge. London. and Hearn J (1998) *The Violences of Men*. Sage. London.

actions of those who are free and power relationships will often be unstable and reversible. Power as a 'strategic game' that results in the fact that some people try to determine the conduct of others – and the states of domination and between the states of domination and games of power he situates governmentality³⁹. Power according to him is used on individuals who are free and have the capacity to choose and the form of power is heterogeneous, and while some will be concentrated hierarchically while others would be socially dispersed. Power and the resistances are ubiquitous features of human interaction and effective exercise of power need not imply the removal of liberty. On the contrary, Foucault feels that if there is no possibility of resistance, there will be no power either. Recalcitrance of subjects only provokes refinement of or modification of the technique of power leading to newer forms of techniques as well as evasion to develop. Power is best studied not as a quantifiable capacity rather the total structure of actions of others on particular cases and of resistances and evasions encountered by those actions. Foucault later saw through the impossibility of resistance in all forms of power and distinguished between power relationships in general and domination which is stable and hierarchical. Power relationship in Government presents a clear alternative to analyses of political power and in his own words, this term should get a wide meaning in the way one governs one's wife, children and also the way one governs institutions. There exists continuity in the government of oneself, the government of household and the government of a state or community. Success of governing others depends on the capacity one has to govern oneself and is associated with conducting or leading and controlling less spontaneous actions of power over others. Foucault also considers discipline as a specific form of power, which renders the population docile.

Foucault (1982) clarified that he wasn't analyzing power but the modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects⁴⁰. Foucault also suggests looking into the resistances offered to power relations to understand the mode of operation of power. Resistances are built not to attack institutions but the form of power that act on individuals. The form of power which applies itself to everyday life and turns individuals into subjects by categorising, imposing an identity and a law of truth which the subject

³⁹ Hindess B (1996) *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, UK.

⁴⁰ Foucault M (1982) The Subject and Power, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 4, (Summer, 1982) University of Chicago Press.

must recognise. The resistances are opposed to any form of power which subjugates. Subjects are those who are subject to someone else's control and dependence and tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self knowledge. Both suggest a form of power which subjugates the subject. The three major struggles that are often pursued are struggles against ethnic, social and religious forms of dominance; struggles that separate individuals from their produce and against subjection and forms of subjectivity and submission. In the modern era, the third form of resistance assumes maximum importance. The exercise of power is never a simple relationship between people but a 'way in which certain actions modify others'. Power exists only when it is put into action and is not a function of consent. It is rather a mode of action which does not act directly or immediately on others instead it works on their actions. On the contrary, a relationship of violence acts upon a body or things. The basic nature of power neither comprises of consensus nor violence: it is rather a total structure of actions which determines possible actions; it guides the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcomes.

Moi (2001) warns about the over enthusiasm of the existence of multiple resistances to power, since in the process of organizing and orchestrating multiple modes of resistances, the formation of a collective power of resistance fails to take shape. There lie the fears of losing out on thwarting the oppressive forces by dividing resistances into multiple forms⁴¹.

Butola (2013) lists eight important views regarding the genesis of violence against women in society;⁴² listing biological bases, psychological theory, feminist theory, radical theory, ontological theory, epistemological theory, and theories of redistribution and recognition. Of these the theory of epistemological violence emerges as the most obtrusive form of violence where women are cast in a model representing the society's values, morals, ethics, culture, traditions, wisdom knowledge and science⁴³. In India; she is routinely constructed as symbols and elevated to the form of deities of power, learning, wealth and mother earth too; in this process the real issues of her personal life and

⁴¹ Moi T (2001) Power, Sex and Subjectivity: Feminist Refelctions on Foucault. In Mary Evans. Eds. *Feminsm: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. Routledge. London. pp 381-386.

⁴² Butola (2013) Women as Frontiers: Crime against Women or an Ontological War? In Datta M eds., *Gender and Human Development in Central and South Asia*, Pentagon Press, Delhi. pp 183-202.

⁴³ Ibid. pp 183-202.

livelihood gets relegated to the zone of apathy⁴⁴. As epistemic violence silence her, ontological violence works through the process of 'othering' her and considering women to be inferior to men.

The present study attempts to unravel the power dynamics within urban households which perpetuates violent behaviour towards women through various strategies, one such being normalising violence. Public discourse on violence is characterised by a strong moral disapproval of perpetrators of violence⁴⁵. This takes the focus away from the authorities that are greater perpetrators of violence and it also de-recognises the violence of normal everyday lives, thereby not recognising the severity of it. The deeply embedded violence which makes up the normal realm, is out of bounds of Judicial, Penal and Constitutional safeguards, yet the sudden outbursts of violence cannot be contextualised without analysing the violence of normal times⁴⁶.

Simon de Beauvoir resorted to existentialist approach to explain the cultural and political status of women⁴⁷. Beauvoir unearthed the dialectic relationship within culture as well as individual where within a Patriarchal culture the male or masculine is set up as the positive or the norm, and the female or the feminine is set up as the negative, the unessential the abnormal and the 'other'⁴⁸.

In the case of the most famous influential social political theory of social contract too, a deep silence is maintained about the sexual contract⁴⁹. As inhabitants exchange insecurities of natural freedom for equal civil freedom which is protected by the state. With regard to marriage, which is also an exchange women have to consent to marriage to move from the unmarried to the married state. Even though women appear to be a free individual who can contract in and who indeed must consent in order for a new state to be legitimate. However women cannot contract into marriage as 'individuals' but only as women. Here Pateman locates the other, hidden, side of the contract 'story,' the 'sexual

⁴⁴ Ibid. pp 183-202.

⁴⁵ Kannabiran K (2005) *The Violence of Normal Times: Essays on Women's Lived Realities*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 1-45.

⁴⁶ Ibid. pp 1-45.

⁴⁷ Donovan J (2012) *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions*, Fourth Edition, Continuum International Publishing Group, New York.

⁴⁸ Beauvoir de S (1997) *The Second Sex*, Vintage, London.

⁴⁹ Pateman C (1997) The Sexual Contract in Gould CC eds. *Key Concepts in Critical Theory: Gender*. Humanities Press. New Jersey. pp 317-324.

contract.' Since women did not contract in to begin with they cannot be doing so as free individuals now, for the married state. So they can only be doing so as women and not individuals. As women must consent to marriage and so are and must be free for that, but according to the contractarians, they were never among the politically free. So in their (married) relations with men they remain subordinate in spite of being free⁵⁰.

In his critique of modern society, Michel Foucault argued that with the new conceptions of political liberty, a darker counter movement with the emergence of a new and unprecedented discipline directed against the body and seeks to regulate its very forces and operations not only for political allegiance of appropriation of labour, but to economise the efficiency of its movements⁵¹. Though Foucault talks about the disciplinary practices that are tied to peculiarly modern institutions such as the army, the school, the hospital and the prison, a parallel may be drawn within the modern family too with the aim of the body to enhance its efficiency:

“what was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements its gestures its behaviour. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. A “political anatomy”, which is also a “mechanics of power”, was being born; it defined how one may have had a hold over others bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, with the techniques the speed and efficiency that one determines. Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, “docile bodies”.⁵²

The production of “docile bodies” requires uninterrupted coercion to be directed to the very processes of bodily activity, not just their result, but their “micro-physics of power” fragments and partitions the body’s time, its space and its movement⁵³.

Foucault treats body as if it were one, and as if men and women have similar experiences and have similar relationships with modern institutions and the family. Foucault writes of how the internal power-dynamics of the family interact with the social politics of society

⁵⁰ Ibid. p 323.

⁵¹ Bartky S (1988) Foucault, Femininity and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power In Diamond and Quinby eds. *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*. Northeastern University Press. Boston. pp 61-86.

⁵² Foucault M (1995) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Tras. Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, New York .

⁵³ Ibid. pp 135-169.

as a whole. On the one hand, social politics impact family structure and dynamics in many ways, including legal judgments, medical interventions, and social work. On the other hand, members of families call on discourses and institutions from society at large in order to manage or change the operation of the family. Drawing from Beauvoir (1997), where she claims that women are not born but become women⁵⁴; and Butola (2013) that women's ontological being is a function of the episteme of woman created by the patriarchal norms⁵⁵, the matrix of time and space which hold the woman's body in family and society, is static. Butola observes the pattern of spaces women inhabit; both within and without the household are fixed by the time of the day, any deviance, or aberration is not taken kindly by the family members or the society as a whole and even opens up scope for examination of the aberration and associated punishment attached to the deed⁵⁶.

Westlund (1999) critiques Bartky who asserts that the modern form of power moves away from the sovereign and is diffused. She also explains that the violent, visible power of the patriarch has not completely yielded to more anonymous, invisible lighter and more comprehensive power of disciplinary institutions. Westlund brings out the peculiarity of women's position within the institution of family vis a vis domestic violence where she avers the influence of modern power in institution such as the family where women are subjected to extremely invasive disciplinary techniques that aim at a regulation of body size and contours, its appetite, posture, gestures and general comportment in space and the appearance of each of its visible parts; but also brings into focus that some overt and pervasive methods of control women is still resorted to⁵⁷. Using Foucault's term of "pre-modern" nature of power, Westlund suggests that techniques of domestic violence and sexual violence often use techniques that are intensely corporal and brutal, and are wielded in a personal and sporadic rather than

⁵⁴ Beauvoir de S (1997) *The Second Sex*, Vintage, London.

⁵⁵ Butola (2013) Women as Frontriers: Crime against Women or an Ontological War? In Datta M eds., *Gender and Human Development in Central and South Asia*, Pentagon Press, Delhi. pp 183-202.

⁵⁶ Discussions with Professor B S Butola, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi in the context of Ek Din Pratidin "And Quiet Rolls the Dawn" (1979) Bengali film directed by Mrinal Sen.

⁵⁷ Westlund Andrea C (1999) Pre-Modern and Modern Power: Foucault and the Case of Domestic Violence, *Signs*, Vol 24, (4). pp 1045-1066.

impersonal and meticulous manner⁵⁸. Incidences of Domestic Violence could then become the subject of study for both pre-modern and modern power acting simultaneously over the bodies of women within families where women indulge in self surveillance to restrict her code of conduct to be the ‘nice girl’ as opposed to the ‘loose woman’. The feminist theories that have been discussed above is being linked to theories of family violence in the context of analyzing occurrence of domestic violence in the following section.

Integration of Feminist and Family Violence Approaches:

The other group of theories attempt to integrate feminist and family violence approaches. These studies identify the relative importance of patriarchy in the etiology of domestic violence. Feminist sociologists contend that issues of gender and power are the ultimate root of intimate violence, but family sociologists argue that patriarchy is just one variable in the complex constellation of causes.⁵⁹ Feminist researchers contend that violence is a part of a system of coercive controls through which men maintain societal dominance over women yet; sociologists find strong relationships between domestic violence and age, unemployment and socioeconomic status which suggest that other characteristics of social structure may engender violence. Studies suggest that middle class professional men maintain power and control in their households through their control of economic resources, whereas these sources of power eroded for the working class men when women entered the labour force. Thus the way that gender matters can be related to socio economic equality. So, resource theory of domestic violence assumes importance for this study.

Family Violence and Resource Perspective:

The resource theory of violence is an ultimate resource used to derive power within relationships.⁶⁰ Individuals lacking other means of power such as income or educational status will be more likely to rely on violence to achieve greater power within a relationship. From this perspective, it is the power difference between the partners, rather than the socio demographic position that influences propensity for violence. Not only the

⁵⁸ Ibid. pp 1045-1066.

⁵⁹ Strauss M A & Gelles RJ (1986) Societal Change and change in Family Violence from 1975 to 1985 as revealed by two National Surveys, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol 48. pp 465-479.

⁶⁰ Anderson K L (1997) Gender Status and Domestic Violence: An Integration of Feminist and Family Violence Approaches, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, August 1997. pp 655-669.

share and control of resources affect family violence and the theories listed below show how notions of masculinity and domestic violence have been theorized.

Violence and Social Construction of Masculinity:

Sexual division of labour both inside and outside the household, and the tendency of men to marry down and the women to marry up, the greater rewards accorded to men's work are means of producing gender. The social practices construct and maintain the notion that men and women are different and reinforce men's dominance as real (e.g., greater economic resource) and a symbolic fashion.⁶¹ The socio-demographic position influences how individuals do gender. Working and lower class masculinities, for instance, emphasize toughness and aggression. Middle class notions of masculinity focus on ambition responsibility and professional employment. Because lower class men often lack the power and authority in their work environments, they may construct rigid, aggressive models of masculinity at home. Social class thus helps to determine the resources available to men for the construction of masculinity.

Similar to the ecological model, the foremost factor that affects incidences of domestic violence is perceptions of the individual whose perceptions trigger violence at home. The perpetrator theory discussed below highlights it.

Personal Control and Perpetrator Theory:

Domestic violence occurs in response to perceived lack of control over the environment and in order to obtain control over the primary individual in one's social environment.⁶² This violent attempt to control others occurs mostly when the perpetrator perceives some threat to his control over others, explaining why physical aggression towards women escalate when women try to leave abusive relationships or when they are pregnant. Feminist theories have argued that male perpetrators are explicit about the time place and target of their violence suggesting that they are in control of their behaviour and only use violence in an instrumental fashion. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive situations. Perpetrators may feel that they lack control over some element of their environment (e.g, unemployment) and perpetrating acts of violence may enhance the perpetrator's sense of control. Beyond the level of individual, family, society and region,

⁶¹ Ibid. pp 655-669.

⁶² Umberson D et al. (1998) Domestic Violence Personal Control and Gender, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, May 1998. pp 442-452.

the modern state uses its power to regulate women's social relationships and support their claims to freedom. The role of the state vis a vis women's rights in the family has been discussed below.

Theorizing the State:

Feminists have also been concerned with theorizing of state since the emergence of the second wave of feminism in the late sixties and early seventies. It identifies the state supporting social relations, which are oppressive to women at the same time having potential to alter them. The relationship between the state and the women's oppression stresses on the class nature of the state on the one hand and its gendered nature on the other.⁶³

The former were associated with Marxist feminists and the latter with Radical feminists. Marxist feminists conceptualized the state as upholding women's oppression as it served the interests of the capital. This was ensured by state support for a family form in which the main bread earner (male) supported his dependent wife and children at home. His job was to create surplus value in public world of production while hers was to create labour power in the private world of reproduction. Women were oppressed by the capitalist state not because the state was patriarchal but women's domestic labour within the family was the cheapest way of reproducing labour power. It was in the interest of the capitalist class (gender neutral) rather than men. The state was conceptualized as representing the interest of the dominant group i.e., men rather than representing class interests. Male control over women depended on force and so the state supported violence against women.

Later analysis puts forward the Radical feminists view that state is gendered but attaches importance to a variety of practices in its maintenance. Patriarchal social relations are reinforced by practices at other levels of society such as in paid employment, in culture, by male violence and so on. One distinctive feature of the state is its monopoly of the legitimate use of force. Violence within the household may also occur due to feeling of being powerless.

⁶³ Charles N (1995) Feminist Politics, Domestic Violence and the State, *Sociological Review*, 43(4). pp 617-640.

Arendt (1970) distinguishes violence from power, force or strength, and needs implements for its function. Marxian theory of violence claims violence as a precursor to change similar to labour pains before organic birth. Even though Arendt restricts her theory of violence to the political realm, she found that theories on violence still attribute it to a flagrant manifestation of power. Sartre on power commented that ‘a man feels himself more of a man when he is imposing himself and making others the instruments of his will which gives him incomparable pleasure. But to distinguish power from force and ascertain how the act of force according to law changes the quality of force and presents us with an entirely different picture of human relations. Power is a quantified and institutionalized force. Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert. Impotence too breeds violence; loss of power becomes a temptation to substitute with violence. Politically Power and violence are not the same but are opposites. When one rules absolutely, the other is absent⁶⁴.

Menon (2012) in her book ‘Seeing like the State’ borrows the title from J C Scott’s work – ‘Seeing Like the State’ where Scott discusses how the modern State makes heterogeneous practices legible to itself. The State sees from the position of enormous power and homogenises the subjects in order to control them better. On the contrary, a feminist sees from her position of marginality which she/he has deliberately chosen to occupy as a gesture of subversion towards power. It disorganises and disorders the settled field, questions homogenisation and encourages multiple possibilities rather than dismissing them⁶⁵.

Feminist analysis encourages comprehension and acknowledgement of diverse identities which are arranged hierarchically as dominant or subordinate categories and reproduced across time and space. Seeing like a feminist is also makes one be sensitive to the long history of women’s rights and existing structural inequalities that support the subordinate status of women.

Dichotomy of Private and Public Spheres: Need for Integration

The division of society into public and private spheres is inherently problematic in constructing theory of domestic violence. As the private sphere is designated by the

⁶⁴ Arendt H (1970) *On Violence*, A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Inc. Florida.

⁶⁵ Menon N (2012) *Seeing like a Feminist*. Zubaan. New Delhi.

liberal state as the sphere of least interference and this has profound implications for women. First, power relations in the family have remained unchallenged – the state has left the power with the father and the husband. Second, as a consequence, women historically have formal legal protection against domestic violence. Even though there is least interference of the state into the family's private sphere, yet policies and interventions by the state and non state bodies act upon the microenvironment, which in turn alters the domestic environment. Researches on gender based relationships in the metropolitan regions of India require special attention to be devoted to issues of desire and sexuality in urban setting. The following section documents the expressions of desire and sexuality in urban spaces.

Desire and Sexuality in Metropolitan Spaces:

Metropolitan cities with their cosmopolitan fabric produce more spaces for forging inter-religious, inter-state and inter-caste unions; eroding the cementing forces that perpetuate endogamous marriages. Dasgupta (2010) in his study on inter community marriages in highlights the not so rare form of violent repercussions young men and women experience from their kin as a result of their choice of life partners which do not conform to the rules of endogamy. Dasgupta uses true life incidences from Rohtak in Haryana, and also the much discussed fate of Rizwanur from Kolkata, a young Muslim man who met with untimely death for his decision to break social norms by marrying an upper class Hindu woman. The article elicits the similarities in the nature of violence the young couple experience in urban spaces far flung from one another. The urbanity of the subjects emerge as the most dominant underlying reason for the choices young people make hoping that the urban milieu would act as a safety net and is another example of the other forms of government recriminalizing inter religious unions which is similar to the antagonism found in the hinterlands for such unions.⁶⁶

Thapan (2001) in her paper underlines the Nature/Culture debate and the essentialisation of women's bodies which assumes another form in the urban areas. Quoting Leela Dube and her analogy of 'seed and earth' as unequal relationship of men and women perpetuated through the use of symbols. In the urban milieu with the modernized and

⁶⁶ Dasgupta R (2010) Criminalizing Love, Punishing Desire In Datta B eds. *9 Degrees of Justice*, Zubaan, New Delhi. pp 229-257.

westernized versions of television and media, the textual discourse of femininity is changed into social relations of everyday practice by men and women. Images created by the media, becomes the role for women to fit into. Reproductively, women's sexuality is either a project for them or a tiresome chore essentially for procreation along with the overbearing fear of sexual violence and fear of other's bodies.⁶⁷

On the question of desire being played on the terrain of the metropolitan cities Puri (1999) attempts to unravel how the contemporary nation state articulates and normalizes hegemonic ideas of gender and sexuality on one hand and how real women deal with aggressions from men beginning from childhood into their womanhood exemplifies their 'self-surveillance' Drawing from Kakar and Caplan, the purpose of marriage as a marker of procreation and not companionship is outlined once again in her study⁶⁸. Sudhir Kakar (1989) in his exploration of sexuality⁶⁹ reveals the existence of perpetual contestations between man and woman in the form of rivalry both in the domestic spaces as well as in spaces of paid employment can be observed. The perpetually ensuing dialectics to animosity make a severe dent in the relationships between men and women and men develop relationship with intimate partners which lack in trust. Mythological stories, folktales and saying from all regions of the country resonate with the idea that women are of lesser stature than men and women are essentially full of avarice and are by nature deceitful.⁷⁰ Intimate relationships – the real and the imagined ones revolve around the ideals of the couple – “the jodi” and have a significant role in constructing the idea of the pre eminence having of everlasting companionship in the face of all odds.

Modernity makes its presence felt in the cities in a much deeper way and the impact of modernity on the lives of the urban population need to be studied as an influence that affects intimate relationships too. The following section documents the impact of modernity on marriages in urban India.

⁶⁷ Thapan M (2001) Gender Body and Everyday Life In Gender In NMML, *Gender and Nation*, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. pp 127-166.

⁶⁸ Puri J (1999) *Women, Body, Desire in Post Colonial India: Narratives of Gender and Sexuality*, Routledge, New York.

⁶⁹ Kakar S (1989) *Intimate Relations*, Penguin Books, New Delhi. pp 43-63.

⁷⁰ Ibid. pp 43-63.

Modernity and Marriages in Urban India

Modernity, apart from growth in science and technology, affects family structures in societies through the processes of industrialization and urbanization which disintegrates the joint family system. Marriage in India has always been a vehicle for upward social mobility for individuals, families and communities. Impact of modernity on marriages during the colonial period in India has been well documented. The current neo-liberal political economy too has cast a deep influence on the gender roles through rapid social and economic transition of the urban regions. As a result, women's entry into the labour market has risen. However, the very same economic forces encourage consumerist lifestyle which subsequently reinforces regressive gender roles and places women at the risk of violence and exploitation at home. Drawing from Zygmunt Bauman's concept of 'Liquid Modernity', where the idea of being modern is fluid and alters with the changing images of that 'perfect life' casts a considerable amount of influence on how married couples and their families conceive life after marriage. Modernity in this sense has crept into the lives of urban middle class women in India who are now being targeted as the ultimate consumers; with the society egging them to aspire and adopt a lifestyle of consumption and acquisition which is projected by an image of the savvy working wife who is able to bring her income and dowry to the matrimonial home. This process gets heightened in the urban areas as city space produces newer spaces of consumption in the forms of new workplaces, residences and spaces of recreation and newer forms of connections between these segregated places. The impact on marriage as an institution has manifold dimensions and ramifications.

Doshi (2010) opines that 'Modernity' in some sense means against tradition, lending marital bonds more liberty to hold heterogeneous ideology within the household. Modernity today unlike its ancestors has no clear destination, yet one is obsessively, compulsively in the forever process of becoming modern. The form may be best described as Liquid Modernity⁷¹, since it is set apart from its previous avatars as its unstoppable, continuous and always incomplete. The transition of the society of producers' to the society of consumers' ramifies from system to society, from politics to

⁷¹ Bauman Z (2000) *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press.

life policies coupled with the deep urge for public display of private lives. Social networks have boosted the ability for ‘everybody who is somebody – must be seen’⁷².

Historically, the impact of modernity on the institution of marriage in India can be traced to the colonial era. It’s important to remember here, that the impact of modernity was not uniform on all sections of the society since the people have multiple-fractured identities based on the location of their region-religion-caste, etc, coordinates. Each cohort has been influenced in a specific manner depending on the nature of exposure to modernity and also their ability to break away from tradition.

Today modern marriages are still about finding the perfect wife, where ‘marketized’ image of the woman (tall, fair, English speaking, working in Multi National Corporation) triumphs over family values. The bride is expected to contribute to domestic as well as emotional labour and the nature of marriage is hypergamous –man’s wealth and social capital are considered before entering into marital bonds. In India, romantic couple with individually held property came to be depicted as the best form of marriage and optimal propriety, monogamy and upper-caste practices became legally hegemonic (Basu and Ramberg, 2015)⁷³.

The women’s movement in India has been instrumental in introducing gender just laws through activism. Feminist legal jurisprudence has ushered in modernity into family laws. The following section of the chapter documents the role of women’s movement in India and it’s impact on modernity.

Women’s Movement and Changing Laws as Markers of Modernity:

The colonial and post colonial governments in South Asia have sought to establish their modernity through bringing about reforms of marriage. In chapter 1 the journey of codification of law has been discussed in detail revealing the changing legal terrain women have negotiated within their marital lives.

Resistance to Tradition as a Marker of Modernity:

Often, understanding of any crisis can be dealt with in a better manner when seen through the lens of resistances that are exerted on it. In the Indian context; the ‘trouble’ with

⁷² Bauman Z (2007) *Consuming Life*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press. p 2.

⁷³ Basu S and Ramberg L (2015) *Conjugal Unbound: Sexual Economies, State Regulation and the Marital Form in India*. In Basu S and Ramberg L Eds. *Conjugal Unbound: Sexual Economies, State Regulation and the Marital Form in India*. Women Unlimited. New Delhi. pp 1-17.

marriage too can be better understood from the life-stories of women who have resisted abusive behaviour of husbands and in laws and sought the help of the State. Through its various agencies, such as the Police, Courts, etc, the State works towards securing justice for victims of domestic violence; and the state eventually accepting its responsibility to safeguard women's 'private lives' too. This paradigm shift too can be termed as a marker of modernity. Even though changes have swept through the legal terrain the mindsets of the providers of legal services are undergoing change at a slower pace. Thus happens since traditional customs and practices of yore still seem to define gender roles which turn the law keeper into judges of normality and influence the way they deliver justice. The section below shows how Judges of Normality influence women's experience with legal issues.

Judges of Normality

Quite similar to health, education and environmental issues, governing crime is a both social and a political issue. In the manner that our reactions are elicited towards criminal behaviour is in reality conditioned by historical processes.

It is important to then, understand why problematisation of certain behaviour takes place. Why a phenomenon is considered to be a problem?

Foucault (1977) considers an increase in the importance of 'norm' leads to rise in the disciplinary power and its diffusion over space. By conducting constant and continuous assessment and evaluations of the inmates (as in prison, while in the everyday, each one who comes under the purview of law) establishes what constitutes 'normality'. The construction of 'normality' abets the spread of the disciplinary power among the subjects. For Foucault, "Judges of Normality are present everywhere, We are in the society of the teacher judge, the doctor judge, the educator judge, the social worker judge- it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based – and each individually wherever he may find himself – subject to his body- his body, his gesture, his aptitude, his achievements"⁷⁴.

So judges are not just members of the judiciary, but in a disciplining and normalizing society, a wide range of experts involved in constantly evaluating and improving individuals till they fall into line with the established norm. Later discipline transformed

⁷⁴ Foucault M (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage, New York. pp 177-194; 304.

into bio-politics. This form of power evolved around life and living as against sovereign power and discipline.

Similar to discipline it is a positive and a productive form of power, and while discipline intervenes with individuals bodies, bio-politics deals with totality.

Crucial to the bio-political regulation is the mapping of the aggregated parameters of life and that may even include mapping of crime data. Spatially disaggregated crime data can become a potent tool for bio-politics. This brings in the idea of governmentality – a new notion of power where government is understood as conduct of conduct to structure the possible field of conduct of others. Crime data record can act as a facile mode to mark out errant compartments of space and making the inhabitants responsible to bringing about the desired changes in deviant behaviour in the region. Borch (2015) applies G S Becker's work in the analysis of "Crime and Punishment – An Economic Approach" (1968) applying the concept of homo – oeconomicus in the study of crime⁷⁵. This association enables an understanding of criminal activity as an action where the individual is calculating pros (benefits of the crime) and cons (risk of penalty) while engaging in criminal activity. This idea can be well connected to Domestic Violence Abuse as complete lack to penalty has emboldened the perpetrators of domestic violence to carry on with acts of abuse with impunity. The growing impunity among family members was a result of the private sphere being kept away from the purview of crime control by the state. Similar to the point of view of the Judges of Normality are those who tend to decry acts of violence that occurs at a large scale beyond the structure of the family, but fail to acknowledge the everyday violence women experience. In the following section, acts of normalising family violence has been discussed.

Normalising Violence:

Public discourse on violence is characterised by a strong moral disapproval of perpetrators of violence⁷⁶. This takes the focus away from the authorities who happen to be greater perpetrators of violence. Normalising violence also de-recognises the violence of normal everyday lives, thereby not recognising the severity of it. The deeply

⁷⁵ Borch C (2015) Foucault, *Crime and Power: Problematisations of Crime in the Twentieth Century*. Routledge, New York. pp 1-18.

⁷⁶ Kannabiran K(2005) *The Violence of Normal Times: Essays on Women's lived realities*, Women Unlimited, New Delhi. pp 1-45.

embedded violence which makes up the normal realm, is out of bounds of Judicial, Penal and constitutional safeguards though, yet the sudden outbursts of violence cannot be contextualised without analysing the violence of normal times. Cryle and Stephens(2017) refers to the term ‘normal’ to have assumed so much pre eminence in the lives of people that it has become rather impossible to visualise modern day life outside the foil of the normal. There also arises difficulty in analysing ‘normal’ objectively, as the idea of the normal has embedded deeply into our everyday practices⁷⁷. Calguilhem (1989) terms the ‘normal’ as the effect obtained by the execution of normality project, it is the norm exhibited in the fact; or normal means both the norm as a descriptive fact and normality as the affirmation of cultural values⁷⁸. While ‘normal’ may sound innocuous, but it possesses the ability to turn vicious. Normal is pitted against the ‘abnormal’ ‘pathological’ or the ‘defiant’ as the diametric opposite of the ‘normal’ rendering them incomplete or an immanent being who needs to fit into the ‘normal’ frame⁷⁹.

Disciplinary power has the ability to penalise non observance of the norms created and perpetuated by society. It is that which does not measure to the rule, and that which departs from it”⁸⁰. Non conformity on the part of the woman to the rules of the marital home is considered as a punishable act. Women who see through the overarching process of normalisation of her subordinate status in family resort to resistance to the normative behaviour pattern, and are treated as normless and such normlessness is not accepted by family members or society making women susceptible to punitive justice system. The Justice system too with it’s agenda of disciplining becomes another instrument of repression of women in experiencing Domestic Violence. Yet, changes are becoming visible in terms of women questioning and contesting normalisation of structural violence against them. The penal system too resorts to methods such as confessions for constructing case histories for judging the conflicts stemming from domestic violence. Confessions as a mode of documentary ‘truth’ need to be analysed. The following section

⁷⁷ Cryle P and Stephens E (2017) *Normality: A Critical Genealogy*, Chicago University Press, Chicago. pp 1-20.

⁷⁸ Caluilhem G (1991) *The Normal and The Pathological*. Zone Books. New York. pp 7-24.

⁷⁹ Ibid. pp. 7-24.

⁸⁰ Rabinow P (1984) *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault’s Thought*, Penguin Books, London.

of the chapter deals with the problems of relying on confessions as a mode of intervention in cases of Domestic Violence.

Speaking to Power: The Journey towards a Confessing Society

Fejas and Dahlsted (2013) write that ‘Man’ has become a confessing animal, and that confession has become the most valuable technique for producing truth in society. Verbalisation has become a central method through which people make themselves visible⁸¹. Foucault (2003) talks about an interesting vignette about spatial power – the development of confessional practice in churches. Modern counseling sessions bear similarities to the same spatial arrangement; where “material crystallization of all rules takes place”. Confessions demanded that sins be confessed to someone who has the power for remission of those sins⁸². The space encourages certain discussions and discourages certain discourses. Christian practices of confession have been taken over by secular institutions and thus have spread into most parts of our private lives. By not limiting confessions to the church itself, it has entered the space which is intimate and private to a person, such as relationships with one’s lover, family, friends and our own selves. Confessions in this process have been ‘scientised’. Many contemporary practices like the Television Shows, Facebook, Twitter etc, are inundated with public display of emotions. More than actions, emotions have taken over in the display of private lives. Verbalisation becomes the crucial part of a confessing society⁸³. This technique of harvesting truth, brings into fore another new technique of power where description of the body and making the body guilty in the process of reaching the truth. Only with this analytical discourse the malaise may be investigated.

Examination of the individual’s life whether the person is confessing with a spiritual director or any other, the entire life of the individual should get filtered through examination, analysis and discourse. This examination not only passes through discursive grid, it also encounters a relationship with the authority which is strict and exclusive. Everything may be told by the confessor to the authority, but only to him. In the context

⁸¹ Fejas A and Dahlsted M (2013) *The Confessing Society: Foucault, Confession and the Practices of Lifelong Learning*. Routledge. New York. pp 1-22.

⁸² Foucault M (2003) *Abnormal: Lectures at the College de France, 1974 – 1975*. Picador, New York. pp 1-22.

⁸³ Fejas A and Dahlsted M (2013) *The Confessing Society: Foucault, Confession and Practices of Life Long Learning*. Routledge, New York. pp 1-22.

of domestic violence research, speaking to the powerful through confessionary practices assumes importance as the hitherto private lives gets a public view and for an individual, the confession may prove to be a power gaining practice and to the other individual it could translate to loss of power. Since confessionary practices probes into only a few aspects of individuals' lives, the certain other aspects remain undisclosed and examination and analysis is based on the culled out confessions. In domestic violence research, often certain aspects of married life remained muffled while other's get highlighted.

Counseling sessions aiming at arbitration of domestic violence cases attempted by the State is such a technology of power which has crept into everyday practice. Reflection as a means of confession is used as a technique whereby an individual by reflecting on his/her behaviour can improve his/her everyday practices and disclose a part of the self while doing so. This mode of self improvement is encouraged by the practice of counseling and confession. Reflection is considered as a desirable activity here. By scrutinizing one's daily actions, improvement is expected and targeted.

Technologies of power are important aspects of the reflective practices through which people are shaped to act in a certain way. Through this power people are made to make visible their experiences, identify problem areas and propose solution to their problems. This way the self is made visible for scrutiny, assessment, calculation and the normalised subject is thus shaped and fostered. Reflection is also used to identify the 'blind spot' so that the subject can improve and fit into the place he/she belongs.

Through a genealogy of confessions; alternatives to behaviour are offered that reveal that there are other possible ways of conducting our lives than that we take for granted.

This study heavily banks on confession as a technique of visibilising the trauma women undergo and the acts that her marital family members confess to have committed in the presence of representatives of the State.

The above discussions bring up the of alternate means of providing justice from a feminist perspective and attempts to alter the legal terrain by way of application of feminist ideals. The following section introduces the creation of feminist legal terrains.

Feminist Legal Geographies: Domestic Violence in the context of Legal Pluralism.

India as a nation ideally is a space for legal centralism, but as one probes deeper one finds multiple spaces of legal pluralism stubbornly nestled within it. These plural legal spaces emanate from a range of practices related to family traditions to customary laws and the laws pertaining to one's religious faith, which govern the marital lives of women. The debates regarding drafting and implementation of the Uniform Civil Code have been discussed in Chapter 1, which reveals how religious laws have an unfading influence that governs women's marital rights. It is within these practices of legal pluralism occurring at various spaces women inhabit; the practice of delivery of legal remedies to women afflicted by domestic violence. The law on domestic violence too opens up various frontiers of conflict with the customary laws practiced in myriad spaces that make up the nation. (Agnes and Ghosh, 2012; Agnes 2011; Kapur and Crossman, 1996)

A deeper understanding of the available options women have to resort to, reveal a deep chasm between women who are capable of exploring the state provided options of negotiating their marital disputes and women who are not. Only women with certain basic capabilities of the knowledge of the existence of such laws, the awareness of the possibility to get redressal at women's cells and courts and who possess the resources required and autonomy to move out of their household and be present at the court or police station. Even then Sen (2010) exposes the abstruse nature of legal systems which often act as hurdle for even an educated middle class woman to get justice from the formal courts of law, and how the laws and procedures are removed from the everyday suffering women undergo in the process of getting justice.

Mirchandani (2006) in her analysis of domestic violence finds transformation in governance of gender and gender of governance which earlier like all state agencies were patriarchal, guided by men's interests and reproducing their dominance. State also co-opts feminism while retaining patriarchal inclinations. Social movements from below can make a difference in legislature as well as the judiciary⁸⁴. Basu (2006) contends that these institutions were used for the purpose of negotiation between family members for the restoration of family life and women were often counseled under the overarching archaic

⁸⁴ Mirchandani R (2006) Hitting is not Manly: Domestic Violence Courts and the Re-imagination of Patriarchal State. *Gender and Society*, Vol 20, No 6, Dec. 2006. pp 781-804.

patriarchal values of being subdued and conform to the ways of the natal home, and often advised to not invoke Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code⁸⁵ as it often leads to closing possibilities of women returning to her matrimonial home⁸⁶. Alternate Dispute Resolution in Domestic Violence cases in India as Ghosh (2004) puts it, is more about preserving marriage and cessation of abuse. Very rarely a divorce or separation process is initiated. Since violence is used for controlling women, those women who take marriage as their career, have very little access to resources, the hierarchical structure within the household makes it impossible for women to look for an alternate mode of living, but raising the culpability and accountability of men as perpetrators of domestic violence may hold the key to the transformation of the family structure⁸⁷. Vimochana (2007), Anand (2012), and Kumari (2008), Bhatla and Rajan (2008), Sramajibi Mahila Samiti (2008) mention apathy of the community, the resistance from the natal family for the girl to shift back to the natal home, and often women are willing to forgive their abusers in order to revive their relationship and the need for settling family disputes through simple procedures. Magar (2007) explores strategies to counter domestic violence against women in slums of Delhi through the interactions of NGOs.

Basu (2012) discusses three principal routes of addressing domestic violence in India – Civil, Criminal and Community mediation⁸⁸. Sen (2010) reiterates the struggles of middle class formally educated; employed women who approach state run judicial institutions for seeking divorce. Mahila Panchayats though may fit in to the model of community mediation; yet this structure is completely a new form of community mediation, and often rooted in feminist ideals, thereby resists perpetuating patriarchal ideals of the family and women's role in it.

Drawing from Tamanaha (2011), though the Indian legal system is well developed with linkages with police, yet, the services are fraught with lack of funds, which also makes it

⁸⁵ **Section 498 A of the India Penal Code** states “Husband or the relative of husband of a women subjecting her to cruelty- Whoever, being the husband or the relative of the husband of a women, subject such woman to cruelty shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine.

⁸⁶ Basu S (2006) Playing off the courts: The Negotiation of Divorce and Violence in Plural Legal Settings in Kolkata, *Journal of Legal Pluralism*, No.52. pp 41-75.

⁸⁷ Ghosh H A (2004) Chattels of Society: Domestic Violence in India, *Violence against Women*; 2004; 10; 94. DOI: 10.1177/1077801203256019. pp 94-118.

⁸⁸ Basu S (2012) Judges of Normality: Mediating Marriage in Family Courts of Kolkata India. *Signs*. Vol 37. No. 2. pp 469-492.

inaccessible for certain sections of the society to gain access to the law, as well as awareness of the law is also dismal among many communities⁸⁹. The police personnel engaging with this new progressive law are themselves not completely convinced about women's needs and often suggest reconciliation with their abusive partners' to 'save' the marriage. This complex situation leads to creation of overlapping of many legal spaces which contradict each other for example, the Sharia guidelines control Muslim women's marital lives, while the law gives women the right to assert their choices of divorce. Often the religious law gains dominance as the state law is rendered impotent to combat such religious practices.

On the contrary, the Hindu religion does not permit bigamy but since the domestic violence law takes into consideration all relationships of the nature of marriage into its fold, and offers right to residence to women trapped in such relationships, so, a curious bigamy-like situation arises in such conditions. Such cases require sensitive engagement to ameliorate the conflicting and helpless situations women are put into. Apart from religious laws, the community laws too have their strong influence on women's lives as the community courts too offer mediation services and these structures are steeply rooted in patriarchal practices, and are in complete disagreement with feminist legal jurisprudence. Often women face threats of ostracism for not heeding to the community court's rulings and for seeking help from state agencies instead. The hope for implementation of the state law in moderation with the family, community and religious law requires creation of 'hypercenterritoriality' of legal spaces to address the needs of women at particular socio-economic locations to deal with the crisis. The creation of women's courts for tackling instances of violence against women in general and domestic violence in particular has emanated from this concern. These courts are an arm of the feminist non-governmental organizations that work towards the betterment of women's living conditions and making legal rights available to women who are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder and who on their own are not in a position to know and access legal support to alter their violence ridden lives.

⁸⁹ Tamanaha B Z (2011) The Rule of Law and Legal Pluralism in Development. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 3: pp 1-17

Women's interaction with law should necessarily be reviewed through the lens of plural legalism. Women's world make up of customary laws that are taught to women through customs, practices and rituals which are learnt by them from their families and other social institutions. . Like the world over, in India too women are instilled with values that reiterate their status of being secondary to men. Feminist Legal Geographies refutes the ideas of Legal Centrality (where any one form of Legal System takes pre eminence on the lives of the subjects) and urge researchers to view women's lives in the light of various local laws; family-caste related laws and religious laws that impact on their sense of rights and freedoms. In the West, research on feminist legal spaces has carved a specialized area of study. Baverman, Bloomey, Delany and Kedar (2014) and Bloomey, Delany and Ford (2001) have documented that without explicitly talking about spatial underpinnings of law, scholars have been researching legal aspects at particular spatial locations⁹⁰. Such an exercise offers incomplete understanding of the formation of legal space⁹¹. This is where geographers with their knowledge of spatial modalities can make meaningful contribution in making sense of how laws operate over space. Home is one of those important spaces that have not gained enough pre eminence in this sub field till very recently.

Tamanaha (2011) reflects on a post colonial nation, the colonial law supplants itself over the local, customary laws. This process fits well into the history of India's modern law making process. For women, it becomes difficult to choose to either be a 'rights bearing subject' or the 'good wife' who values tradition⁹². Gangoli (2007) questions that whether having laws on women's rights is a subversive activity or do these co-opt with the state. Merry (2003) argues that seeing oneself as a rights bearing subject depends on the supportive encounters with Police, Judges and legal practitioners. To access the law, the woman takes up a new subject position which needs to be studied from the perspective of her socio-economic background. Manji (1999) distinguishes the experiences of women in

⁹⁰ Blomley N, Delany D and Ford RT (2001) *The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, Power and Space*, Oxford, Blackwell. pp xiii-xxiv.

⁹¹ Baverman I, Blomley N, Delaney D and Kedar (2014) *The Expanding Spaces of Law: A Timely Legal Geography*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press. pp 1-29.

⁹² Tamanaha B Z (2011) The Rule of Law and Legal Pluralism in Development. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 3: pp 1-17.

countries of the third world, as in these countries most women rights workers and lawyers are post colonial bourgeois, and is difficult for women from lower echelons of society to relate to them⁹³. Manji's concerns resonates in the functions of many NGOs that are headed and run by urban, elite, formally educated women belonging to upper echelons of society and the kind of aspersions that are cast on Indian women's movement for it being spearheaded by urban elite upper caste women. Black (2007) recounts that the productivity of law is mobilized by the state and the individual actors, but for women penetration of law into the family may result in late conviction of her husband, which is a sure reason for his anger. Time taken for a domestic violence case to be heard and decision offered also plays an important role in deciding women's choice to take legal recourse⁹⁴. The debates regarding drafting and implementation of the Uniform Civil Code⁹⁵, for a blanket law applicable for the citizens of the country irrespective of their religious faith has often been subjected to debates and resistance from religious leaders. This has led to the religious laws assert an unfading influence that govern women's marital rights. It is within these practices of legal pluralism occurring at various spaces women inhabit; the practice of delivery of legal remedies to women afflicted by domestic violence is studied here. The law on domestic violence too opens up various frontiers of conflict with the customary laws practiced in myriad spaces that make up the nation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the journey of the Indian women's movement from the 80s onwards was indeed a difficult one for the demand for legal provisions for mitigation of violence against women within the household and seeing to the culmination of the demands into creation of laws that guarantee it. (Agnes and Ghosh, 2012; Agnes 2011; Kapur and Crossman, 1996)

It is in this scheme of social reality that the present research brings out the problematic of creation and enforcement of a legal system on Domestic Violence, developed and maintained by the State law. Such a law has very little provision to incorporate the multitude of spatial realms that influence human behaviour while dealing with specific

⁹³ Manji A S (1999) Imagining Women's 'Legal World': Towards a Feminist Theory of Legal Pluralism in Africa. *Social and Legal Studies*, Vol 8(4), pp 435-455.

⁹⁴ Black M L (2007) *Everyday Harm: Domestic Violence, Court Rites and Cultures of Reconciliation*, , University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

⁹⁵ Agnes F (2011) *Family Law*, Volume I, New Delhi, Oxford University Press. pp 147.

cases of Domestic Violence. Laws such as the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 construe different meanings and connotations to justice seekers hailing from diverse regions and social locations.

Over and above the diversity of justice seekers, as Basu (1999) in her work on women and property noted that even in the urban areas of India, women and families are ignorant of the legal provisions made available by the State⁹⁶. Often justice seekers need guidance to approach agents who would ameliorate their helpless and powerless condition. Kannabiran (2014) emphasizes the ability of the law to touch lives, but the impact of the law is dependent on how the law imagines women⁹⁷. Brickell (2015) in her account of domestic violence arbitration in Cambodia finds that state laws often are ‘abstract forces’ that ‘float above the everyday’ conception of law and justice⁹⁸. Local level reconciliation impacts the everyday negotiations of women’s interaction with the law, built on the understanding of the ground realities and experiences of women resisting acts of violence in a local setting. Since the Crime Women Cells and the Courts do not allow lawyers or NGO representatives to accompany the complainants, it becomes exceedingly difficult for the complainant to arrive at an arrangement in the presence of the perpetrator of violence even when the complainant belongs to the elite class with thorough knowledge of the laws pertaining to domestic violence. For most women who are economically dependent on their spouses, with no private property, right to residence becomes the prime concern. Most of the women shift to their natal homes when violence in their marital homes escalates and there is a subtle pressure from the natal home to move back to the marital homes, as not only the burden of livelihood, but the stigma associated with a married woman living with her parents or siblings weighs heavily on the entire natal household. Decision making process for women in those legal spaces is often not completely influenced by her own will and not all issues plaguing her marital life may be discussed and sorted in the presence of persons wielding greater social power. This is

⁹⁶ Basu S (1999) *She Comes to Take Her Right: Indian Women, Property and Propriety*. State University of New York. Alabama.

⁹⁷ Kannabiran K (2014) Introduction. In Kannabiran K Eds. *Women and Law: Critical Feminist Perspectives*. Sage. New Delhi. pp xv-xxi.

⁹⁸ Brickell K (2015) Towards Intimate Geographies of Peace? Local Reconciliation of Domestic Violence in Cambodia. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. Vol. 40. pp.321-333.

also the reason why the state law alone cannot help in establishing social intercourse, and maintain social order, neither can the entire realm of social behaviour be governed by state laws. Jaising (2014) and Jhamb (2011) reiterate that the success of the law for protection of women from Domestic Violence depends on the extent to which the required support services are put into place by the state⁹⁹. Support services beyond the state run institutions may become external support system for a law to become effective. The following section documents the role of the Third Sector in offering support for the implementation of law.

Role of Third Sector and Quiet Activism:

Women's movements are located in particular embedded histories and geographies and not pure products of modernization and development (Ray 1999). Lumba Lukose (2012) observes that in the last few decades local and national Governments and NGOs have appropriated feminist vocabulary and agenda and lament the dilution of redistributive justice and disabling of collective opposition. Space now provides the key to the understanding of amelioration of violence through strategies of recognition and redistribution and it has taken precedence over crass materialistic benefits¹⁰⁰. This question assumes enhanced importance in the subaltern and marginalized communities and groups such as among the poor in urban areas. Also included in this category are victims of entrenched social prejudices particularly women in patriarchal societies. Desire for effective agency has been at the core of the feminist project (Bowden and Mummery (2009)¹⁰¹. Linked to self determination and autonomy, agency denotes exercise of free will and personal freedom, within the bounds of socially authorized actions- which change with time and place. Activism plays a potent role in altering people's perception of socially authorized actions. The capabilities of the agent to rank her needs and desires and also her self esteem to recognize and pursue them determine the bounds of socially approved actions.

⁹⁹ Jaising I (2014) Bringing Rights Home: Campaign for a Law on Domestic Violence. In Kannabiran K Eds. *Women and Law: Critical Feminist Perspectives*. Sage. New Delhi. Pp 1-31. And Jhamb B (2011) The Missing Link in Domestic Violence Act. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol 46, Issue 33. pp 45-50.

¹⁰⁰ Fraser N (2003) Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics, in Fraser N and Honneth; *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political Philosophical Exchange*, Verso, London New York.

¹⁰¹ Bowden P and Mummery J (2009) *Understanding Feminism*. Acemen. England.

Despite the critique of the NGOisation of feminist agenda, and fears of co-option between the State and NGOs, one finds that NGOs foster collective agency; which does have the potential to bring about change since unless women understand themselves as members of groups they would fail to see patterns of oppression and also fail to see that group/ structural resistance is necessary to challenge structural oppression. Suzuki (2000) observes two different modes of operation of social movements; by direct protest action or by nurturing alternative lifestyles for their members. With dematerialization of society, knowledge design and symbolism have emerged at the apex of the value added hierarchy producing signs rather than material objects. This explains the shift of the social movements from physical security to conflicts over culture, meaning and identity¹⁰². The cultural nature of these movements replaces ‘emancipatory politics’ with ‘life politics’ involves deeper moral and existential questions where members are made to understand how they should live their lives in emancipated circumstances. Pagano (2014) talks of different types of activism and diversity of tactics are important in reaching a goal for the marginalised sections. For Pagano, there exists no right way of doing activism. In the past activism was synonymous with being loud. Not wanting such a label, as label can diminish the quality of work; more and more activists are resorting to ‘Quiet Activism’ to bring about social change¹⁰³.

Despite the critique of the NGOisation of feminist agenda, and fears of co-option between the State and NGOs, one finds that NGOs foster collective agency; which does have the potential to bring about change since unless women understand themselves as members of groups they would fail to see patterns of oppression and also fail to see that group/ structural resistance is necessary to challenge structural oppression. NGOs foster the cementation processes of group formation. These social movements challenge the existing order of things either by direct protest action or by nurturing alternate lifestyles for its members.

Iyer, Mani, Mishra and Topalova (2012) take up the issue of protecting the rights of disadvantageous groups which remain a cause of concern in many countries. Their

¹⁰² Suzuki T M (2000) For and Against NGOs: The Politics of the Lived World. *New Left Review* 2, Mar Apr. pp 63-84.

¹⁰³ <http://juliepagan.com/blog/2014/06/08/on-fighting-for-marginalized-people-in-tech/> Accessed on 04.03.2019.

research suggests that political representation is an important means of providing voice to the disadvantaged groups within the criminal justice system. Their research also indicate that having female political representation at the local government level leads to willingness among women to record crimes against them¹⁰⁴.

Concluding Remarks:

From the foregoing discussion it may be concluded that, this chapter attempts to situate the present research work within and around the theoretical postulations that have helped in explanation of geographies of gender, social inequality, questions of dignity and justice, freedoms and creation of capabilities of individuals. Women's geographies being different from men's geographies create differential perception of spaces of men and women. Documenting how women perceive, occupy, produce and reconfigure spaces leads to writing women's geographies. These spaces are viewed through the lens of male dominance in India within the rubric of classical patriarchy, kinship studies, linguistic diversities, also broadly North Indian and South Indian patterns to make a connection with the violence women experience at home and beyond. The region and community based differences can be linked to the Ecological Model of Domestic Violence which relates the causes of domestic violence to be nestled in four separate spheres of human interaction, namely, individual level, family level, socio-structural level and socio-cultural level. In this context, theories of geographies of crimes have been incorporated for understanding regional patterns of occurrences and reporting of crimes along with questions of existence of regional sub-cultures of crimes with the help of the theory of regional genderscapes. For theoretical moorings of intimate partner violence, the cyclical theory of violence and the survivor theory was examined followed by detailed analysis of the way domestic labour of women was appropriated with the establishment of private property and how women's subject creation process began. Drawing from liberal feminist's project, the nexus of patriarchy and legal and institutional have been brought out to show how women's gendered subjectivity forms. Yet these theories are incapable of the explaining how powerful women suffer from men's violence. Following the analysis of patriarchal power, Foucauldian analysis of power was discussed where, where

¹⁰⁴ Iyer, Mani, Mishra and Topalova (2012) The Power of Political Voice: Women's Political Representation and Crime in India, *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, Vol 4, No. 4. pp 165-193.

the idea of power shift to a group of people work towards 'conducting the conduct' of others and within the states of domination and power games is the issue of governmentality. Resistances to those power forms are also ubiquitous and study of these resistances can help locate the locus of power. The means of normalising violence through perpetuation of epistemic violence in the private spaces and ignoring the 'everyday struggles' that women experience in their families. The idea of modern form of power being non-corporeal is also challenged as domestic violence incorporates forms of violence that are both corporeal and invisible. In the next stage, theories of family violence approaches were integrated with feminist theories of violence against women. The role of the modern state was also discussed; the gender and class nature of the modern state was brought out followed by Arendt's assertion on violence being the ramification of absence of power. The state also homogenizes the subjects, and that process has often been critiqued by feminists. At the soul of the intervention by the state is the dichotomous treatment that it renders to private lives and public lives of its citizens. Women's life within homes remain bound by sexual contract alone and they are unable evolve to a social contract in relationships.

The chapter also deals with the peculiarity of urban metropolitan spaces where with increased mobility of women due to participation in economic activities, their notions of their sexuality and desire tend to alter from the traditional norms and offer more opportunities for them to break rules of endogamy by forging inter-linguistic, inter-caste and inter-religious relationships. These changes are not free of fears of retribution from both the families they belong to and the society. The urban metropolitan spaces also experience the influence of modernity infusing among the city dwellers newer aspirations and that in turn affects their relationship with their partners and their families. Modernity is responsible for the 'marketised' version of the 'perfect wife' which triumphs over family values. Women's movement in India has been instrumental in ushering modernity through activism and in the context of this study; the feminist jurisprudence has helped in creation of legal provisions to ensure violence free homes. The movement has also contributed in generating awareness among men and women of the multiple negative ramifications of domestic violence thereby resisting the continued practices of 'normalising violence' behind closed doors. The mode of documenting domestic violence

by institutions of the state is usually achieved through ‘confessions’ made by the complainant as well as the perpetrators of violence in the presence of the arbitrators. The process of examination of the confessing person gets filtered through examination, analysis and discourse. The confessional process may also be a ‘power gaining’ practice for a person who had been oppressed and the same process of confession may evoke a sense of ‘loss of power’ to the perpetrator. The theories relating to Feminist Legal Geographies have been addressed in this chapter since legal pluralism is a well documented reality that embraces all citizens of India. Citizens being gendered subjects are often left with no power to choose among the various legal realms that govern their lives. While negotiating with legal institutions, women encounter many instances where the legal system appears to emulate the overarching patriarchal norms that intimidate women from seeking justice from violence at home, and those who cross over numerous impediments to reach the courts of law feel that the legal system is completely oblivious of the everyday struggles that women encounter. The family and the community rarely offer succor to women and even though the Indian legal system has deep linkages with the police and courts, lack of funding for employing protection officers by the State leave justice seeking women with a lonely battle to fight. Specific geographies create distinct legal spaces which need to be understood and dealt with in the context of those specificities that explains how the space renders power to a legal provision. Scholars often mention that state laws are abstract spaces and float over the everyday, so legal provisions alone cannot bring about any change in the social behaviour, yet it may be said that with extra-institutional support structures in place, legal provisions like laws on domestic violence can find meaning among people and also can be implemented effectively. The role of the third sector and quiet activism in ‘bringing home the laws’ on domestic violence has been very effective in the metropolitan cities. Despite fears of cooption between the state and the NGOs, the NGOs have been able to elicit collective agency among urban women and driven home the fact that structural resistances are needed to challenge violence that is entrenched within the societal structure. The chapter paves the way for offering the research a comprehensive theoretical background to begin with and also tests the applicability of the theoretical positions in the spaces where the research has been undertaken.

Chapter - 3

Data Base and Methodology

The place of Domestic Violence in the terrain of crimes occurring in India occupies a very small space within the official crime statistics, owing to its miniscule percentage to total crimes in any region, as well as the total number of crimes against women. The particular form of crime though worthy of detailed research and analysis, till very recently had not featured as a category of crime which even though is widely acknowledged to be underreported, yet no specific efforts had been made to widen the scope of the category to combat the process of under-reporting. As per the official crime statistics in India¹, the collected statistics on Domestic Violence represent only those cases in the urban centres and districts of India which are registered for taking action against the husband and in laws of only those women who experience violence within their home and resort to intervention and action by the State. The previous chapters make it evident that, women in India like the world over, have very minor or no rights to property ownership. There also exists inadequacy of state provided support structures for residence and income generation for women which add up to the reasons that make women naturally deterred to register complaints against her aggressors. It must be remembered that those aggressors are also the providers of her livelihood and shelter. The registration of formal complaints usually take place at the end of a long drawn negotiation process at various levels which include personal level, at the level of the aggrieved person's natal and marital families, influential friends and acquaintances and later through community level institutions. Often the institutions work within the framework of the third sector and finally, in almost all the instances, the least preferred one is the institutions of the modern state- in the form of the police and the courts. The journey from the counselling stage; when the chances of restoration of marital dispute is the highest, to the final stage of registering a criminal case and finally seeking of divorce is a labyrinth of meeting points of various institutions and individuals, and at each point

¹ Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, Government of India.

in the journey, for the aggrieved person, the odds of getting justice or continuation of the violent relationship keeps on altering in various degrees. The complainant is in a real 'Kafkaesque' situation². This happens because, there exists no one way of going about the dispute resolution process since each aggrieved person and respondent react in their own chosen manner to the situation and circumstances she is in, and at each junction of the dispute resolution process the couple has the option of complying with the mediation or reverting to conflict mode.

For this reason, even though available secondary data has been collected and used for the analysis of the patterns of occurrence of domestic violence, or rather the reporting of incidences of domestic violence, using primary data for this research is of crucial importance. It is the primary data which captures the stage in the life of the complainant prior to the registering of cases of domestic violence that can provide insight into the circumstances that lead to occurrence of domestic violence. Primary data also offers insight into the varying thresholds that women pass through before registering official complaints. These details cannot be culled out from the official statistical records.

Before embarking on the journey of collecting personal data of the women experiencing Domestic Violence in the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata, the issue of ethics in research of the present kind is being discussed as the tenets of the ethical guidelines that formed the basis of the methodology for collection of personal data of the respondents.

Issue of Ethics in Research on Domestic Violence:

Research on Domestic Violence generates diverse ethical issues. Information about occurrence of Domestic Violence may be collected from household surveys where women are asked whether they are victims of domestic violence. This method is considered inappropriate to implement, given the widespread acknowledgement of the ethical and safety concerns involved. Qualitative methods are better suited for analysing crimes related to Domestic Violence. Ethical concerns involved in using qualitative methods require building up significant rapport with women respondents before one can embark on gathering high quality data. Due to high degree of complexity and sensitivity associated with research on Domestic Violence, it is essential to use a mix of qualitative

² Kafka F (1930) *The Castle*. Vintage. London.

as well as quantitative methodologies and tools for analysis in Domestic Violence research. The present research thus relies on a mix of methods such as in-depth interviews, participant observation, key format interviews, the provision of unbiased spaces like the crime women cells and the NGOs and review of secondary sources along with survey formats.

Methodological dilemma that emerged with designing the response studies is whether the existing knowledge base is sufficient to evaluate the effectiveness of responses. In Social Sciences research in India, the need to conduct research by adhering to ethical guidelines is still in the emerging stages. Neither ICSSR, nor UGC have published comprehensive guidelines pertaining to Ethics in research. The National Committee for Ethics in Social Science Research in Health (NCESSRH), along with its coordination and research secretariat based at CEHAT, offers a document titled: "*Ethical Guidelines for Social Science Research in Health*". This document very broadly sums up the criteria of ethical research to conform to the questions of non-maleficence, beneficence, autonomy, confidentiality and justice. Under the broad framework, the categories of guidelines pertinent to the current research have been looked up. Efforts were made by the researcher to be able to comply with those criteria.

The criteria that were taken into account while conducting the research have been documented below.

Guidelines on researcher and participant should be based on the premise that both are indispensable partners, and the research should not affect the participant's social, psychological and cultural well being. The participants' relevant cultural and historical background should be considered; and the respondents should be given the right to choose whether they want to be a part of the research and to also have the right to change their decision and withdraw from participating in the research at all levels. The researcher should not resort to coercion, deception or deprivation of essential information or promise of unrealistic benefits excessive reimbursement or inducement³.

Rights of participants include knowing the researcher personally and getting briefed on the topic of research both verbally and in written format, why the participant is being chosen for the particular research as well as the harms and benefits that might be

³ <http://www.cehat.org/cehat/uploads/files/a128.pdf>. Accessed on 24.01.2019.

associated with the research to be explained to the participant. Apart from that, the privacy, confidentiality and anonymity of the participant has to be maintained, and the future use of the data should also be revealed to the participants.

All the above criteria were complied to while interacting with the participants of the current research.

The data used for the research may be broadly categorised into Secondary and Primary data.

The following sections documents the different sources of secondary data used for the study.

1. SECONDARY DATA:

a. National Family Health Survey Data: The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) publishes a module on Domestic Violence across all states of India through sample survey. The methodology adopted for this survey has been discussed below.

A module of questions on Domestic Violence which is a part of the Woman's questionnaire, and information on different types of violence was collected as experienced by women aged between 15 to 49. Details of physical, sexual and emotional violence perpetrated by husbands were collected. The time of initiation of violence was also recorded. Aspects of intergenerational transmission of violence were also probed⁴ for the NFHS -3 published 2005-06. The 2005-06 time period was chosen as the other source of data being Crime in India series used for the study was collected for the time periods 2001 and 2011. The NFHS-3 data offers the possibility of analysing the mid-period records on Domestic Violence.

The NFHS -3 engaged a sample for the study which interviewed 124,385 women within the age-group of 15-49 and 74,346 men within the age-group of 15-54 with participants coming from 29 states. The sub-sample of domestic violence comprised of 13,999 never married and 69,704 ever married women respondents, after the privacy condition⁵ was achieved.

A number of limitations of the data base were mentioned in the report. There are chances of under reporting of the true prevalence of violence. Scholars working on Domestic

⁴ IIPS (2007) National Family and Health Survey (NFHS-3), Mumbai.

⁵ Ibid.

Violence research warn that the number of women who are willing to disclose abuse is not necessarily the actual number of women who have actually been abused. The social construct of a victim of domestic violence has shame and ignominy associated with it, deterring women victims to reveal about their sufferings. Women are thus likely to deny or even minimise the experiences of violence⁶. NFHS 3 also restricts itself to domestic violence perpetrated by the former or current husbands of the respondent and thereby likely to miss out on or underestimate the prevalence of violence by other potential perpetrators. Since the age group ranges from 15-49, there are chances that the younger lot of the victims may not be exposed to violence at present but would be exposed to it later in their lives. This fact would also affect the rate recorded in the survey. The other set of data used for the research is being discussed below.

b. National Crime Records Bureau Data:

For this record, Crime in India published by National crime Records Bureau's (NCRB) statistics has been analysed. The state wise responses have been mapped using Arc GIS software, followed by district wise reporting under 'cruelty by husbands and relatives'. To analyse the pattern of occurrence of Domestic Violence in India, district wise data on three year averages of crimes have been analysed using data from 'Crime in India' published by NCRB (National Crime Records Bureau). Three categories of crimes have been taken up for this analysis for two time periods. Since crime rates may have a tendency to fluctuate if analysed for a single year, three year crime averages have been calculated for 640 districts and mega cities of India.

The changes in crime rates have been analysed over two time periods to take into account decadal change. The average values of the three years data have been taken for analysis. Rate of crime per lakh population have been used for analysis instead of incidence of crimes as that offer a more refined and normalised picture of the intensity of crimes. The years taken in to consideration are 2000, 2001, and 2002 (base year 2001) and years 2010, 2011 and 2012 (base year 2011) .Total crimes rates (which include all cognizable crimes under Indian Penal Code), Total Violence against Women rates (which includes

⁶ Dreze J and Khera R (2000) Crime, Gender and Society in India, *Population and Development Journal Review*. Vol – 26, No 2. pp 335 -352.

crimes as: Rape, Molestation, Kidnapping and Abduction of Women and Girls, Dowry Deaths, Sexual Harassment and Cruelty by Husbands and Relatives) and Domestic Violence rates (Cruelty by Husbands and Relatives) have been analysed. The entire exercise was repeated for Mega Cities of India at two time periods.

The rates have been plotted on the district map of India with the help of Arc GIS Software, and the rates of the specific types of crimes analysed in the study have been sorted into categories using two methods; namely, the range method for homogeneity and the mean and standard deviation method.

The analysis of secondary data laid the plinth on which the primary data was overlaid to arrive at location specific analysis. The following section records the method by which primary data was generated for the research.

2. **PRIMARY DATA:**

Collection of Primary data involved a two tier approach. The two steps are being discussed below.

i. **Pilot Survey:** To have a clearer idea of the type of information that could be collected from the field work, a Pilot Study was conducted at the Crime Women Cell at Nanakpura, New Delhi. A random sample of 20 (twenty) respondents were chosen for the pilot study. A rudimentary questionnaire was prepared for the pilot survey and the mode of survey was open ended. The pilot survey of the twenty respondents who had approached the Crime Women Cell rendered a clearer understanding of the procedure followed by the Crime Women Cell for offering support services to women experiencing domestic violence. It also offered the researcher the choice of meeting and interacting with the complainants at various stages of their interaction with the crime women cell. The information that could be culled out from the written complaints that were received at the initial stage of the process from the complainants by the Crime Women Cell was also used for the Pilot Survey. After the completion of the Pilot Survey, the Questionnaires for the various levels of survey was prepared.

ii. **Questionnaire:** The questionnaire was prepared at two stages. The initial questionnaire was prepared for the Pilot Survey, which was rudimentary in nature. This was done to comprehend the plausibility of getting the information that was required for

analysing the objectives and the research questions of the study. The information pertained to the personal information of the complainant, the socio economic background of her natal home as well as her marital home, causes of discord that led to the complaint, nature of violence perpetrated by her husband and her in laws, the individuals from whom the complainant is/was receiving moral as well as financial support during her struggle with the legal system –whether it’s her natal family, friends or relatives who offer support and what were/are the strategies she has adopted to deal with the violence at home ? What are the strategies that she is planning to adopt for the future for her own self and for her children?

With these basic questions twenty complainants were engaged with in an informal discussion. During the discussion, the questionnaires were filled up and the open ended discussions were recorded and notes were prepared. It is from these discussions that the idea about filling the questionnaire and noting the life history of the complainant was conceived, and the idea to record the entire process of the arbitration at the Crime Women Cell was also developed. The research was extended by following up the case dates at the Crime Women Cell and being a part of the arbitration in its entirety.

The final questionnaire was prepared on the basis of the information that could be drawn from the interviews conducted during the Pilot Survey. It was decided that the questionnaire would be a semi structured format and the respondent would be offered complete freedom to carry forward the discussions from the interview sessions. Various aspects of the respondent’s life and the incidences of violence were drawn from five different sections of the questionnaire. (Appendix.III.I)

Section 1 documented the information regarding the complainant.

The data collected in this section was in the form of the age, marital status in terms of whether the respondent was married/ cohabiting/ divorced/ widowed. The duration of the marriage was recorded in terms of years and months. The location in terms of the locality of the current residence of the complainant was recorded. The companions of the respondent were recorded next as to whether she lived with her natal family/ marital family/ relatives/ friends/ shelter home or any other place. The educational qualifications of the responded were recorded in terms of the educational attainments before as well as after marriage. The occupational status of the respondent too was recorded in terms of

nature of work and the income both before and after marriage. The next set of questions was asked regarding the nature of marriage. Whether the respondent independently chose her partner in marriage or the marriage was arranged. The agents who helped the partners in both the cases- arranged as well as independently chosen marriages were documented. The agents could be friends/ relatives/ neighbours/ co-workers at their workplace or at educational institutions. The kind of response that was elicited from the natal family and the marital family about the marriage between the two partners were recorded and the responses varied from positive attitude, negative attitude or indifferent attitudes of the family members. The next set of responses from the complainant were recorded regarding the type of violence the respondent had experience in marriage. The types of violence recorded in the interviews ranged from neglect/ humiliation/ insult/ confinement/ threat/ false allegations/ push/ slap/ kick/ starvation/ marital rape/ forced pregnancy/ forced abortions/ physical violence during pregnancy/ misrepresentation/ denied motherhood. All the types of violence were recorded along with the perpetrator of the violence. The perpetrators could be – husband/ mother or father-in-law/ brother or sister-in-law/ others, etc.,

The time of beginning of violence was also recorded for each type of violence and the perpetrator. This information was collected in the form of the duration after marriage when the violence began.

The causes of discord were recorded from the respondent and well as her husband and in laws (wherever they agreed to respond) on the causes of discord as well as who were responsible for creation of the discord. Various causes recorded namely: dowry demand/ misappropriation of stridhan/ maladjustment/ separation of husband from wife due to job constraint/ property dispute/ extramarital relations/ desertion/ medical unfitness/ alcoholism and other substance abuse/ childlessness/ aspiration for male child/ disrespect towards in-laws/ irresponsible towards bringing up children/ food not cooked well/ neglect of domestic chores/ sexual abuse by father-in-law or brother in law/ history of premarital sexual relationship/ unemployment/ financial constraint/ undisclosed marriage to parents and family members/ suspicion/ drug addiction/ demand for wife's income/ misinformation about the financial and educational status before marriage/ psychological disorder/ parent's instigation/ overburdening with work/ others.

The next set of information recorded for the respondent was the prime reason for her to choose her husband – even if was an arranged marriage. The reasons recorded were: caste/ class/ recovery of family debt/ education/ pressure from family members/ age/ compatibility/ appearance/ loving nature of the partner. The place where the marriage was held was recorded. The various institutions mentioned were grouped into Court (civil registration)/ religious institutions or other social institutions. The final set of information recorded in this section was related to the expenditure that was incurred for the marriage ceremony. The amount spent on various heads were recorded and the person who funded for those items were mentioned against them. Various items listed under marriage expenditure are being listed: celebrations/ cash/ jewellery/ furniture/ vehicles/ land/ house/ durables/ utensils/ stocks and shares/ others.

The next set of information recorded through the questionnaire pertained to the natal family of the respondent. Information was generated on the lines as, the locality in the city of study where the respondent had registered the complaint. Mother tongue of her family, state of domicile, religion followed and the caste category they belong to. If the family had migrated from any other state or any other district within the state, information regarding the place and reason for migration into the city was recorded. In the next level of Section - 2 of recording information regarding the natal home, the age, educational attainment, marital status, occupation, income of the respondents' father, mother, brothers, sisters-in-law were recorded to get an overall idea about the socio-economic status of her family. The type of family was categorised in terms of joint, nuclear, extended and other were recorded. Apart from the information on individual members of the natal family, value of assets of the natal family of the respondent was noted in terms of land, business, houses, vehicles and any other.

In Section-3, information about the Marital family of the respondent was recorded. The format for recording the information was similar to that of the natal family's records. Information regarding the marital home was collected in terms of the age, educational attainment, marital status, occupation, income of the respondents' husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brothers; co-sisters were recorded to get an overall idea about the socio-economic status of her family.

The type of family in terms of its structure, for example; joint, nuclear, extended and other were also recorded. Apart from the information on individual members of the marital family, value of assets of the natal family of the respondent was noted in terms of land, business, houses, vehicles and any other. Following this, the information on the number of children of the respondent – their respective ages and gender were also recorded. The next section was devised to measure the relative freedom the respondent enjoyed at her natal home vis a vis her marital home. Questions were asked on various aspects of imagined freedoms as listed below.

Social location, consultation in decision making about younger ones, consultation in household expenditure, interaction with male family members, interactions with neighbours and strangers, responsibility of household chores, differential treatment towards male members of the family, mobility, privilege of having a private room, amount of time spent for the self, amount of time spent with husband, time allocation for daily routine work being monitored by other family members, allocation of personal income done by other family members, grievances heard and addressed within the family, whether holidays were planned within a yearly calendar and other aspects of relative freedom as mentioned by the respondent.

Section 4 of the questionnaire dealt with levels of awareness of the respondent regarding the issue of domestic violence. The information collected were: whether the respondent was aware of the existence of the phenomenon of domestic violence before her marriage. The respondent was then asked to mention one crucial factor that might have helped her in escaping domestic violence. The respondent was also asked about what kind of changes in her present condition might ameliorate her present condition.

The next set of information was collected from the respondent regarding the custody of her children and whether the custody of the children was with her or with her husband and in laws.

The next set of information was collected about whose assistance the respondent sought when she experienced domestic violence. This was followed by recording how the respondent came to know about the crime women cell. In case the respondent came to know about the Crime Women Cell through a Non Governmental Organisation, then the name and the area of operations of that NGO was recorded.

The final Section of the questionnaire revolved around the future strategies of the respondent, her decision regarding whom would she consider for supporting her, her children and how would she generate income and shelter facilities for herself and her children. Separate sets of questionnaires were prepared for the respondents who were interviewed at the Women's Courts in Delhi and Kolkata. Observations and documentation of the arbitration process at the women's Courts were undertaken for each case analysed in the study. For the study at women's courts, two sets of questionnaires were prepared. One set of questionnaire was used for the complainant; while another set of questionnaire was prepared for the member volunteers and the para-legal workers of the women panchayats. (Appendic.III.II and Appendix III.III)

Following the preparation of the questionnaire, the sampling techniques to be used at the field was decided upon.

iii. Sampling Techniques:

The sampling technique adopted for conducting the study was 'Control Quota Sampling'. Since the study takes into consideration the diversity of the sample in its regional, religious, caste and language groups, care was taken to expand the sample in order to have a minimum number of respondents from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Not only that, care was taken to include respondents who represented inter caste, inter religious and inter regional marriages. The data collected through questionnaires was then analysed using methods suitable for the type of data that was generated through the survey. The following sections documents the various methods followed for analysing the data on Domestic Violence.

METHODOLOGY:

Diverse methods were adopted for analysing secondary and primary data. The chosen methods for each category of data is being discussed below.

1. Secondary Data:

For the secondary data analysis, data for crime and population attributes were sourced from various agencies.

The process of collection and processing of crime data has been discussed in detail in the earlier section of the chapter under the sources National Family Health Survey and Crime

in India. The method adopted for refining the crime data taken from Crime in India, was done by calculation of three year averages of spatial units i.e. districts and cities.

Data for determining the character of urban settlements were drawn from Census of India Publications. The Census data pertains to the years 2001 and 2011.

The data on the age of the cities were drawn from the historical references of the town. Many settlements have existed from time immemorial, many settlements have also undertaken the journey from being a rural settlement to becoming an urban settlement. For the purpose of the study, the origin of the settlement in its current urban form was taken as the reference point for dating the origin of the city.

The location of the city within it's Agro-Ecological Zone was determined by locating the city within the Agro Ecological Map and drawing inferences on its location.

The data drawn from Census 2001 and 2011 are being listed below:

The Religious Composition of Cities, 2001

The Occupational Composition of the Main Workers of the Town, 2001.

The methodology used for the classification of city categories on the basis of it's physical, cultural, functional characteristics have been discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Simple statistical techniques such as calculation of Pearson's Correlations Coefficient, Ratio Proportions, Mean and Standard Deviation and Coefficient of Variation was used for analysing the data pertaining to crimes at districts and city levels. Techniques of correlation analysis have been used to document the association between occurrence of Domestic Violence at a spatial location with the crimes against women and total crimes occurring at the same spatial location.

2. Primary Data:

Epistemologically beginning the study from the women's point of view and not her role in the family was chosen as a method since women's role in the family does not reveal the totality of women's political, social, economic, and cultural deprivation, discrimination, humiliation and silencing of women's voices that take place at every moment within the domestic spaces. Women's life experiences are fundamental to understanding of women's position. The researcher's role is to trace an epistemological journey in order to uncover the social relationships within which experiences occur and

remain embedded. Women's experiences vary individually, yet share commonalities across regions and communities.

Cognising Women's Experience.

Cognising women's experience may be achieved by allowing women to speak and narrate their experiences. In this process the issue remains whether all experiences be articulated by women. Also, the question of comprehending all experiences that women narrate is difficult. Issues like mental pain can rarely be articulated, and there exists codes of social and cultural norms about how much a woman may speak about her intimate relationship. Bordieu theoretically calls it 'habitus' or 'doxa'⁷ that explains culturally proscribed discourses that deter women from revealing their experience of intimate relationships. Since women have been silenced and subjugated historically and they have themselves internalised their 'lower status' in the family, it is indeed a difficult position to turn them into 'speaking subjects' and cognise their 'subordinate status. In the NFHS reports discussed above, it has been documented that women in India, across states consider it alright to be reprimanded or be beaten if they do not conform to their family's demands of household chores and other expectations. This also brings to light that women report about incidences on violence against them only when the violence reaches extreme heights. Women are quite unable to perceive the everyday forms of abuse and violence.

Women narrating their experiences are also not free of biases. Women's narrations are known to contain reversals, flips and contradictions⁸. Women assess power relationships and narrate their experiences in accordance with the situation they are presented with. This brings to light the importance of the fact that to whom is a woman narrating her experience. Women often feel that they have no one to hear about their plight. Listening to silences of women is in itself a method to comprehend those aspects of women's lives that are painful for narration and for culling out from memory.

The next methodological dilemma arises from considering all women's experiences as collective of their experiences. Feminist Standpoint Epistemology developed by Haraway

⁷ Kalpagam U (2012) Epistemology, Pedagogy and Politics of Women's Studies In Kalpagam U Eds. *Women in India*. Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi. pp. 191-213.

⁸ Ibid. pp. 191-213.

(1988) offer insight⁹. This theory encourages researchers to acknowledge that all knowledge is partial and from the vantage point where one is located only a partial understanding of the whole is achieved. The method shares commonalities with all other subaltern narratives that counter pose the master narratives of the powerful – be it patriarchal or the state.

The sample was thus drawn from the two metropolitan cities following control quota method of sampling to accommodate class, caste, religious, educational, occupational diversity that make up the women in the city, care was also taken to chose endogamous and exogamous couples on the basis of caste, religion and linguistic groups.

Sample Size:

The sample size of the study may be discussed in terms of the locations where interviews and interactions with the respondents took place.

In Delhi, 157 respondents were interviewed at the Crime Women Cell, Nanakpura, New Delhi and 25 respondents were interviewed at the Mahila Panchayat.

In Kolkata, 138 respondents were interviewed at the Women's Grievance Cell, Lalbazar and Kolkata and 5 respondents were interviewed at the Forum located in Kolkata.

Quantitative Techniques:

For quantitative analysis, a detailed in- depth survey was conducted at dual sites of Crime against Women Cells in Delhi and Kolkata.

The respondent of the questionnaire was primarily the complainant of domestic violence. The complainant was usually accompanied by her family member, close relatives; very few complainants came to the cell alone all by herself.

In the process of the open interview, the respondents' family would also join in to give inputs about the events that led up to the violence. During the arbitration process, the respondents' husband or partner as well as his family were also interviewed. This helped the process of verification of the events that led to the filing of complaint at the Crime Women Cell.

Detailed information on the personal details, the processes leading to the marriage, the details of life in the respondents' natal home, the details of her marital family, details of

⁹ Haraway D (1988) Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective, *Feminist Studies*, Vol 14, No 3, Autumn. pp 575-599.

the type of violence she has experienced, the cause of such violent experiences, the kind of strategies she adopted to overcome the crisis that stemmed from domestic violence and the future strategies that the respondent adopted for her and her children’s life that were documented were grouped into broader categories for ease of analysis.

Some of the detailed information that were grouped into broader categories have been listed below

i. Type of Violence:

Different kinds of abuse experienced by the respondents were categorized into three broad categories based on the CEDAW which recognizes three types of abuses that may be considered as domestic violence –Mental Abuse, Physical Abuse and Sexual Abuse.

Table 3.1. Types of Violence

Mental Abuse	Neglect, Humiliation, Insult, Verbal Abuse, Confinement, Threats
Physical Abuse	Push, Slap, Kick, Starvation
Sexual Abuse	Marital Rape, Forced Abortion, Sexual Exploitation by other family members

ii. Cause of Discord

The respondents recorded various reasons for the cause of discord between the respondent and her partner. Those responses have been analysed and grouped on the basis of the factors that underlie such reactions. The causes of discord have been grouped into four categories as discussed in the following section.

Table 3.2. Causes of Discord among Respondents

Dowry Related	Dowry, Demand, Misappropriation of Stridhan.
Male Dominance Related	Desertion, Aspiration for Male Child, Disrespect towards in laws, Irresponsibility towards children's upbringing, Neglect of Domestic Chores, Sexual Abuse by Father in Law or Brother in Law, Undisclosed marriage, Over burdening with Work.
Financial Constraints Related	Separation of Husband and Wife due to Job related Constraints, Property Dispute, Unemployment, Poor Income, Demand for Wife's Income.
Psychological, Personal, Medical, Social and Cultural Related	Maladjustment, Extra marital Relationship, Pre Marital Sexual Relationships, Medical Unfitness, Alcoholism, Childlessness, Suspicion, Drug Addiction, Misrepresentation of Wealth and Status, Psychological Disorder, Parent's Instigation.

Methodology for Quantitative Analysis:

For quantitative analysis of the data collected through questionnaires, the responses were quantified and digitised. Simple statistical tools such as percentages have been used to express the intensity of occurrence of violence and occurrence of causes of discord.

This was followed by attempts to use Logistic Regression Analysis to compare respondents of diverse backgrounds. This method could not be successfully used in the present study as it failed to yield desired levels of significance so the method had to be abandoned even though control quota technique of sampling was adopted during the fieldwork.

The primary data was then processed with the help of a software named Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) 17.0. Cross tabulation method was adopted to determine the differential rates of violence and causes of discord among endogamous and exogamous couples on the basis of their mother tongues, caste and religion.

Cross tabulation was again resorted to for determining the differential rates of violence and causes of discord experienced by the respondents at different levels of educational

attainments and employment status of the respondents and their spouse. Data regarding all criteria selected were analysed and compared at the two locations – Delhi and Kolkata to arrive at the final analysis.

As discussed earlier, the topic of research, i.e., Domestic Violence is best suited for analysis with the application of qualitative database. In the following section, the rationale and methodology applied for collection and processing of qualitative data is being presented.

Qualitative Techniques:

The choice of qualitative techniques for research on gender augurs well with the bid to creation of new knowledge on gender through application of the techniques that were earlier ignored in andro-centric research methods¹⁰. Krishnaraj (2010) advises scholars' employing feminist methods, that choosing facile methodology may lead the researcher to confusing conclusions¹¹. Based on these concerns, the present research attempted to incorporate qualitative analysis that was drawn from interview and discussion sessions with the complainants of domestic violence both at the state run crime women cells in Delhi and Kolkata. Apart from these two locations, the life stories of women experiencing domestic violence in metropolitan cities of India were also drawn from Mahila Panchayat in Delhi and Nari Nirjatan Partirodh Mancha in Kolkata.

Qualitative techniques employed for study of Domestic Violence have been chosen over quantitative methods since the nature of reality Domestic Violence deals with is not external to human mind, but is socially constructed. The purpose of researching Domestic Violence is not about finding universals, but research is undertaken to reflect the understanding the problem by the persons who are directly affected by Domestic Violence. The purpose of research is important to bear in mind while choosing 'Interpretivist's' view of reality, since critical theory looks for local instances of universals unlike post-positivists methods which look for universals.

Of the established Qualitative Research Methods, Ethnography (including case studies), Interviewing (structured, semi structured and open) along with history and historiography

¹⁰ McDowell L (1992) Feminism, Feminists and Research Methods in Human Geography. *Transaction of British Geographers*, Vol 17, No 4. pp 399 – 416.

¹¹ Krishnaraj M (2010) Methodological Concerns. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol 45, No. 44/45. pp 43 -47.

have been used for the study. Since understanding the subject's point of view emerged as an important concern in human sciences, there arises the need to de-compartmentalise 'fieldwork' from 'personal experiences' since many a times personal experiences are a better means of representation since subjects too are guided by prevalent theories¹². In depth study (used extensively in this research) helps in getting rid of the exploitative, reductionist and androcentric tendencies of positivist social science¹³. Ethnography is an umbrella term used for fieldwork, interviewing, and other ways of collecting data in real world environments. Case Studies on the other hand involve examining the multitude of factors that shape a person's perceptions about violence at home and how and at what juncture the individual decides to seek external help to resolve her crisis. The study also relied on drawing from locally created work of fiction as a source of women's lived experience of private patriarchy. Works of fiction are a good source for delving into the everyday practices performed and encountered by women of those regions, which emerge from the texts.

Lando (1996) quotes Lowenthal's (1961) work saying anyone inspecting the immediate world around them qualifies as a geographer; as geographical knowledge of an individual and society is based on personal geographies created from past recollections, present experiences and future expectations¹⁴. Lando also quotes Fremont (1978) who referred to literature as one of the new instruments of geographical enquiry¹⁵. Earlier though literature was used to describe landscapes; contemporary humanistic geography regards literature as a source of geographical research.

The study chose to look at fiction writing for several reasons. Political history occasionally records events in which women are involved but it rarely asks whether women or men were affected in different ways by the changes they describe and seem incapable of capturing the structural importance of gender in colonial politics¹⁶. In

¹² McKay D (2002) Negotiating Positionings: Exchanging Life Stories in Research Interviews. In Moss P. Eds. *Feminist Geography in Practice*, Oxford, Blackwell. pp 187 -199.

¹³ Sara S and Krogman NT (2012) A Revolution Reconsidered? Examining the Practice of Quantitative Research in Feminist Scholarship. *Signs*. Vol – 37, No. – 2. pp 493 – 520.

¹⁴ Lando F (1996) Fact and Fiction: Geography and Literature: A bibliographical survey, *GeoJournal*, Vol 38, No 1, Geography and Literature (January 1996) pp 3 -18.

¹⁵ Ibid. pp 3 -18.

¹⁶ Blunt A and Rose G (1994) Introduction: Women's Colonial and Post Colonial Geographies. In Blunt A and Rose G (Eds) *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Post Colonial Geographies*. The Guilford Press. pp 1 -25.

addition, often issues in regard to women within Indian historiography focus solely on the experiences of the educated middle class women. Feminist historians in India have worked towards recovering the past through recovering voices and experiences of women living in the colonial period. Development of postcolonial studies and subaltern studies made way for critically looking into the types of evidence culled from the patriarchal past. The patriarchal underpinning of both the colonial rule as well as the Indian nationalist movement was also looked into by historians. Women historians uncovered information about women that usually was absent from conventional historical sources. Women played important roles in a number of movements ranging from nationalism, feminism and socio-political reforms, both in the colonial and the post-colonial times, yet their representation in the historical documents has been few and far between. Feminist historians in India are desirous of deepening the subject by more inter-disciplinary exchanges which would provide historical information about women through sources which are considered unconventional in historical pedagogy.

Sreenivas (2012) argues that women's voices cannot be recovered by digging into the archives since violence of various scales like colonialism and patriarchy have left fragmented bits of women's histories available for analysis¹⁷. The way forward is by recovering lost voices. Literature as a source of art and history has been well established; literature is also the store house of people's perception about the environment. (Lando, 1996)¹⁸. Notion of place is characterised by personalised perception, a reality to be clarified from the perception of people who have given it meaning (Tuan, 1977)¹⁹. When writing is undertaken as a political act, novel and short stories too can offer insights into the socio-political aspects of the times the novel is framed within. This also brings in concerns of reflexivity which makes choice of writers and their work a critical mission. While addressing concerns of reflexivity, care was taken to choose fiction written keeping the specific regional location in context that was dealt with in the study along

¹⁷ Sreenivas M (2012) Women's Gender History in Modern India: Researching the past, Reflecting on the Present. In Nadell PS and Haulman K (Eds.) *Making Women's Histories: Beyond National Perspectives*. New York University Press, New York. pp 161 -186.

¹⁸ Lando F (1996) Fact and Fiction: Geography and Literature: A bibliographical survey, *GeoJournal*, Vol 38, No 1, Geography and Literature (January 1996) pp 3 -18.

¹⁹ Tuan Y (1977) *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

with relevant time periods were chosen to illustrate the lived experiences of women in particular regions of the country.

To relate domestic violence in the given regional setting, links have been made how historically the women of that region had been exposed to violence at home and her responses to such violent behaviour. The method of studying women's lives strictly adhered to a move from 'Experimentality to Experientiality', and being conscious of the process of categorisation of subjects that can also become a cause of pain and trauma to them. One of the prime critiques of quantitative studies is that each subject requires to be fit into specified – pre decided categories in order to analyze them. In case of domestic violence research the very first category one could fit women in is that of 'victims of domestic violence'. Deeper probe reveals for most of the women put in that category that they do not really wish to be a part of that category. The categorisation is a constant reminder of the undesirable situation women are in. The other terminologies associated with the research namely categories as 'complainant'; 'defendant' are fluid categories and alter with the course of the arbitration process. Qualitative methods offer better means of researching each experience of violence as a unique incident.

Narratives offer a richer source of comprehending the participants' experiences with very little intervention and are removed from the experimental mode of researching. Narrative style of documentation reduces objectification of the attributes of the participant, like their age, occupation or income. This information may be culled out from the narrative mode through other aspects of their life like their school leaving year, their nature of spending respectively. This mode of enquiry also highlights the way the subject perceives the crisis and not how the interviewer wants to know about it. This research heavily relied on narrative mode of documentation of women's experience of domestic violence in metropolitan cities.

Phenomenological studies highlight the specific issue of violence and how is it perceived by the actors in the situation. This method helps in recovering 'deep' information through inductive qualitative methods. Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based on a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity – emphasize personal perspective and interpretation. It is powerful for understanding subjective experience,

gaining insights into people's motivations and actions – cutting through the clutter of taken for granted assumptions.

The spaces where the state law has its strongest influence are the spaces that enforce those laws through institutions. These point location in spaces act as the “focus”²⁰ where citizens' abide by the law to the maximum. Four such spaces in the two cities have been mentioned in the earlier section where the research was conducted. The method chosen for the study includes participant observation – being a part of the arbitration session of cases of domestic violence at the crime women cell and the women's court, where both the complainant and her natal family and the respondent and his family sit together for counseling sessions. It is in these sessions in the presence of trained police officers, counselors and para-legal workers; the grievances of the two opposing individuals and families are discussed. Under the overarching rule of law, issues of discord are negotiated. Engagement with the law goes deeper by delving into the personal geographies and imagined legal spaces of the complainants and respondents.

Semi- structured interviews were used which subsequently turned into biographic interviews of the respondents. To eschew issues of 'Positionality' and 'Reflexivity'²¹; strict adherence to 'no consoling, no giving advice, no interpretation of situations, not intruding oneself into the life history and not suggest what the interviewee might want to say next' was followed. Only when the interviewee “dried up” did the researcher proceed to the next section of the interview.

Serendipitous and convenient mode of sample selection technique was adopted for the study; followed by control quota sampling to represent the diversity of regional, religious composition of the complainants. Beyond the spaces where arbitration processes were undertaken, home visits to the residences of the participants were made. This process led to a better idea of the home environment and also the interaction between and among the couples and family member could be observed. For the crime women cell, controlled quota sampling technique was adopted (discussed in the section on Quantitative Analysis) to be able to gain access to a more diverse group of respondents representing

²⁰ Drawing analogy from the seismic focus – where the impact of the earthquake is the strongest and the impact diminishes as one move away from those point locations.

²¹ England KVL (1994) Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality and Feminist Research: *The Professional Geographer*, 46 (1), 80 -9, pp 241 -256.

different religions, caste, ethnicity and income groups. This intervention helped to document the intersectionality within the sample of women which is representative of the urban women in India. Field work on a diverse group of women has higher chances of leaving out 'elite women' (England, 2000)²². During the research work, conscious efforts were made to not fall into the trap of 'methodological opportunism' of willfully leaving out elite respondents and despite encountering cold responses from women of higher income groups efforts were made to build some form of rapport to document their experiences of domestic violence.

Adhering to qualitative techniques, primary categories of income, ethnicity, religion, caste and education were created, and secondary groups on the basis of the location of the natal home, economic status of the natal home, support for marital and natal families' awareness of law, restrictions on mobility, being a mother, mother of sons, etc., were formed. The current scholarship on feminist research methods in India acknowledges the importance of spatial contexts and researches based on neighbourhoods, sharply divided spaces in terms of caste and class help arrive at the ways gender expresses itself in micro spaces²³. This study incorporates the role of legal intervention in alteration in the gendered space within neighbourhoods.

The outcomes of interaction with the respondents of the survey and the changing relationship between the researcher and the respondents have been presented below.

Co-producing Legal spaces and Co-becoming agents of production of legal spaces:

Going beyond the binary of the victim/agent dichotomy, narratives of women in abusive marital relationships offer a realistic light to women's lives in terms of how women perceive their conjugal lives. Adopting phenomenological approaches for conducting field work for this study included not strictly adhering to any hypothesis to test beforehand. Attempts were made to negate the lopsided power balance between the researcher and the subject, yet in the Police stations the counselors/ para legal workers as well as the participants would refer the researcher as 'madam' or 'didi' (elder sister). Though with more frequent interactions the participants would confide more to the researcher

²² England KVL (2002) Interviewing Elites: Cautionary Talks about Researching Women Manager's in Canada's Banking Industry In Moss P (Eds.) *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. Blackwell, Oxford. pp 200 -213.

²³ Anandhi S and Velayudhan M (2010) Rethinking Feminist Methodologies. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol 45: No 44/45. pp 39 -41.

beyond what they spoke at the counseling desk and even go on to sharing little secrets. For example: one of the participants, who had filed a case for recovery of her 'stridhan' including jewellery from her marital home, revealed to the researcher that all her jewellery was already with her; yet she filed a recovery case to exert more pressure on her husband's family.

Co-production of knowledge is completely antithetical to positivist research techniques. Perspectives of communities are dismissed in positivist research and it is indicative of the hidden dynamics of power between the researcher and the researched within the research process. Co-production of knowledge controls reproduction of the power dynamics of knowledge creation. It is of critical importance since there ought to be counter-hegemonic approaches to the knowledge construction among oppressed communities to challenge the dominant perspective/ discourse.

Without incorporation the voice of the affected persons, ethical and political legitimacy of knowledge creation is decimated and as a result, that kind of research would belie a more open and democratic process of knowledge creation. In this study, co-production of legal knowledge and legal spaces and finally co-becoming legal subjects being on the part of the respondents and the subjects have been documented in detail and analysed how co-produced spaces legal spaces get formed and sustained through feminist legal interventions.

Concluding Remarks:

To conclude the foregoing discussion it may be said that the chapter documents various sources of primary and secondary data that were employed for the study of Domestic Violence in metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata. The methodological challenges encountered while using various data sources and the choice of using quantitative and qualitative methods for analysis have been chosen on the basis of suitability of the representation of the data. Though questions of intersectionality were restricted to the limited scope of caste and religion alone, yet both the categories could be analysed through this research. Challenges of data availability and type of data have been addressed through this research by resorting to mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative techniques in this study.

Chapter – 4

Spatial Morphology of Crimes against Women in India –

A District wise Study

In Chapter 1, the social production of crime has been briefly introduced, where, it becomes clear that categories of crimes evolve through a complex nexus of gendered bodies, colonial legalities, modern law, the nation state and the citizen subject.

Crime records in India hold enormous amount of information regarding the categorisation of behaviour into criminal behaviour as the nation state progressed from the early days of Independence from British colonial rule. Dube and Rao (2013) discuss the changing terrain of the history of crime and punishment in India in the context of socio-political organisations that had formed in the pre-colonial period, colonial period and the post- Independence period¹.

In the context of Domestic Violence and the shaping up of laws on marriage and family has been traced back to the colonial period. The codification of these women centric laws may be linked with the ushering of the debates on Phulmoni's death and the issues around the setting up of the Age of Consent² and the Tarakeshwar scandal³.

The second wave of the Indian Women's Movement in the 1980s that offered a steady resistance to Violence Against Women within their homes, led to the enactment of several laws safeguarding women in the context of family life. These include, anti-dowry laws, cruelty by husbands and relatives and the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence.

Expanding Spaces of Crime Statistics in Post Independence India.

Codifying crimes and criminal behaviour not only enables identifying population involved in such activities; the codification also produces knowledge of what is acceptable behaviour and what it not. This codification assists subjects to fit themselves in the categories of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Butola (2012) writes that humans are 'other' driven beings

¹ Dube S and Rao A (2003) Questions of Crime: An Introduction. In Dube S and Rao A Eds. *Crime through Time*. Oxford University Press. pp xxi-lxiii.

² Sarkar T (2007) Conjugal and Hindu Nationalism: Resisting Colonial Reason and the Death of a Child Wife In Sarkar S and Sarkar T (Eds) *Women and Social Reform in Modern India*. Permanent Black. Ranikhet. pp 385 – 419.

³ Sarkar T (2001) *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism*. Permanent Black. Ranikhet. pp 53-94.

through a dialectical process they construct the ‘other’ for their self-realisation and self-actulaisation⁴. In the cited article, he exposes the role of Census as a colonial technology with ‘hidden motives’ and terms the entire exercise as construction of ‘Colonial Panopticon’⁵. The documentation of crime statistics undertaken by the British imperialists in India too, offered similar results of creating another arm of Colonial Panopticon. It provided a technique for ‘effective surveillance’ and assisted them in bringing the entire population in the colony under the optical gaze. Documentation of crime records not only became useful in categorising aberrant groups of population, but this exercise also helped in identifying regions that had recorded differential crime rates. In the post Independence period, the newly formed government of India continued the legacy of documenting crime records and thereby continuing to mark regions which were prone to deviant behaviour or in other terms criminal activities. For research purposes, collection of crime data offers two fold benefits. First, recorded crimes are classified as crime against the body, or crimes against property or State. Secondly, registering of the criminal act by the subjects who are affected by it is a testimony of counter power to resist the dominant mode of power that uses violence as a tool for suppression and domination of vulnerable subjects.

Official Crime Statistics is being published in India since 1953. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), under the aegis of Ministry of Home Affair, Government of India maintains and publishes a part of the data related to crimes occurring in the country. What began as a rudimentary record keeping of crime data in 1953, has expanded its space into a complete technology of organising crime data into various group categories. The significant impact of this exercise has been ranking spaces in terms of occurrence of criminal activities. The crime statistics pertain to Crimes listed under the Indian Penal Code, 1860 and Special and Local Laws. The Crime in India records are available in the public domain for all citizens to access the data. The Bureau chooses the categories of crimes that may be made available for the record under Crime in India since not all categories are published in it.

The journey undertaken by National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) since 1953 is being briefly discussed below.

⁴ Butola B S (2012) Census As An Instrument of Political Technology in the Age of Biopolitics, *Human Geography*. Volume. 4, Number 1, pp 42 – 62.

⁵ Ibid, pp 43.

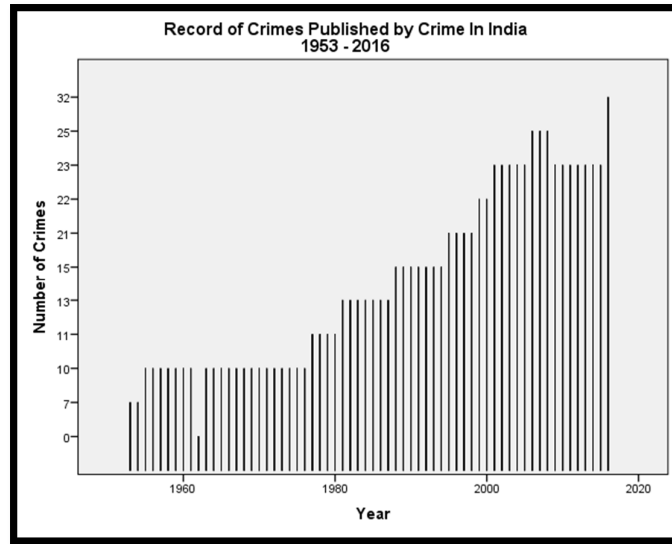


Fig: 4.1 Graph Showing the Number of Crimes categories published by Crime in India from 1953 to 2016.

Fig: 4.1 shows that there is a steady rise in the number of crime categories that have been published by Crime in India⁶, the official statistics on records of crimes occurring all over India. This publication has been continuously publishing the data on occurrence of crimes in India since 1953 with the exception of 1962. The publication is freely available for consultation and purposes of research.

In 1953, there were only 7 categories of crimes documented. The categories were Murder, Kidnapping, Dacoity, Robbery, Housebreaking, Theft and Miscellaneous. In 1954, Riots as a crime category was appended to the list. In 1955, three new categories, Criminal Breach of Trust, Cheating, Counterfeiting were added to the list. From 1960 onwards, records on Theft were split into two categories – Cattle Theft and Ordinary Theft. In 1972, the two categories of Theft were once again merged together. In 1974, the category House Breaking was renamed as Burglary. In 1981, two new categories of crimes were added to the list. These were, Rape and Culpable Homicide not Amounting to Murder. In 1988, two more categories of were included in the publication – Attempt to Commit Murder and Preparation and Assembly for Dacoity. In 1995, six new categories of crimes were documented for record and publication. These were, Arson, Hurt and Grievous Hurt, Dowry Deaths, Molestation, Sexual Harassment, Cruelty by Husbands and Relatives. In 1999, one more category of crime – Molestation was added to the list of published crimes. In 2001, Causing Death by Negligence was included in the publication. In 2006, two different types of Rape – Custodial Rape and Other Rape were introduced, but since 2009 onwards those two categories were

⁶Crime in India is the Annual Report published by the NCRB.

shown separately within Rape as a category. In 2016, a few new categories of crime records were included in the publications. These categories were: Causing Simple and Grievous Hurt by Rash Driving, Assault on Women with the intent of outraging her modesty, Attempt to commit Rape, Unnatural Offences, Offences against State, Unlawful Assembly, Offences for promoting Enmity between different Groups, Extortion and Insult to Modesty of Women. 32 categories of Crime have been published in Crime in India in the year 2016.

Apart from expansion of the crime categories, the National Crime Records Bureau have been organizing and analyzing the types and pattern of crimes occurring over space. In 2002, the concept of "Crime Clock" was introduced in the report which depicted the frequency of occurrence of each crime. The crime clock does not only invoke alarm in the minds of the readers, but it also helps in expecting the occurrence of crimes at specified time intervals in the future. The ranking of States and cities on the basis of the rate of crimes is another way how spaces are marked and grouped. Crimes are also grouped into various broader categories on the basis of the kind of damage the crime causes.

The categories created and documented in the Crime in India report of 2016 are: Offences affecting Human Body; Violent Crimes, Offences against Public Tranquility, Crimes against Women, Crimes against Children, Juveniles in Conflict with the Law, Crimes/ Atrocities against Scheduled Castes, Crimes against Senior Citizens, Economic Offences, Cyber Crimes, Offences against Documents and Property Marks, Missing Persons/ Children, Seizures under Arms Act, Fake Indian Currency Notes Seizure, Seizure of Narcotic Drugs, Disposal of IPC Cases by Police and Courts, Arrests, Convicts and Acquittals.

Discussion on all the above mentioned groups of crimes is followed by ranking states of India on the basis of the rate of those crimes occurring in the State. The states with highest rates are also mentioned along with the crimes thereby the spatiality of the crimes are also documented in the report.

In the context of this study, it is significant to note that the categories of Crimes against Women are late entrants into the Crime in India records. Rape was the first category to be included in the list in 1981, almost after three decades of the publication. Slowly and steadily, other forms of Violence Against Women found space in the records which speaks volumes about the increased awareness of the negative impacts of Violence Against Women in any society.

Women's Responses to Violence.

Even though the statistics on Violence Against Women may appear as an indicator of subjugation of women, but the record of crimes against women are an indication of resistance. Only when the acts of violence are condemned and resisted do women register complaints with the State. A higher rate of Crime against Women would not only indicate vulnerability of women in a region but it would also imply that women are resisting violent acts towards them and they are also in a position to access law and justice systems of the State. The records may be well treated as processes of resistance offered to patriarchal mindsets and associated behaviour which put women in a position to be oppressed, exploited and silenced by means of violence.

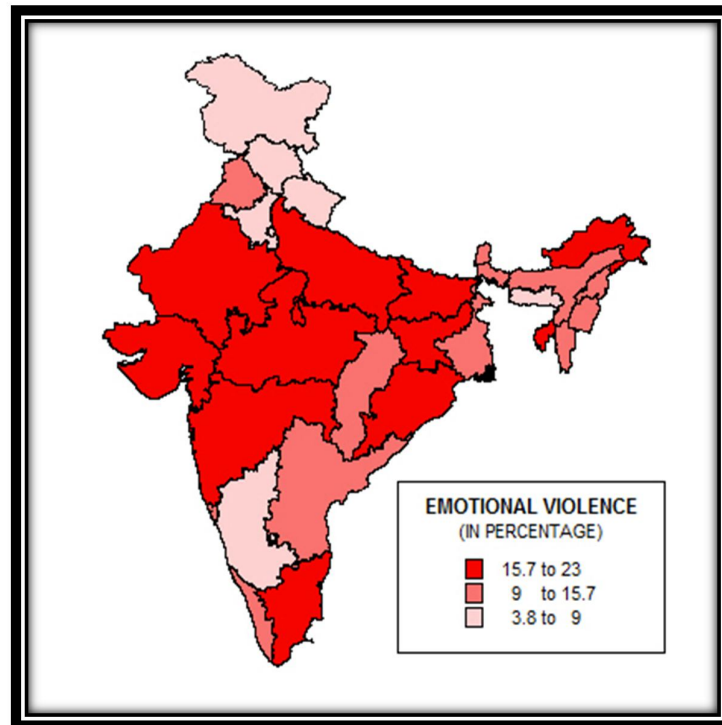
The section that follows analyses the responses of women experiencing violence as recorded by National Family and Health Survey⁷. The responses have been aggregated at the State level. Three types of violence have been recorded – Emotional Violence, Physical Violence and Sexual Violence. With the help of maps, the responses are being analysed in the following section.

⁷ The methodology followed for data collection has been discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Map: 4.1

**EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN
IN THE AGE GROUP 15-49**

(Based on NFHS 3: State Level Record, 2005-06)



Source: NFHS-3, IIPS.

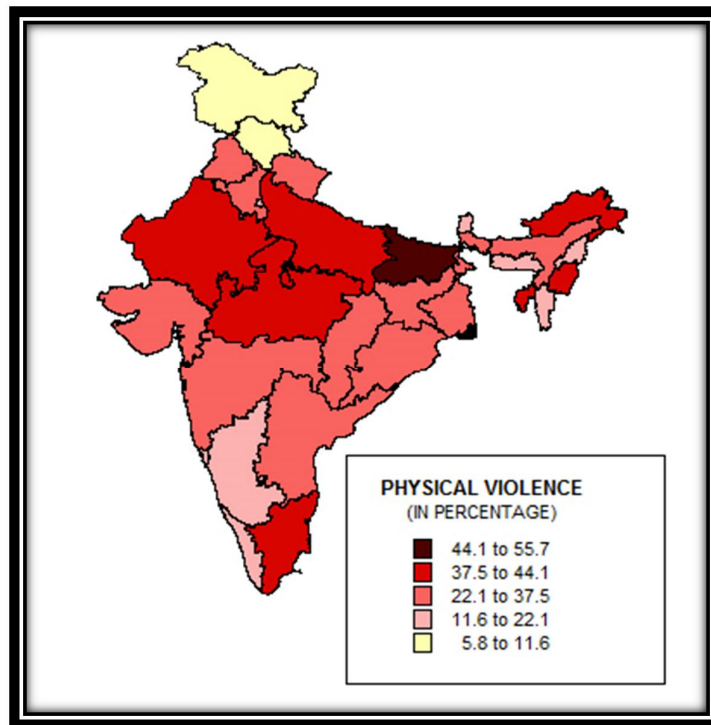
Map 4.1 presented above depicts responses to Emotional Violence experienced by women across the states of India. Emotional Violence is a more subtle form of violence and it has deep roots in the socio-cultural norms of a society. Emotional Violence Against Women is often treated as an act of reprimanding, and means of disciplining them. Women are taught to be obedient and emotional abuse remains as one of the least perceptible kinds of violence that women consider as violence. So much entrenched is the process into the psyche of the women, that they often consider it to be a normal behaviour pattern of the husbands. Since women are taught to be dependent and also conditioned to refrain from contestation of the familial codes of conduct, it is expected that a large group of women would not even consider responding in affirmation to questions on experiencing emotional abuse. The map shows that women from the North-Central region reported to have experienced emotional violence.

The Central and Western belt and Tamil Nadu record the highest percentage of Emotional Violence. The Central zone coincides with the Patriarchal heartland according to Datta's classification of Indian states⁸, but Tamil Nadu emerges as an exception to the southern states which records higher autonomy for with kinship patterns emerging out to cross cousin marriages, thereby enabling women to be free of susceptibility to intimate partner violence, perhaps that could be the reason for greater number of women recognising emotional abuse as violence and thus a higher percentage of women acknowledging it .

Map:4.2

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN IN THE AGE GROUP 15-49

(Based on NFHS 3: State Level Record, 2005-06)



Source: NFHS-3, IIPS.

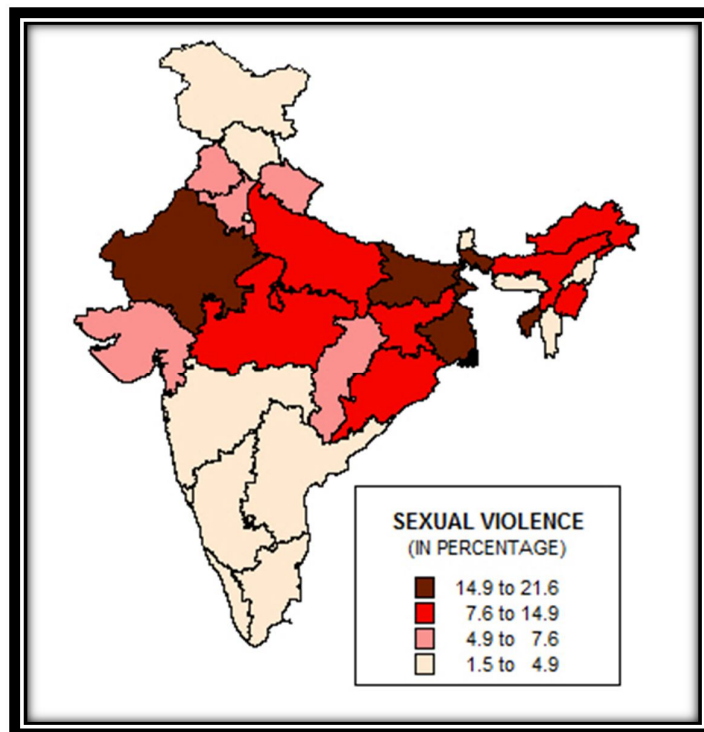
Map 4.2 depicts responses to Physical violence by women across states of India. Physical Violence is the most explicit form of violence, yet women within patriarchal set up, where violence acts a conduit of asserting power and control over women and children, face shame and self guilt to view acts of physical violence as means of decimating their bodily integrity as well as their dignity within the household. The state level data reveals a very high range

⁸ Datta A (2011) Natural Landscapes and Regional Constructs of Gender: Theorizing linkages in the Indian Contexts. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 15(3) Sage. pp. 345 – 362.

when one analyses the percentage based responses of women who have experienced physical violence. The patriarchal heartland⁹, also the same North Indian zone which is known to have a subculture of violence¹⁰ reports the highest rates of physical violence. Himachal Pradesh reports the least percentage of women experiencing physical violence, and women from the transition zone between the North Indian plains and South India experience moderate rates of physical violence. Physical violence then shows a strong association with the North- Central belt which has a subculture of violent behaviour which spills into the private realms and women of those regions suffer due acts of such behaviour of men. Bihar stands out on the map for as the state that had recorded high rates of Physical Violence Against Women.

Map: 4.3
SEXUAL VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN IN THE AGE GROUP 15-49

(Based on NFHS 3:State Level Record, 2005-06)



Source: NFHS-3, IIPS.

Map 4.3 depicts responses to sexual violence by women across states of India. Reporting Sexual violence is one of the most difficult issues in Domestic Violence research, since women are not socialised to speak freely about their sexual lives. Women are conditioned

⁹ Ibid. pp 347

¹⁰ See Wolfgang E and Ferracuti F (1967): *The subculture of Violence*, Social Science Paperback, London. pp 95 - 163

since puberty to be nonchalant about their desires, they are also cast in a mould where women visualise their beings destined to be subsumed in the partner's desire patterns. Lack of counselling at family and institutional levels about women's sexual rights, or educating them on what comprises of violation of their sexual selves, act as a deterrent for women to resist and contest aberration of sexual behaviour on the part of their partners.

The map shows that the North Indian plains, the Eastern states and North Eastern states reporting higher rates of sexual violence as compared to their Western and Southern counterparts. NFHS-3 reports prevalence of sexual violence being higher in rural areas as compared to urban locations.

Even as Butola (2013) finds uniformity in rates of under-reporting across all districts of India, the observation may not hold true when one takes into account the level of urbanisation of the region¹¹, as greater means of surveillance exist in urban spaces and awareness generation about violences against women is also more pervasive through the use of communication networks. Dreze and Khera (2000) also offer a caveat to researchers undertaking studies on crime statistics, stating that the most reliable category of crime statistics is the data on homicides. The records on crimes against women occupy a significantly low position in terms of reliability for the reasons of stigma associated with crimes against women¹².

For a more detailed study of the crime patterns in India, district level data pertaining to crimes is being presented in the following section of the chapter.

Districts as spatial units for representation of socio-economic data, is widely prevalent in social science research in India. This level of disaggregation of spatial units achieved in harvesting micro-level information on socio – economic and cultural indicators offered scope for planning and development of the micro regions.

Districts of India owe their origin to the British Raj period. These units were born out of 'prants' and continued as 'districts' of Independent India. The *raison d'être* of district formation was purely done for the ease of carrying out administrative work. The areal spread of the districts was conducive for collection of population data. In Independent India, districts remained as the popular spatial unit of analysis since monitoring planning and developmental

¹¹ See Butola B S (2013) Women as Frontiers: Crime Against Women or an Ontological War? In Datta M eds. *Gender and Human Development in Central and South Asia*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi. pp. 183 -202.

¹² Dreze J and Khera R (2000) Crime Gender and Society in India: Insights from Homicide Data. *Population and Development Review*. pp. 335-52.

projects at the district level assisted the administration to monitor and carry out the projects smoothly. The National Crime Record Bureau too documents crime data at district level. Though in most cases the boundary of the census districts and Police districts (law and order) are common, yet, under certain cases particularly in areas deteriorating law and order situations, the number of Police districts could be different. The following section of the chapter analyses district level crime data presented in maps and organised in accordance with the pervasiveness of the selected crimes at the district level.

Decadal Changes in the Crime Rates – District Level Analysis.

In order to understand whether certain regions have higher propensity for occurrence of crimes against women in general and Domestic Violence in particular, the pattern of crimes recorded in the regions required to be analysed over a longer period of time to arrive at any conclusions. To achieve this end, the average crime rates 2000, 2001 and 2002 were taken to represent the crime rates of 2001 and the average crime rates of 2010, 2011 and 2012 were used to represent crime rates of 2011. The method followed for categorizing the districts in this analysis is Mean \pm Standard Deviation¹³ for the crime rates.

The section below shows district level patterns of Domestic, Violence, Violence Against Women and Other Crimes during 2001 and 2011.

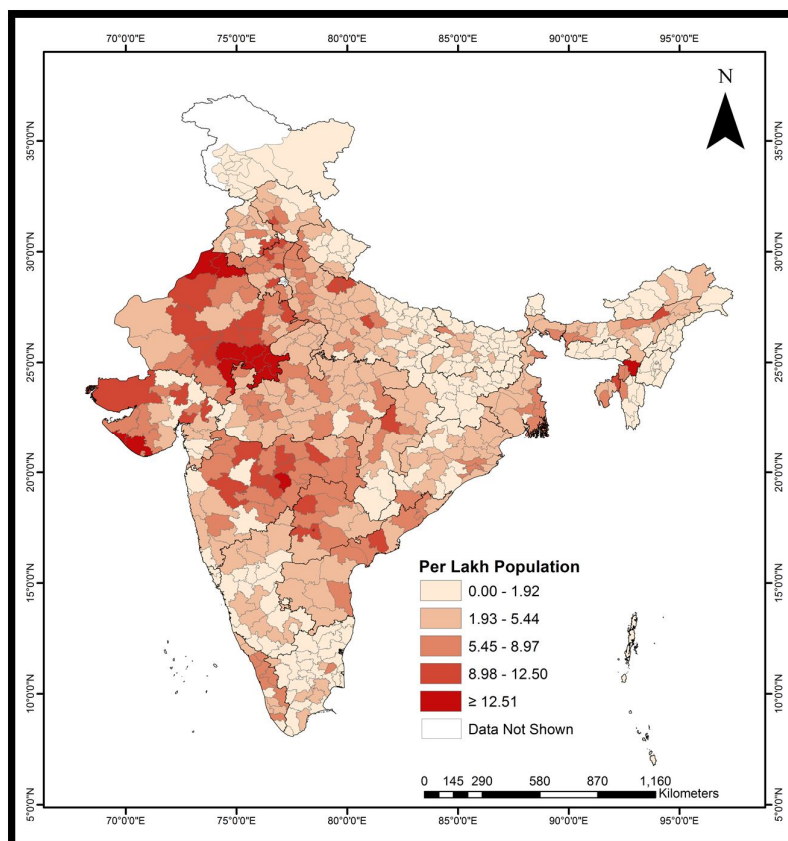
District Level Patterns of Domestic Violence, 2001 and 2011.

The incidences of Domestic Violence experienced by women and reported at police stations across districts of India, have been mapped and analysed at ten year interval. The first set of the analysis discusses the crimes that took place in 2001, and the second decadal level data pertains to incidences of Domestic Violence in 2011.

¹³ The methodology followed has been discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Map: 4.4

Domestic Violence, 2001



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Results and Discussions:

Five groups of districts emerged from the data on rates of Domestic Violence in 2001¹⁴. (Appendix- IV.I)

Map 4.4, showing rates of Domestic Violence in 2001, shows higher reporting of the crime cutting through diagonally from the states of Rajasthan and Gujarat through eastern districts of Maharashtra and central Andhra Pradesh¹⁵. To get a detailed analysis, the districts have been grouped along with the States and the percentage share of the districts to the total number of districts in that state in 2001.

¹⁴ The method adopted for classification have been discussed in detail in chapter 3.

¹⁵ Since the datasets pertain to pre-Telangana state formation, the analysis would refer to Andhra Pradesh where ever references to districts of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are made.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (0.00 to 1.92) cases per lakh population in 2001.	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Himachal Pradesh	Sirmaur	8.33
Punjab	Mansa, Fatehpur Sahib	17.6
Chhatisgarh	Bastar, Jashpur, Dantewara, Korba	25
Odisha	Sambalpur, Ganjam, Nayagarh,	10
Jharkhand	Godda, Singhbhum, Pakur, Gumla, Ranchi, Sahebganj, Bokaro,	38.8
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvarur, Vellore, Trichy Rural, Kancheepuram, Salem Rural, Thiruvanamalai, Thiruvallur, Erode, Villupuram, Karur, Kanyakumari, Theni,	40
Uttarkhand	Chamoli, Almora, Tehri Garhwal	30.7
Maharashtra	Aurangabad	02.8
Uttar Pradesh	Kushinagar, Mayurbhanj, Sonbhadra, Mahoba, Siddharth Nagar, Shrawasti, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Chandoli, Mirzapur, Ghazipur, Bhadohi, Mainpuri,	18.57
Bihar	Jamui, Madhepura, Samastipur, Buxar, Saharsa, Purnea, Jamui, Jehanabad, Jaunpur, Begusarai, Nalanda, Bhagalpur,	32.4
Gujarat	Dahod, Surat Rural, Panch Mahal, Ahmadabad	19
Karnataka	Uttar Kannada, Mysore Rural, Koppal, Kolar, Bellary,	18.5
Kerala	Ernakulam,	7.1

40 percent of the total districts from Tamil Nadu, 38.8 percent from Jharkhand, 32.4 percent from Bihar among other states recorded lowest rates of Domestic Violence. The next section list districts where Domestic Violence was recorded at a rate between 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (1.93 to 5.44) cases per lakh population in 2001	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Karnataka	Belgaum, Bagalkot, Davanagere, Bidar, Hassan, Gulbarga, Mandya, Bijapur, Bangalore Rural, Chikmanglur, Shimoga	40.7
Gujarat	Vadodhara Rural, Narmada, Valsad, Ahwa Dang, Bharuch, Surendranagar, Bhavnagar.	33.3
Assam	Tinsukia, Darrang, Dibrugarh, Golaghat, N C Hills, Kokrajhar, Sibsagar, Morigaon, Bongaigaon, Jorhat,	43.4
Odisha	Boudh, Puri, Jharsuguda, Denkanal, Bolangir, Nuapada, Keojhar, Bhadrak, Sonepur, Jagatsinghpur, Kendrapara, Rayagada, Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Debagarh, Angul, Kandhamal, Barpeta.	56.6
Jammu and Kashmir	Udham Singh Nagar,	7.1
Tamil Nadu	Sivagangai, Madurai, Pudukottai, Nilgiris, Thoothugudi, Perambalur	20
Madhya Pradesh	Morena, Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Rewa, Khargaon, Sheopur, Datia, Khandwa, Jhansi, Satna, Raisen, Mandasaur, Rajgarh, Sidhi, Chhatarpur, Panna, Harda, Bhind, Narsinghpur, Betul, Sihore, Dhar, Balaghat, Vidisha, Ratlam,	66.6

	Jabalpur, Damoh, Umariya, Shajapur, Katni.	
Maharashtra	Pune Rural, Nagpur Rural, Ratnagiri, Sangli, Kolhapur, Bhandara.	17.1
Himachal Pradesh	Bilaspur, Hamirpur, Chamba, Shimla, Kangra, Kinnaur,	50
Bihar	Saran, Munger, Rohtas, Sheikhpura, Patna, Vaishali, Muzaffarpur, Kishanganj,	21.6
Andhra Pradesh	Cuddapah, Hoshangabad, Anantpur, Kurnool, Prakasam, Khammam, Mahboobnagar, Chittoor, Warangal, East Godavari.	43.4
Jharkhand	Koderma, Purbi Singhbhum,	16.6
Punjab	Amritsar, Faridkot, Hoshiarpur, Ropar, Bhatinda, Kapurthala, Jalandhar,	41.1
Arunachal Pradesh	Siang West, Dibang Valley.	
Uttar Pradesh	Mau, Badaun, Fatehpur, Sitapur, Jalaun, Banda, Auraiya, Etawah, Hardoi, Kaushambi, Sultanpur, Ambedkar Nagar, Varanasi, Rai Bareilly, Etah, Gautam Budh Nagar, Kannauj, Allahabad, Fatehgarh, Mathura, Kanpur Dehat, Shahjahanpur, Moradabad, Firozabad, Ghaziabad, Bhaghat, Unnao, Bijnor	42.8
West Bengal	Uttar Dinajpur, Bankura, Jalpaiguri, Medinipur, Murshidabad, Kolkata, Darjeeling, Malda, Burdwan, Purulia, Birbhum.	61.1
Chhatisgarh	Sarguja, Kanker, Kabirdham, Raipur, Koriya,	31.25
Haryana	Mahendragarh, Rewari, Una, Bhiwani, Rohtak, Sonipat, Faridabad,	36.8
Rajasthan	Barmer, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Nagaur, Karauli, Sikar, Dausa, Dungarpur.	25.0
Tripura	Dhalai, West Tripura.	50.0
Kerala	Kottayam, Alappuzha, Kasargod, Kannur, Pathanimthitta,	35.7
Uttarakhand	Uttarkashi	7.6

66.6 percent of the total districts from Madhya Pradesh, 61.1 percent from West Bengal, 56.6 percent from Odisha, 43.3 percent from Assam, and 43.4 of Andhra Pradesh recorded rates of Domestic Violence rates between 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population. The section below shows districts along with the states where Domestic Violence was recorded at 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (5.45 to 8.97) cases per lakh population in 2001.	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Andhra Pradesh	Vishakapatnam, Nalgonda, Karimganj, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Vizianagaram, Medak, Nellore, Guntur	39.1
Assam	Dhubri	4.3
Kerala	Palakkad, Kozhikode Rural, Thissur, Idukki, Kollam, Wayanadu, Malappuram,	57.1
Haryana	Yamunanagar, Jind,	10.5
Odisha	Koraput, Cuttack, Khurda	10.0
Madhya Pradesh	Guna, Mandla, Bhopal, Indore, Chhindwara, Ujjain, Dewas, Shahdol, Sagar, Neemuch,	22.2
Himachal Pradesh	Solan, Mandi, Hamirpur	25.0
Maharashtra	Amravati, Gadchiroli, Nandurbar, Satara, Yavatmal, Gondiya, Osmanabad, Nashik Rural, Chandrapur, Latur, Nanded, Beed, Dhule, Buldana,	40.0
Gujarat	Rajkot Rural, Patan, Jamnagar, Amreli, Kheda,	23.9
Assam	Hailakandi, Sonitpur, Goalpara,	13.0
Rajasthan	Udaipur, Jalore, Alwar, Dholpur, Sawai Madhopur, Churu,	25.0

	Banswara, Sirohi	
Bihar	Gopalganj	2.7
Chhatisgarh	Durg, Jangir,	12.5
Uttarakhand	Dehradun, Haridwar	15.4
Haryana	Hissar, Fatehabad, Gurgaon, Karnal, Sirsa, Kurukshetra,	31.5
Punjab	Ludhiana,	5.8
Uttar Pradesh	Muzaffarnagar, J P Nagar, Saharanpur, Barabanki, Bulandshahr, Kanpur Nagar, Aligarh, Meerut, Hathras, Agra,	14.28
West Bengal	Nadia, 24 Parganas North, Dakshin Dinajpur, Coochbehar, Hooghly, South 24 Parganas,	33.3
Tamil Nadu	Ariyalur,	3.3
Tripura	South Tripura,	

57.1 per cent of the total districts from Kerala, 40 percent from Maharashtra and 39.1 percent from Andhra Pradesh recorded Domestic Violence Rates between 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population. In the section below, districts that recorded Domestic Violence Rates between 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population have been listed along with the states.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (8.98 – 12.50) cases per lakh population in 2001	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Rajasthan	Bikaner, Gandhinagar, Jodhpur Rural, Jaipur, Pali, Rajsamand, Bharatpur, Ajmer, Tonk.	28.1
Uttar Pradesh	Bareilly, Lucknow, Pilibhit,	4.2
Tripura	North Tripura,	25.0
Punjab	Patiala	5.8
Maharashtra	Jalgaon, Parbhani, Washim, Ahmednagar, Akola, Jalna,	17.1
Gujarat	Mehsana, Kutch, Anand,	14.3
Assam	Lakhimpur,	4.3
Andhra Pradesh	West Godavari, Nizamabad, Ranga Reddy,	13.0
Haryana	Kaithal, Panchkula, Panipat, Jhajjar,	21.0
Himachal Pradesh	Bilaspur.	8.3

28.1 per cent of the total districts of Rajasthan, 25 per cent of the districts of Tripura, 21 per cent from Haryana, 17.1 per cent from Maharashtra recorded Domestic Violence rates between 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population. In the section below, the districts that recorded Domestic Violence Rates above 12.51 cases per lakh population have been grouped with the States.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (above 12.51) cases per lakh population in 2001.	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Gujarat	Porbandar, Junagarh	9.5
Maharashtra	Hingoli	2.8
Assam	Cachar	4.3
Andhra Pradesh	Hyderabad	4.3
Rajasthan.	Baran, Hanumangarh, Bhilwara, Jhalawar, Bundi, Kota, Chittorgarh and Ganganagar	25.0

25 per cent of the total districts of Rajasthan recorded higher rates of Domestic Violence above 12.51 cases per lakh population.

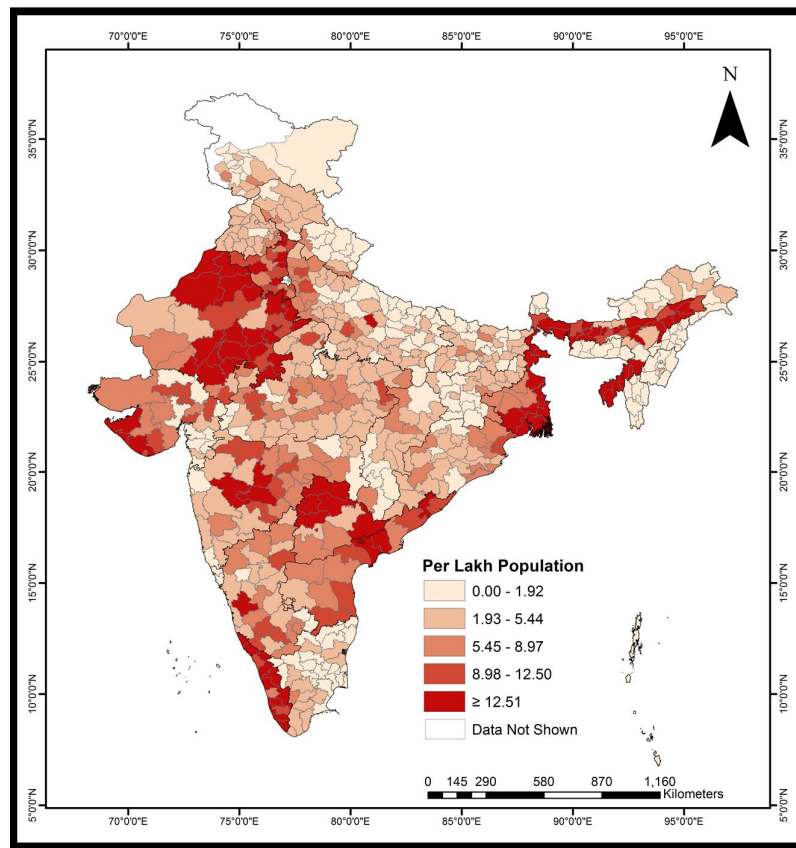
The preceding section shows that the rates of Domestic Violence recorded in districts of India in 2001.

From the above analysis, it becomes clear that within each state there exist regions of high Domestic Violence, regions of moderate Domestic Violence and regions of low rates of Domestic Violence as records of the complaints depict. The example of the state of Gujarat is being elucidated here to understand how within a state the rates of crimes vary from one district to another. 9.5 per cent of the total districts of Gujarat recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging above 12.51 cases per lakh population, 14.3 per cent recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging between 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population; 23.8 per cent recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging between 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population; 33.3 percent of the districts recorded rates ranging between 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population and finally the remaining 19 percent of the districts recorded ranging between 0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population in 2001. This clearly shows that the geographical unit of a state has a wide range of diversity in the rates of crimes being reported. It is significant because the state organised surveillance is uniform within the boundaries of a state.

The next section documents records of Domestic Violence reported in 2011. The analysis begin with mapping the rate of Domestic Violence at the district level. Map 4.5 shows the patterns.

Map:4.5

Domestic Violence, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

The groups of rates of Domestic Violence that emerged statistically for 2001, were re-applied for categorizing the district level Domestic Violence data for 2011 too. This method was adopted to see the position of the districts vis a vis the groups of rates of crimes after a decade.¹⁶ (Appendix- IV.I) The map shows that the region that recorded high rates of reporting of incidences of Domestic Violence in 2001, continued to report high rates of Domestic Violence in 2011. The region of North Central belt spreading into Rajasthan and Gujarat regions around coastal Andhra Pradesh and Kerala recorded high rates of Domestic Violence. The contiguous regions located around regions of high rates of Domestic Violence also recorded increase in the rates of Domestic Violence from 2001 to 2011. Parts of West Bengal, Assam, and Tripura

¹⁶ The reason for using same groups for analysis of the two decades has been explained in detail Chapter 3.

too recorded high rates of Domestic Violence. To get a clearer view of the of the rates of Domestic Violence reported in the districts, the districts have been grouped according to the rates of Domestic Violence along with the States. The section below shows districts that recorded Domestic Violence Rates between 0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population in 2011.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (0.00 – 1.92) cases per lakh population in 2011	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Jammu and Kashmir	Leh, Pulwama, Ramban, Shopian, Bandipora, Budgam, Kulgam, Reasi, Anantnag, Ganderbal, Kargil, Baramulla, Kupwara, Samba	60.8
Arunachal Pradesh	Tawang, Kameng East, Tirap, Kurung Kumay, Upper Dibang, Kameng West, Subansiri Lower, Siang East, Subansiri Upper, Changlang,	62.5
Nagaland	Mon, Mokokchung, Zunheboto, Wokha, Phek, Tuensang, Longleng, Kiphire, Kohima,	81.8
Manipur	Senapati, Tamenglong, Chandel, Ukhrul, Churachandpur, Imphal West, Bishnupur, Imphal East,	88.8
Mizoram	Mamit, Kolasib, Champhai, Lungei, Lawngtlai, Saiha, Serchhip, Aizwal,	100.0
Meghalaya	Garo Hills East, Khasi Hills West, Jaintia Hills, Ri Bhoi, Garo Hills West, Garo Hills South, Khasi Hills East,	100.0
Madhya Pradesh	Barwani, Alirajpur, Jhabua, Shajapur,	10.0
Maharashtra	Sindhurg, Thane Rural, Nagpur Rural, Gadchiroli,	11.4
Uttarakhand	Tehri Garhwal, Chamoli, Champawat, Uttarkashi, Pauri Garhwal, Almora, Pithoragarh, Bageshwar,	61.5
Gujarat	Bharuch, Dahod, Surat Rural, Valsad, Narmada, Bagraich, Tapi, Ahmedabad Rural,	32
Uttar Pradesh	Shravasti, Gonda, Balrampur, Deoia, Ballia, Maharajganj, Jaunpur, Sant Kabir Nagar, Faizabad, Ghazipur, Khiri, Shahjahanpir, Siddharth Nagar, Basti, Badaun, Lalitpur, Azamgarh, Rai Bareilly, Chitrakoot Dham, Hardoi, Sultanpur, Jhansi, Kanshiram Nagar,	32.3
Assam	Dimapur, Lohit, Sonbhadra,	11.1
Jharkhand	Khunti, Chaibasa, Palamau, Godda, Gumla, Chatra, Simdega, Ranchi, Latehar, Ramgarh. Saraikela,	45.8
Odisha	Ganjam, Sundargarh, Sonepur,	10.0
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur, Kanchipuram, Nagapattinam, Nilgiris, Namakkal, Thanjavur, Perambalur, Thiruvarur, Erode, Thiruvanamali, Ramanathapuram, Trichy Rural, Coimbatore Rural, Karur, Salem Rural, Vellore, Pudukottai,	53.1
Punjab	St. Ravidas Nagar, Gurdaspur.	15.0
Bihar	Kushi Nagar, Araria, Bettiah, Banka, Madhepura, Bhabhua, Sitamarhi, Muzaffarpur, Nawadah, Sheohar, Arwal, Motihari, Supaul, Samastipur, Khagaria, Begusarai, Gaya,	44.7
Goa	North Goa, South Goa,	100.0
Karnataka	Dharwad Rural, Kolar,	6.6
Himachal Pradesh	Chamba,	8.3
Chhatisgarh	Bizapur, Sarguja, Dantewara, Kanker, Rajnandgaon,	27.7

The table indicates that, 100 per cent districts from Mizoram, Meghalaya and Goa, 88.8 per cent of the total districts of Manipur, 81.8 per cent of the districts of

Nagaland recorded the lowest rates of Domestic Violence Against Women in the country.

The following districts recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population. The districts have been organised below along with the states.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (1.93 to 5.44) cases per lakh population in 2011	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Jammu and Kashmir	Kathua, Udhampur, Srinagar, Jammu, Poonch, Kistwar,	26.8
Bihar	Siwan, Bhagalpur, Rohras, Purnea, Kaithar, Saharsa, Kishanganj, Jamui, Saran, Madhubani, Nalanda, Munger, Buxar, Bhojpur, Sheikhpura, Rakhisarai, Jamui, Aurangabad, Gopalganj, Vaishali,	50.0
Uttarakhand	Nainital,	7.6
Andhra Pradesh	Ranga Reddy, Warangal, Anantapur,	13.0
Arunachal Pradesh	Siang	6.25
Uttar Pradesh	Jalaun, Banda, Auraiya, Chandoli, Mainpuri, Mirzapur, Barabanki, Mahoba, Sitapur, Kaushambi, Mau, Unnao, Bareilly, Firozabad, Ambedkar Nagar, Etawah, Saharanpur, Allahabad, Etah, J P Nagar, Pilibhit, Varanasi, Kannauj, Rampur, Gorakhpur, Moradabad,	36.6
Jharkhand	Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Giridih, Dumka, Sahebganj, Jamtara, Koderma, Pakur, Garhwa,	37.5
Karnataka	Cuddalore, Dakshin Kannada, Bagalkot, Udupi, Gadag, Tumkur, Bellary, Haveri, Koppal, Yadgiri, Uttar Kannada, Bidar, Chitradurga,	43.3
Chhatisgarh	Dhamtari, Kabirdham, Raipur, Mahasamund, Raigarh, Durg, Korba, Jashpur,	44.4
Maharashtra	Pune Rural, Sangli, Kolhapur, Gondiya, Sholapur Rural, Amravati Rural, Ratnagiri, Sangli, Bhandara, Nandurbar, Nashik Rural,	34.3
Madhya Pradesh	Khargaon, Seoni, Khandwa, Mandla, Bhind, Balaghat, Harda, Tikamgarh, Rajgarh, Sheopur, Guna, Shivpuri, Betul, Burhanpur, Dhar, Umraiya, Dindori, Chhartarpur, Datiya, Panna, Sidhi, Morena, Ashok Nagar, Katni, Rewa, Chhindwara, Mandsaur, Raisen, Satna, Sihore,	75.0
Himachal Pradesh	Hamirpur, Shimla, Solan, Kullu, Kangra, Lahul Spiti, Mandi, Kinnaur, Bilaspur	66.6
Tamil Nadu	Villupuram, Madurai Rural, Thoothukoodi, Virudhunagar, Tiruppur, Dharmapuri, Chennai, Thirunelveli, Kanyakumari, Dindigul, Sivagangai	31.25
Gujarat	Vadodhara Rural, Ahwa Dang, Navsari	12.5
Odisha	Koraput, Dhenkanal, Nuapada, Malkangir, Gajapati, Odisha, Nowrangpur, Debagarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Nayagarh, Boudh, Kandhamal, Kendrapara, Cuttack, Angul, Jharsuguda,	56.6
Assam	Baksa, Udalgiri,	7.4
Punjab	Tarn Tran, Fatehpur, Ferozpur, Moga, Mansa, Sangrur, Ropar, Jalandhar, Fatehgarh, Muktsar, Bhatinda, Fatehgarh Sahib, Faridkot, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala,	75.0
Arunachal Pradesh	Papum Pare, Siang Upper, Anjaw,	13.0
Manipur	Thoubal	11.1
Rajasthan	Jodhpur Rural, Jaisalmer, Barmer	6.9

75 per cent of the total districts of Punjab, 56.6 per cent from Odisha, 50 from Bihar among other states reported Domestic Violence rates between 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population.

The districts that recorded Domestic Violence Rates between 5.45 and 8.97 cases per lakh population has been presented below along with the states.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence rates (5.45 to 8.97) cases per lakh population in 2011	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Jammu and Kashmir	Doda, Udhm Singh Nagar, Rajouri,	13.0
Maharashtra	Wardha, Satara, Akola, Ratlam, Aurangabad, Yavatmal, Buldhana, Nanded, Hingoli, Latur,	28.5
Odisha	Mayurbhanj, Khurda, Puri, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Jagatsinghpur, Baragarh,	23.3
Punjab	Patiala, Sahibzada Ajit Singh Nagar,	15.0
Kerala	Ernakulam Rural,	7.1
Madhya Pradesh	Neemuch, Singrauli, Sagar, Vidisha, Anuppur, Narsinghpur, Hoshangabad, Dewas, Jabalpur, Damoh,	25.0
Andhra Pradesh	Mahboobnagar, Prakasam, Nalgonda, East Godavari,	17.4
Karnataka	Chamarajnagar, Chandrapur, Gulbarga, Belgaum, Bijapur, Cuddapah, Ramanagar, Davanagere, Chikmangalur, Bangalore Rural, Kurnool,	36.7
Bihar	Patna, Darbhanga	5.3
Uttar Pradesh	Hathras, Muzaffarnagar, Bijnor, Baghpat, Ghaziabad, Gautam Budh Nagar, Kanpur Nagar, Aligarh, Agra, Mathura,	14.1
Rajasthan	Jaipur, Jalore,	6.1
Uttarakhand	Dehradun,	7.7
Chhatisgarh	Bilaspur, Jangir, Koriya,	16.7
Jharkhand	Bokaro,	4.1
Gujarat	Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Surendranagar, Kheda North, Kutch East	20.0
West Bengal	Bankura, Purulia, Burdwan, Birbhum, Durgapur,	26.3
Haryana	Jind, Bhiwani, Gurgaon, Palwal, Kurukshetra,	23.8
Tamil Nadu	Theni,	3.1
Himachal Pradesh	Una,	1.4

The table shows that 36.7 per cent of the total districts of Karnataka, 28.5 percent from Maharashtra and 26.3 per cent from West Bengal recorded Domestic Violence rates of 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population among others.

The districts that recorded Domestic Violence Rates of 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population have been listed below along with the states.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates of (8.98 to 12.50) per lakh population in 2011.	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Assam	Tinsukhia, Kamrup, Kokrajhar, Morigaon, Lakhimpur,	18.5
Haryana	Mahendragarh, Rewari, Fatehabad, Sonipat, Kaithal, Rohtak, Sirsa, Faridabad, Yamunanagar,	42.8
Gujarat	Anand, Amreli, Patan, Panchmahal, Gandhinagar, Mehsana,	23.0
Karnataka	Chittoor, Raichur, Kodagu, Hassan, Mandya,	16.6
Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal, Ujjain, Shahdol, Gwalior, Indore,	12.5
Andhra Pradesh	Vishakapatnam, Osmanabad, Srikakulam, Guntur, Nellore,	21.7
Maharashtra	Jalgaon, Washim, Dhule, Nagaur, Parbhani,	14.2
Odisha	Bhadrak, Balasore,	6.6
Uttar Pradesh	Bulandshahr,	1.4
Kerala	Kozhikode, Pathanimthitta	14.2
Rajasthan	Bhanswara, Dausa, Sikar, Kota Rural, Karauli,	18.2
West Bengal	Darjeeling,	5.3

42.8 percent of the total districts of Haryana, 23 per cent from Karnataka among others recorded Domestic Violence rates of 8.98 to 12.50. The districts that recorded the highest rates of Domestic Violence, rates above 12.51 cases per lakh population have been listed below along with the states.

States	Districts that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (above 12.51) cases per lakh population in 2011	Percentage to Total Districts in the State
Assam	Chirang, Sonitpur, Sibsagar, Nalbari, Dibrugarh, Dhemaji, Karimganj, Golaghat, Jorhat, Hailakandi, Barpeta, Goalpara, Naogaon, Cachar, Darrang, Dhubri.	59.2
Haryana	Jhajjar, Panipat, Mewat, Panchkula, Ambala, Karnal, Hissar,	33.3
Gujarat	Porbandar, Junagarh, Jamnagar,	12.5
Andhra Pradesh	Medak, Khammam, Vizinagar, Krishna, Adilabad, Karimnagar, West Godavari, Nizamabad, Hyderabad,	39.1
Kerala	Thissur, Kottayam, Palakkad, Kannur, Wayanadu, Trivandrum, Kasargod, Kollam, Malppuram, Idukki,	71.4
West Bengal	Paschim Medinipur, Kolkata, Pura Medinipur, Coochbehar, Uttar Dinajpur, Howrah, Malda, Hooghly, 24 Parganas, Murshidabad, Jalpaiguri, Nadia,	63.15
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow,	1.4
Maharashtra	Ahmednagar, Jalna,	5.7
Rajasthan	Udaipur, Sawai Madhopur, Jhunjhunu, Dholpur, Alwar, Churu, Sirohi, Bikaner, Bharatpur, Tonk, Pali, Rajsamand, Bhilwara, Hanumangarh, Baran, Ajmer, Jhalawar, Bundi, Ganganagar.	57.6
Karnataka	Shimoga,	3.3
Madhya Pradesh	Beed,	2.50
Tripura	Dhalai, West Tripura, South Tripura, North Tripura,	100.0

100 per cent of the districts from Tripura, 71.4 per cent from Kerala, 63.15 per cent from West Bengal, 57.6 per cent from Rajasthan among others recorded high rates of Domestic Violence of above 12,51 cases per lakh population.

From the above analysis it may be deduced that variation in the rates of Domestic Violence is well pronounced within States. States as units of crime analysis may not yield desired results since within states there appears a wide range of rates of reporting Domestic Violence.

For the analysis of variation in the reporting of Domestic Violence cases, once again the example of the state of Gujarat may be selected since the districts show wide variation in the reporting of the rates of Domestic Violence.

12.5 per cent of the total districts from Gujarat recorded rates of Domestic Violence above 12.51 cases per lakh population; in 23 per cent it ranged between 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population; 20 per cent of the total districts recorded Domestic Violence ranging between 5.45 to 8.97; 12.5 percent of the total districts ranged between 1.93 to 5.44 and in the remaining 32 percent of the total districts the rates ranged between 0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population. As was observed in 2001, rates of Domestic Violence at the district levels for the year 2011 once again revealed major variation within the state boundary in Gujarat.

To analyse the decadal change in the rates of Domestic Violence at the district levels, in the following section, attempt has been made to understand the proportion of districts that have recorded differential rates of Domestic Violence during 2001 and 2011.

Table 4.1. Number of districts according to the magnitude of rate of Domestic Violence in 2001 and 2011.

Years	Rates (0.00-1.92) cases per lakh population	Rates (1.93-5.44) cases per lakh population	Rates (5.45-8.97) cases per lakh population	Rates (8.98-12.50) cases per lakh population	Rates (≥ 12.51) cases per lakh population	Total (Number of Districts)
2001	245 (41)	206 (34)	98 (16)	34 (6)	13 (2)	596
2011	196 (31)	203 (31)	87 (14)	54 (9)	92 (15)	632

The table shows that the percentage of districts that are in each of the five groups representing rates of Domestic Violence. In 2001, districts that had recorded the lowest rates of Domestic Violence (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population) had the highest number of districts (41 %) but after a decade in 2011, the percentage of districts that had recorded lowest rates of Domestic Violence decreased to 31 per cent of the total number of districts. In 2001, 34 percent of the districts recorded Domestic Violence at rates ranging from 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population and it declined marginally to 31 percent of the total number of

districts analysed in 2011. 16 percent of the total number of districts recorded Domestic Violence of rates ranging from 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population which marginally declined to 14 per cent of the districts in 2011. 6 per cent of the total number of districts recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population which rose to 9 per cent in 2011. Only 2 percent of the districts recorded Domestic Violence Rates of above 12.51 cases per lakh population in 2001, but after a decade the percentage of districts rose significantly to 15 percent in 2011.

The decrease in the percentage of districts recording lower rates of Domestic Violence and rise in the percentage share of districts registering high rates of Domestic Violence is an indication of the increased use and application of Domestic Violence laws by women. It also indicates that women are increasingly resorting to the institutions of the State to mitigate domestic issues that were earlier treated as family issues or private issues. The decade long awareness generation by the State and Non Governmental Organisations perhaps led to the rise in reporting of cases of Domestic Violence. The other significant reason could be the enactment of the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 which is of the nature of a civil law. This change may have encouraged women to report incidences of Domestic Violence which ensured that their partners are not criminally indicted but the process of complaint may help reform them.

The above section clearly indicates that the districts have shown change in rates of reporting incidences of Domestic Violence from 2001 to 2011. In the following section, the change in incidences of Domestic Violence incidences from 2001 to 2011 has been documented for each district chosen for the study.

Decadal change in the position of the districts from 2001 to 2011

The change in the rate of reporting of Domestic Violence in each district was documented to analyse whether the districts continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence or whether the rates have changed. Colour codes have been used to facilitate understanding the change in rates of the decade. Red coloured districts indicate the rates have risen during the decade, green colour indicates a decrease in the rates and black when the rates remained unchanged. The following section documents the changes in reporting of Domestic Violence Rates.

Districts that recoded Domestic Violence Rate (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	Leh, Kupwara, Anantnag, Budgam, Pulwama, Upper Siang, Subansiri Lower, Kameng West, Mon, Tuensang, Mokokchung, Wokha, Zunheboto, Ri Bhoi, Kohima, Garo Hills East, Garo Hills West, Dimapur, Phek, Khasi Hills West, Jaintia Hills, Ukhrul, Senapati, Tamenglong, Banad Kantha, Churachandpur, Chandel, Sabar Kantha, Champai, Serchhip, Lunglei, Lawngtlai, Imphal East, Bramulla, Doda, Khasi Hills East, Paschim Singhbhum, Godda, Thiruvapur, Vellore, Trichy Rural, Lohit, Kargil, Hazaribagh, Aizawl, Garo Hills South, Tirap, Kanchipuram, Aurangabad, Dharwad, Srinagar, Kushi Nagar, Madhepura, Salem Rural, Samastipur, Saharsa, Maharajganj, Gumla, Sonbhadra, Thoubal, Mahoba, Bishnupur, Kolasib, Aurangabad, Dharwad, Srinagar, Kushingnagar, Madhepura, Salem Rural, Samastipur, Saharsa, Maharajganj, Gumla, Snbhadra, Thoubal, Mahoba, Bishnupur, Kolasib, Aurangabad, Thiruvanamalai, Jashpur, West Kathua, Chatra, Dantewara, Kameng East, Chamoli, South Goa, Khagaria, Dahod, Sitamarhi, Chitrakoot Dham, Imphal West, Surat Rural, Sheohar, Gurdaspur, Nagapattinam, Thiruvanamalai, Tawang, Supaul, Gaya, Sundargarh, North Goa, Siddharth Nagar, Ranchi, Ballia, Banka, Nawadah, Sindhudurg, Champawat, Bageshwar, Thanjavur, Jhabua, Pauri Garhwal, Rudra Prayag, Thane Rural, Shrawasti, Subansiri Upper, Almora, Ganjam, Erode, Sant Kabirnagar, Pithoragarh, Palamau, Tehri Garhwal, Araria, Ghazipur, Ahmadabad, Kolar, Coimbatore Rural, Purba Champaran, Bahraich, Begusarai, Jaunpur, Siang East, Bhabua, Balrampur, Ramanathapuram, Namakkal, Gonda, Barwani, Faizabad, Basti
Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	Poonch, Dhanbad, Thirunelveli Rural, Dharmapuri, Buxar, Mansa, Dindigul, Sambalpur, Pakur, Dakshin Kannada, Kabri Anglong, Deoghar, Garhwa, Purnea, Jamui, Lahaul Spiti, Sahebganj, Cuddalore, Lakhisarai, Haveri, Udupi, Dhamtari, Virudhunagar, Udampur, Tumkur, Gadag, Raigarh, Siwan, Jehanabad, Gorakhpur, Fatehgarh Sahib, Nayagarh, Deoria, Nowrangpur, Kullu, Chandoli, Giridih, Bhagalpur, Nalanda, Malkangir, Dumka, Chitradurga, Uttar Kannada, Mirzapur, Karur, Villupuram, Jammu, Kanyakumari, Pithoragarh, Koppal, Pratapgarh, Azamgarh, Bellary, Bhojpur, Gajapati, Dindori, Papum Pare, Seoni, Madhubani, Solapur Rural, Kaithar, Muksar, Navsari, Sangrur, Moga,
Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	Chamarajnar, Kalahandi, Theni, Rajouri, Darbhanga, Baraghar, Ernakulam,
Rate: (8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	Kamrup, Panchmahal, Kodagu, Raichur
Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)	Nalbari, Howrah

The table above shows that districts from states Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Uttarakhand, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Manipur and Jharkhad continued to record Domestic Violence rates of the previous decade (0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population). Some districts from Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Odisha reported higher Domestic Violence rates of 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population. Districts that recorded Domestic Violence rates of 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population belonged to states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. Districts which recorded high rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population were found in states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh. The districts that recorded the highest rates of Domestic Violence of above 12.51 cases per lakh population were located in the states of West Bengal and Assam.

The next section analyses the change in the rates of Domestic Violence in districts which had recorded Domestic Violence Rates from 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population in 2001.

Districts that recoded Domestic Violence Rate (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh ppulation) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2001	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	Lalitpur, Raigarh, Pudukottai, Nilgiris, Badaun, Narmada, Auraiya, Nagpur, Banda, Sarguja, Sonapur, Kanker, Jhansi, N C Hills, Hardoi, Valsad, Sultanpur, Chamba, Uttarkashi, Kolhapur, Raibareilly, Khiri, rajnandgaon, Vaishali, Muzaffarpur, Perambalur, Shahjahanpur, Bharuch, Shajapur,
Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	Vadodhara Rural, Boudh, Sivagangai, Firozpur, Mahasamund, Morena, Chennai, Madurai Rural, Bilaspur, Saran, Shivpuri, Koderma, Jharsaguda, Amritsar, Siang West, Mau, Bagalkot, Munger, Thoothukoodi, Dhenkanal, Fatehpur, Bidar, Sitapur, Bolangir, Nuapada, Jalaun, Pune Rural, Rewa, Rohtas, Hamirpur, Ratnagiri, Khargaon, Hamirpur, Sheopur, Etawah, Kaushambi, Ditiya, Khandwa, Kabirdham, Sheikhpura, Hoshiarpur, Korba, Mainpuri, Satna, Raisen, Sangli, Ropar, Shimla, Ambedkar Nagar, Mandsaur, Kendrapara, Rayagada, Rajgarh, Jaisalmer, Varanasi, Nainital, Anantapur, Sidhi, Rampur, Chhatarpur, Etah, Panna, Harda, Ahwa Dand, Bhind, Raipur, Kannauj, Allahabad, Bhatinda, Kangra, Fatehgarh, Kapurthala, Kinnaur, Debagarh, Betul, Angul, Kishanganj, Sihore, Dhar, Moradabad, Firozabad, jalandhar, Dibang Valley, Balaghat, Unnao, Warangal, Umraiya, Kandhamal, Bhandara, Katni,
Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	Belgaum, Puri, Cuddapah, Davanagere, Bankura, Keonjhar, Gulbarga, Jagatsinghpur, Udhamsingh Nagar, Barmer, Hoshangabad, Patna, Bhiwani, Una, Bijapur, Kurnool, Bangalore Rural, Gautam Budh Nagar, Chikmanglur, Narsinghpur, Prakasham, Mayurbhanj, Mathura, Koriya, Burdwan, Ghaziabad, Baghpat, Vidisha, Faridabad, Surendranagar, Ratlam, Mahboobnagar, Jabalpur, Purulia, Durgapur, Damoh, Bhavnagar, Bijnor, East Godavari, Birbhumi,
Rate: (8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	Mahendragarh, Hassan, Bhadrak, Rewari, Mandya, Kokrajhar, Rohtak, Sonapat, Shrikakulam, Morigaon, Darjeeling, Balasore, Nagaur, Karauli, Pathanamthitta, Gwalior, Sikar, Chittoor, Dausa,
Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)	Darrang, Jalpaiguri, Medinipur, Dhalai, Murshidabad, Golaghat, Kolkata, Kottayam, Sibsagar, Alappuzha, Jorhat, Malda, Khammam, West Tripura, Shimoga, Nagaon, Barpeta, Dhemaji

Certain districts from Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra Bihar and Gujarat recorded rates that were lower than 1.92, which means that a reduction in the rates of Domestic Violence in the districts of the States mentioned above. Some districts Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra recorded rates similar to 2001 rates of 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population. Some districts from Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, West Bengal recorded an increase in the rates of Domestic Violence that had recorded rates from 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population. Districts from states of Karnataka, Haryana, Rajasthan, Kerala showed a steep increase in the rates of Domestic Violence recording 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population. Some districts from Kerala, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Assam and Andhra Pradesh showed an even steeper rise in reporting cases of Domestic Violence that had recorded higher than 12.21 cases of Domestic Violence per lakh population.

The section below shows the change in the reporting of Domestic Violence in districts that had recorded rates of 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population.

Domestic Violence Rate (5.45 – 8.97cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	Gadchiroli, Ariyalur, Mamit,
Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	Koraput, Guna, Solan, Amrvati, Gopalganj, J P Nagar, Nandurbar, Saharanpur, Mandla, Barabanki, Cuttack, Chhindwara, Mandi, Durg, Hamirpur, Nashik Rural, Gondiya, Haridwar,
Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	Jind, Muzaffarnagar, Nalgonda, Jalore, Rajkot Rural, Dehradun, Satara, Yavatmal, Kheda North, Dewas, Chandrapur, Hathras, latur, Nanded, Gurgaon, Kanpur, Sagar, Janjgir, Neemuch, Khurda, Kurukshetra, Agra, Buldhana, Sirohi,
Rate: (8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	Vishakapatnam, Yamunanagar, Kozhikode, Amreli, Bhopal, Patan, Bulandshahr, Ujjain, Osmanabad, Shahdol, Fatheabad, Meerut, Indore, Sirsa, Dhule, Banswara, Guntur, Nellore,
Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)	Palakkad, Hailakandi, Nadia, 24 Parganas North, Sonitpur, Udaipur, Karimganj, Jhunjhunu, Dakshin Dinajpur, Coochbehar, Thissur, Hissar, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Idukki, Medak, Kollam, Krishna, Dhubri, Wayanadu, Vizianagaram, Malappuram, Alwar, 24 Parganas South, Karnal, Aligarh, Beed, Dholpur, Sawai Madhopur, Churu, Goalpara,

For the districts that had recorded Domestic Violence rates of 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population, three districts from the states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Mizoram recorded decline in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates to 0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population. Some districts from Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh and Utrakhnad showed decline to 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population in that had recorded Domestic Violence rates. Some districts from Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, and Uttarakhand recorded same rates of Domestic Violence as was recorded in 2001. Some districts from Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh recorded increase in rates of Domestic Violence to rates ranging from 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population. Districts from Kerala, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Asaam and Andhra Pradesh recorded a steep rise in the rates of domestic violece with rates above 12.51 cases per lakh population.

In the next section the change in the rates of Domestic Violence in districts that had recorded rates varying between 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population in 2001 have been analysed.

Domestic Violence Rate (8.98 – 12.50cases per lakh ppulation) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	Bareilly, Jodhpur Rural, Jaipur, Pilibhit, Ranga Reddy,
Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	Wardha, patiala, Akola, Kutch, Bilaspur,
Rate: 8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	Gandhinagar, Jalgaon, Parbhani, Mehsana, Washim, Kaithal, Anand,
Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)	Bikaner, North Tripura, Lucknow, Pali, West Godavari, Rajsamand, Bharatpur, Nizamabad, Ahmednagar, Ajmer, Panchkula, Panipat, Tonk, Ambala, Jhajjahir, Jalna.

No district recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population in 2011. Though some districts of the states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh recorded decline in the rates of Domestic Violence. The rates ranged from 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population. Districts from the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra recorded marginal decline in the rates of Domestic Violence, which had recorded rates from 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population. Some districts from Gujarat and Maharashtra continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence as was recorded in 2001. Districts from Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana recorded rise in Domestic Violence rates ranging above 12.51 cases per lakh population.

In the following section, districts that had recorded very high rates of Domestic Violence in 2001, have been analysed for change in the rates of reporting in 2011.

Domestic Violence Rate (>12.50 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	Hingoli,
Rate: (8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	Kota Rural
Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)	Porbandar, Baran, Cachar, Hanumangarh, Junagarh, Bhilwara, Jhalawar, Hyderabad City, Bundi, Chittorgarh, Ganganagar.

Of the districts that recorded very high rates of Domestic Violence in 2001, one district in Maharashtra recorded decline in the rates to 5.45 to 8.97 cases per lakh population and another in Rajasthan declined to rates recorded between 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population. The rest of the districts from Assam, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan recorded same rates of above 12.51 cases per lakh population as was recorded in 2001.

To understand the percentage of districts that had recorded change in the rates of Domestic Violence from 2001 to 2011, the summary table is being presented below.

Table 4.2. Change in the Rates of Domestic Violence in Districts of India, 2001 – 2011.

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2001	Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011 (Percentage Share)				
	Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)
Rate: (0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population)	64.7	29.5	3.08	1.7	.8
Rate: (1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population)	14.7	45.7	20.3	9.6	9.1
Rate: (5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population)	3.2	18.9	26.3	18.9	32.6
Rate: (8.98 – 12.50 cases per lakh population)	0	15.1	15.1	21.2	48.5
Rate: (>12.50 cases per lakh population)	0	0	7.1	14.2	78.5

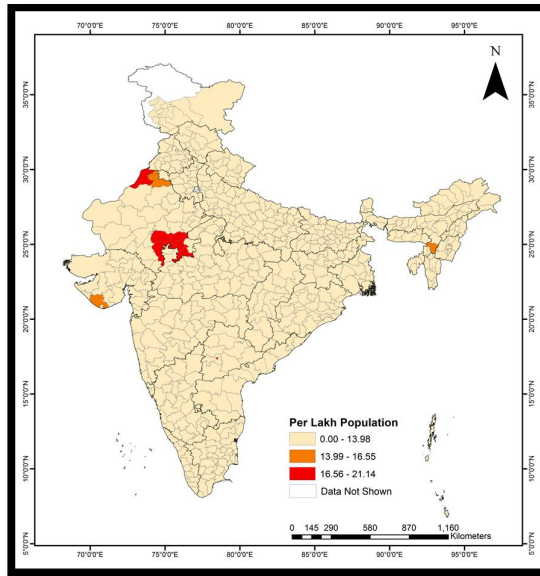
The table shows that of the districts that had reported Domestic Violence rates of 0.00 to 1.92 cases per lakh population in 2001, of those districts, only 64.7 percent of the districts had continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence while the rest of the districts registered higher rates of Domestic Violence in 2011. The districts that recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 1.93 to 5.44 cases per lakh population in 2001, only 45.7 percent of the districts recorded similar rates in 2011, while 14.7 per cent of the districts registered a decline in reporting and the rest of the districts registered higher rates compared to 2011. The districts that recorded Domestic Violence rates of 5.45 to 8.97 in 2001, had only 26.3 per cent of those districts recorded same range of Domestic Violence rates in 2011. The districts that had recorded Domestic Violence rates of 8.98 to 12.50 cases per lakh population in 2001, only 15 percent of those districts reported similar rates of violence in 2011, while 48.5 percent of districts recorded higher rates. In the districts that had recorded above 12.51 cases per lakh population rates of Domestic Violence in 2001, only 14.2 and 7.1 districts recorded lower rates in 2011, but 78.5 percent of the districts recorded similar high rates in 2011.

The analysis reveals that the crime rates in the majority of the districts have remained similar to the rates that were reported in 2001 after a decade in 2011. A smaller group of districts have recorded rise in the rates of Domestic Violence and even lesser number of districts have recorded decline in the rates of Domestic Violence. To get an idea of the location of the districts that recorded exceptionally high rates of Domestic Violence in relation, the following method was adopted to analyse the occurrence of Domestic Violence in those specific locations.

Deviating from the standard norm of analysing difference with the help of Standard Deviation, the crime rates for Domestic Violence of all districts were categorised using the

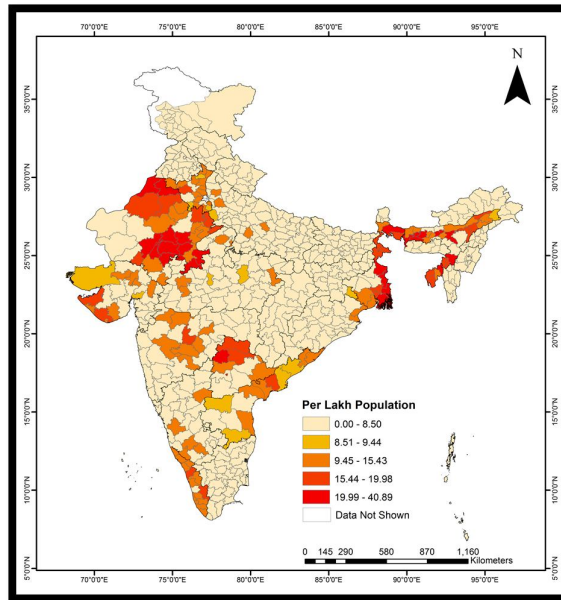
Range Homogeneity Method for the time periods 2001 and 2011. The data has been presented in maps below and the results have been discussed.

Map:4.6. Domestic Violence, 2001



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Map 4.7. Domestic Violence, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 4.6 and Map 4.7 reveal that though statistically the rates of crimes could be grouped into five classes, and the classification facilitated in ranking districts into spaces where Domestic Violence had specific chances of occurrence, the range homogeneity method of classified the districts on the basis of the occurrence of the

rates of Domestic Violence in districts arranged in ascending order to understand how different is the rate of occurrence of Domestic Violence in districts that are ranked consecutively. (Appendix IV.IV.I and Appendix IV.IV.II). The maps of both the time periods, 2001 and 2011 reveal that there exist no great difference in the rates of Domestic Violence in districts that were grouped on the basis of mean and standard deviation method. The rates showed continuity across states in the map depicting 2001 rates of Domestic Violence, with a small change in the north central zone registering higher rates and appear as an outlier. In map 4.6, parts of northwest and south east Rajasthan, southern Gujarat and parts of Tripura recorded very high rates of Domestic Violence. Map 4.7 depicting the rates of Domestic Violence shows more number of districts registering higher rates of Domestic Violence. The region registering higher rates are concentrated in the western states of Gujarat and Rajasthan followed by Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. Districts from West Bengal, parts of Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura too recorded higher rates of reporting of Domestic Violence. (Appendix IV.IV.I and Appendix IV.IV.II).

The rates of crimes recorded in districts have been tabulated below to understand the districts have been organised on the basis of the groups derived from Range Homogeneity Method used for mapping the Domestic Violence rates. The results have been discussed below.

Table 4.3. Number of districts according to magnitude of rate of Domestic Violence in 2001.

Years	Rate: (0.00 – 13.98 cases per lakh population)	Rate : (13.99 – 16.55 cases per lakh population)	Rate : (16.56-21.14 cases per lakh population)	Total
2001	587 (98)	3(1)	6(1)	596

Table 4.4. Number of districts according to the magnitude of rate of Domestic Violence in 2011.

Years	Rate : (0.00- 8.50 cases per lakh population)	Rate : (8.51- 9.44 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (9.45- 15.43 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (15.44- 19.98 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (19.99- 40.89 cases per lakh population)	Total
2011	478 (76)	14(2)	86 (14)	27 (4)	27(4)	632

Table 4.3 shows that in 2001, 98 percent of the districts chosen for the study appeared in the group of districts with least rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 0 to 13.98 cases per

lakh population. Only 1 percent of the districts appeared in the group of districts with Domestic Violence rates ranging from 13.99 to 16.55 cases per lakh population and the other 1 per cent of the districts recorded rates of domestic violence ranging from 16.56 to 21.14 cases per lakh population. Table 4.4 shows that 76 per cent of the districts recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 0.00 to 8.50 cases per lakh population, only 2 percent of the districts recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 8.51 to 9.44 cases per lakh population. 14 percent of the districts recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 9.45 to 15.44 cases per lakh population. 4 per cent of the districts recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 15.44 to 19.98 cases per lakh population and in the highest category; the rates of Domestic Violence ranged from 19.99 to 40.89 cases per lakh population and was reported in 2 per cent of the districts.

The analysis shows that over the decade, the rates of reporting of Domestic Violence has been found to be on the rise and the highest rates of have almost doubled over the ten year period.

To put the analysis of Domestic Violence reporting among districts of the country into perspective, the levels of hostility women experience not only in terms of Domestic Violence but other types of crimes against women, namely, Rape, Molestation, Kidnapping and Abduction of Women and Girls, Dowry Deaths, Sexual Harassment and Cruelty by Husbands and Relatives have increased. An aggregate score of the crimes mentioned above have been applied to measure Violence Against Women¹⁷. The data has been mapped to present the spatial patterns that emerge from reporting of Violence Against Women in the following section.

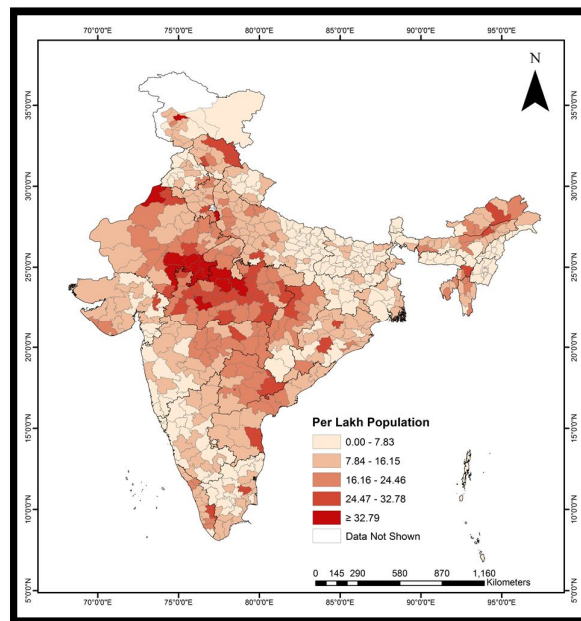
¹⁷ Discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

District Level Patterns of Violence Against Women, 2001 and 2011.

The spatial patterns of incidences of Domestic Violence reported by women at the district level in India has been mapped and analysed for the time periods 2001 and 2011 and presented in the form of Map 4.8 and 4.9 respectively.

Map 4.8

Violence Against Women, 2001



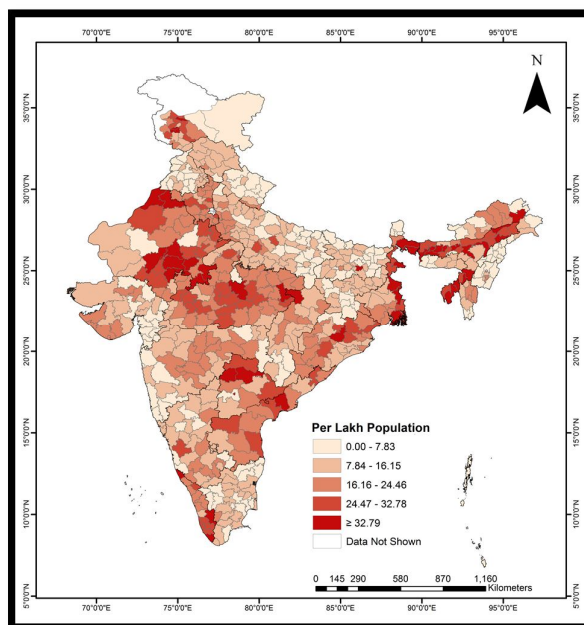
(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Map 4.8 shows a distinct region of higher rates of reporting of Violence Against Women was recorded in 2001. The region centres around south western districts of Rajasthan and northern Madhya Pradesh. The high rates of reporting of Violence Against Women may be found to have concentrated around north western parts of Rajasthan and coastal Andhra Pradesh. Parts of Gujarat, Kerala, Assam, Tripura and Mizoram also stand out in the map showing higher rates of reporting of Violence Against Women. (Appendix- IV.II)

The rates of Violence Against Women in 2011 at the district level has been mapped and presented in the following section.

Map:4.9

Violence Against Women, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 4.9 shows that the zone of high rates of violence against women continued to be found in the north western and south eastern districts of Rajasthan, northern parts of Madhya Pradesh. In comparison to the map showing Violence Against Women in 2001, in 2011, higher rates of Violence against Women can be noticed to be prevalent West Bengal, Odisha, Kerala, Assam and Tripura. The regions contiguous to the districts that recorded high rates of Violence Against Women in 2001, reported increase in the rates of Violence Against Women in 2011. (Appendix- IV.II)

For analysing the distribution of districts of varying rates of Violence Against Women, the table in the following section of the chapter would offer an idea about the proportion of districts recording different rates of Violence Against Women.

Table 4.5. Number of districts according to the magnitude of rate of Violence Against Women in 2001 and 2011.

Years	Rates of Violence Against Women					Total Districts
	(0.0-7.83 cases per lakh population)	(7.84-16.15 cases per lakh population)	(16.16-24.46 cases per lakh population)	(24.47-32.78 cases per lakh population)	(≥ 32.79 cases per lakh population)	
2001	222 (37)	226 (39)	97 (16)	38 (6)	13 (2)	596
2011	161 (25)	220 (35)	136 (22)	69 (11)	46 (7)	632

*figures in brackets represent percentages

Table 4.5 shows that in 2001, 37 percent of the districts recorded low rates of Violence Against Women measuring 0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population. The percentage of districts that had recorded similar rates decreased to 25 percent in 2011. The districts that recorded Violence Against Women at the rate of 7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population also recorded a decline in the percentage share of districts from 39 percent to 35 percent after a decade. Districts that recorded Violence Against Women at the rate ranging from 16.16 to 24.46 cases per lakh population, witnessed a rise in the percentage share of districts from 16 to 22 percent from 2001 to 2011. In 2001, only 6 percent of the districts recorded rates of Violence Against Women with rates ranging between 24.47 to 32.78 cases per lakh population. The share of the districts rose to 11 percent in 2011. Highest rates of Violence Against Women of above 32.79 cases per lakh population was documented in only 2 per cent of the districts in 2001. In 2011, the percentage share rose to 7 per cent of the districts.

From the above analysis, a trend towards recording higher rates of Violence Against Women in the districts can be found, since there appears decline in the percentage share of districts which recorded lower rates of Violence Against Women, while increase in the percentage share of districts was found where higher rates of Violence Against Women was recorded.

To identify the districts where change in the rates of reporting of Violence Against Women was observed the decadal change in rates have been analysed in the following section. Colour codes have been used to facilitate understanding the change in rates of Violence Against Women. Once again, Red coloured districts indicate the rates have risen during the decade, green colour indicates a decrease in the rates and black when the rates remained unchanged.

Change in the position of districts in terms of Violence Against Women

(Rate: 0.00 – 7.83) from 2001 to 2011

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population)	Senapati, Tuensang, Chandel, Mokokchung, Tamenglong, Wokha, Churachandpur, Phek, Zunheboto, Mon, Ukhrul, Garo Hills South, Garo Hills East, Dharwad, Surat Rural, Dimapur, Ahmedabad, Gurdaspur, Trichy Rural, Samastipur, Sant Ravidas Nagar, Kohima, Navsari, Supaul, Khagaria, Dahod, Palamau, Kargil, Dakshin Kannada, Saharsa, Thane Rural, Maharajganj, Sant Kabirnagar, Aurangabad, Mansa, Nawada, Ghaziipur, Gaya, Jaunpur, Kanchipuram, Kushi Nagar, Amritsar, Chandoli, Kameng West, Sitamarhi, Thiruvallur, Siddharth Nagar, Ballia, Azamgarh, Vadodhara Rural, Vellore, Thiruvanamalai, Almora, Muksar, Udupi, Purnea, Bhabhua, Pune Rural, Begusarai, Sangrur, Tirap, Tehri Garhwal, Purba Champaran, Mirzapur, Moga, Leh, Pauri Garhwal, Kolar, Coimbatore Rural, Bhagalpur, Sheohar, Ferozpur, Paschim Champaran, Deoria, Valsad, Balrampur, Sindhudurg, Champawat, Gonda, Ahwa Dang, Ranchi, Dantewara, Nilgiris, Kolhapur, Erode, Lawngtlai, Bageshwar, Bagalkot, Chamoli,
Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population)	Khasi Hills West, Aurangabad, Madhepura, Panchmahal, Buxar, Ri Bhoi, Salem rural, Siwan, Khasi Hills East, Gadag, Jaintia Hills, Jamui, North Goa, Solapur Rural, Chatra, Kabri Anglong, Banka, Bishnupur, Bhojpur, Garhwa, Dharmapuri, Gorakhpur, Darbhanga, South Goa, Bankura, Dumka, Haveri, Fatehgarh Sahib, Belgaum, Gumla, Imphal East, Saran, Madhubani, Rudra Prayag, Tumkur, Uttar Kannada, Chitrakoot Dham, Shrawasti, Bahraich, Changlang, Munger, Deoghar, Sheikhpura, Deoghar, Chamarajnar, Karur, Hazaribagh, Nayagarh, Pakur, Hoshiarpur, Rohtas, Katihar, Dhanbad, Madurai Rural, Ganjam, Bokaro, Sivagangai,
Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population)	Sonbhadra, Howrah, Jehanabad, Medinipur, Hooghly, Pratapgarh, Thoubal, Baragarh, Kalahandi, Chitradurga,
Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population)	Bilaspur, Uttar Dinajpur, Kamrup, Doda,
Rate: (>32.79 cases per lakh population)	Lakhisarai, Jalpaiguri, Murshidabad,

The table above shows the districts that had recorded Violence Against Women at the rates ranging from 0.00 to 7.83 cases per lakh population in 2001, showed changes in the rates of reporting after a decade. Some districts from Manipur, Meghalaya, Uttarakhand Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Nagaland recorded similar rates in 2011 to those recorded in 2001. Certain districts from Meghalaya, Goa, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Maharashtra recorded increased rates ranging from 7.84 to 16.15 in 2011. Some districts from West Bengal Manipur and Odisha, showed increased rates of 16.16 to 24.46 cases per lakh population in 2011. High rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 24.47 to 32.78 were recorded in districts from Assam and West Bengal. A few districts from Bihar and West Bengal recorded a steep rise in the rates of Violence Against Women with rates of the crimes ranging above 32.79 cases per lakh population in 2011.

Change in the position of districts in terms of Violence Against Women

(Rate: 7.84 – 16.15) from 2001 to 2011

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population))	Ratnagiri, Basti, Sultanpur, Thiruvarur, Sangli, Araria, Pudukottai, Narmada, Lalitpur, Pithoragarh, Koppal, Godda, Sundergarh, Bharuch, Badaun, Jalandhar, Raibareilly, hardoi, Uttarkashi, Nagpur Rural, Khiri, Tawang, Thanjavur, Saharanpur, Thoothugudi,
Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population))	Bellary, Faizabad, Ambedkar Nagar, Burdwan, Mahoba, Ropar, Patna, Ropar, Fatehpur, N C Hills, Dindigul, Mau, Faridkot, Gajapati, Kullu, Lohit, Villupuram, Nainital, Namakkal, Gopalganj, Rampur, Purulia, Giridih, Udhampur, Muzaffarpur, Bhatinda, Jalaun, Kathua, Raigarh, Jaisalmer, Ernakulam, Vaishali, Virudhunagar, Nuapada, Kishanganj, Una, Barmer, Sahebganj, Auraiya, Jhansi, Gulbarga, Kapurthala, Udhamsingh Nagar, Bhiwani, Rajkot Rural, Ramanathapuram, Kannauj, Birbhum, Kangra, Malkangir, Bijapur, Mainpuri, Banda, Anantapur, Bhavnagar, Varanasi, Surendranagar, Nagapattinam, Davanagere, Fatehgarh, Satara, Etawah, Subansiri Lower, Nashik Rural, Bidar, Puri, Sitapur, Nandurbar, Patan, Vishakapatnam, Allahabad, Etah, Kanyakumari, Dhamtari, Bijnor, Kaushambi, Thirunelveli, Koderma, Kheda North, Muzaffarnagar, Kupwara, Morena, Dhule, Cuddalore, Chikmanglur, Sonapur, Latur, Baghpat, Moradabad, Chamba, Cuttack, J P Nagar, Barabanki, Sambalpur, Jind, Mamit, Gandhinagar, Imphal West, Lunglei, Jalore, Jalgaon, Ghaziabad, Kendrapara, Nanded, Mahboobnagar, Dehradun, Shahjahanpur, Solan, Pulwama, Firozabad, Barwani, Haridwar, Unnao, Amravati, Mahasamund, Shimla, Rajgarh, Kanker, Kutch, Bhind, Kabirdham, Anand,
Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population))	Nowrangpur, Jaipur, Poonch, Darjeeling, Raichur, Jagatsinghpur, Mahendragarh, Theni, Kodagu, Mandya, Hassan, Rewari, Sikar, Rewa, Cuddapah, Nagaur, Bhadrak, Jashpur, Amreli, Rayagada, Serchhip, Sonapat, Srikakulam, Dausa, East Godavari, Bolangir, Jharsaguda, Junjhunu, Yamunanagar, Mathura, Prakasham, Boudh, Baramulla, Kannur, Chittoor, Osmanabad, Beed, Jamnagar, Jammu, Bangalore Rural, Fatehabad, Upper Siang, Sirsa, Ahmednagar, Churu, Medak, Gautam Buddha Nagar, Karauli, Subansiri Upper, Champhai, Mayurbhanj, Karnal, Palakkad, Kaithal, Dindori, Sidhi, Mehsana, Keonjhar, Mlappuram, Parbhani, Chandrapur, Durgapur, Seoni,
Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population))	Kolkata, Malda, 24 Parganas North, Tinsukia, West Tripura, Karimganj, Kokrajhar, Vizinagaram, Hamirpur, Rajouri, Anantnag, Dibrugarh, Dhenkanal, Hissar, Morigaon, Kurnool, Shimoga, Rohtak, Jorhat, Kottayam,
Rate: (>32.79 cases per lakh population))	24 Parganas South, Bongaigaon, Coochbehar, Dakshin Dinajpur, Golaghat, Balasore,

The table above shows the districts that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 7.84 to 16.15 per lakh population in 2001. In 2011, some districts from Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Utrkhand registered decline. Districts from Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh continued to record similar rates was recorded in 2001. Some districts from Assam, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh recorded increase in the rates of Violence Against Women. The rates ranged from 16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population. Certain districts from West Bengal Haryana, Assam and Kerala recorded high rates of Violence Against Women ranging form 24.47 to 32.78 cases

per lakh population. In very few districts from West Bengal, Assam and Odisha, the rates of Violence Against Women increased to above 32.79 cases per lakh population.

The section below shows the change in the rates of Violence Against Women in districts that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 16.16 to 24.46 cases per lakh population in 2001

Change in the position of districts in terms of Violence Against Women

(Rate: 16.16 – 24.46) from 2001 to 2011

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011	Districts
Rate (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population)	Gadchiroli, Jodhpur Rural, Jaipur East, Ranga Reddy, Saiha,
(Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population)	Mandi, Rajnandgaon, Khurda, Warangal, Buldhana, Chennai, Korba, Hathras, Porbandar, Raipur, Jhabua, Sheopur, Bhandara, Bareilly, Gondiya, Kameng East, Hingoli, Kolasib, Sarguja, Patiala, Khargaon, Pilibhit, Raigarh, Balaghat,
Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population)	Datiya, Gurgaon, Yavatmal, Kozhikode, Jalna, Satna, Nalgonda, Sawai Madhopur, Aligarh, Koraput, Guntur, Mandsaur, Meerut, Ambala, Bulandshahr, Ambala, Papum Pare, Kurukshetra, Janjgir, Washim, Khandwa, Harda, Junagarh, Agra, Kanpur Nagar, Shivpuri, Katni, Panna, Durg, Umraiya, Tikamgarh, Dhar, Warrdha,
Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population)	Wayanadu, Budgam, Krishna, Sonitpur, Alwar, Adilabad, Bikaner, Pathanamthitta, Sirohi, Dholpur, Hoshangabad, Panipat, Gwalior, Lucknow, Kollam, Rajsamand, Ratlam,
Rate: (>32.79 cases per lakh population)	Dhubri, Nizamabad, North Tripura, West Godavari, Hailakandi, Pali, Goalpara, Bharatpur, Dhemaji, Karimnagar, Dibang Valley, Ajmer, Indore, Chhindwara,

The table above shows that some districts from Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging from 0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population. Districts from the states of Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh recorded decline in rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 7.84 to 16.15 cases per lakh population. Certain districts from Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Odisha and Madhya Pradesh continued to record similar rates of Violence Against Women as was recorded in 2001. Some districts from Kerala, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh registered rise in the rates of Violence Against Women ranging to from 24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population. A few districts from the states of Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh as well as Rajasthan recoded steep rise in the rates of Violence Against Women above 32.79 cases per lakh population.

The following section shows the changes in the rates of Violence Against Women in districts that had recoded rates ranging from 24.47 to 32.78 cases per lakh population in 2011 over 2001.

Change in the position of districts in terms of Violence Against Women

(Rate: 24.47 – 32.78) from 2001 to 2011

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population)	----
Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population)	Perambalur, Kinnaur, Ariyalur, Shajapur, Bilaspur, Lahaul Spiti,
Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population)	Jhajjar, Chhatarpur, Betul, Sihore, Siang East, Neemunch, Banswara, Panchkula, Hamirpur, Siang West, Mandla,
Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population)	Ujjain, Debagarh, Tonk, Kandhamal, Nellore, Raisen, Lakhimpur, Raisen, Koriya, Bhopal, Khammam, Narsinghpur, Damoh
Category 5 (Rate: >32.79 cases per lakh population)	Idukki, Hyderabad, Hanumannagar,

The table above shows that no district recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women to the range of 0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population in 2011 when compared to the rates recorded in 2001. Few districts from the states of Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women with rates ranging from 7.84 to 16.15. Some districts from Madhya Pradesh, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh showed slight decline in the rates of Violence Against Women ranging between 16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population. A few districts from Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha remained unchanged with rates ranging from 24.47 to 32.78 as was recorded in 2001. Very few districts from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra recorded increase in the rates of Violence Against Women of above 32.79 in 2011.

The following section shows the change in the rates of Violence Against Women in districts that had recorded the highest rates in 2001.

Change in the position of districts in terms of Violence Against Women

(Rate: >32.79) from 2001 to 2011

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population)	Guna, Kota,
Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population)	Srinagar, Vidisha, Faridabad, Dewas
Rate: (>32.79 cases per lakh population)	Ganganagar, Bhilwara, Sagar, Chittorgarh, Jhalawar, Bundi, Baran

The table above reveals that none of the districts that had recorded highest rates of Violence Against Women had shown decline to rates ranging between 0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population or 7.84 to 16.15 cases per lakh population. Two districts from Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging

from 16.16 to 24.46 cases per lakh population and few districts from Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women ranging between 24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population. Most of the districts from Rajasthan that recorded highest rates of Violence Against Women in 2001, continued to record similar high rates of above 32.79 cases per lakh population in 2011.

The change in the rates of Violence Against Women recorded in districts can be further analysed by finding out the percentage of districts in each category of rates of Violence Against Women in 2001 and 2011. The following table has been prepared to show the change

Table 4.6. Change in the Rates of Violence Against Women, 2001 – 2011

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011 (Percentage Share)				
	Rate: (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (>32.79 cases per lakh population)
Rate: (0.00 – 7.83 cases per lakh population)	54.5	35.1	6.1	2.4	1.8
Rate: (7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population)	10.6	51.6	26.7	8.5	2.5
Rate: (16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population)	5.2	26.3	35.7	17.9	14.7
Rate: (24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population)	0	39.5	25.6	27.9	6.9
Rate: (>32.79 cases per lakh population)	0	0	15.3	30.7	53.8

The table above shows that the districts that had reported rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 0.00 to 7.83 cases per lakh population in 2001, 54.5 percent of those districts continued to record similar rates in 2011. Of the districts that recorded Violence Against Women ranging from 7.84 to 16.16 cases, 10.6 percent of these districts recorded a decline in rates going down between 0.00 to 7.83 cases per lakh population, 51.6 per cent of the districts continued to record rates of Violence Against Women similar to 2001. 26.7 per cent of the districts recorded higher rates ranging from 16.16 to 24.46, 8.5 percent of the districts recorded rise in the rates ranging between 24.47 – 32.78 and 2.5 percent of the districts recorded rates of Violence Against Women above 32.79 cases per lakh population in 2011.

Of the districts that recorded moderate rates of Violence Against Women ranging between 16.16 to 24.46 cases per lakh population, 5.2 per cent of the districts recorded decline in Violence Against Women to rates ranging between 0.00 to 7.83, while 26.3 percent of the districts registered moderate decline and recorded rates between 7.84 – 16.15. 35.7 per cent of the districts recorded similar rates to Violence Against Women in 2011 as was recorded in 2001. 27.9 percent of the districts recorded moderate rise in the rates of Violence Against Women ranging between 24.47 to 32.78 cases per lakh population and 6.9 per cent of the district registered a steep rise in the rates and recorded rates above 32.79 in 2011. The districts that had recorded the highest rates of Violence Against Women of rates higher than

32.79 cases per lakh population in 2001, none of those districts showed any decline of rates of Violence Against Women below 16.15 cases per lakh population. 15.3 per cent of the districts recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women in ranging between 16.16 to 24.46 over lakh population. 30.7 percent of the districts registered decline in the rates of Violence Against Women in 2011 ranging between 24.47 to 32.78. The majority of the districts, i.e., 53.8 percent, continued to record the highest rates of Violence Against Women in 2011, at rates above 32.79 cases per lakh population.

The above analysis shows that the rates of Violence Against Women in districts during the period of 2001 to 2011, showed variation in the rates, but majority of of the districts continued to report similar rates of Violence Against Women after a decade.

In the following section, the rates of Total Crimes in districts is being studied to test whether regions of high rates of Violence Against Women are also regions where over all crime rates are high.

District Level Patterns of Total Crimes, 2001 and 2011.

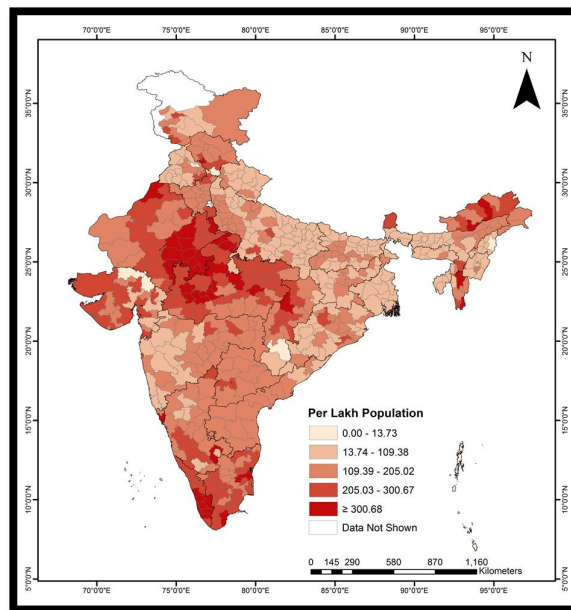
The incidences of Total Crimes experienced by the population of the districts and reported at Police stations across districts of India, have been mapped and analysed at ten year interval. The first set of the analysis discusses the crimes that took place in 2001, and the second decadal level data pertains to incidences of Domestic Violence in 2011.

District Level Patterns of Total Crimes, 2001

The spatial patterns of incidences of Total Crimes reported in 2001, at the district levels in India has been mapped below and analysed.

Map:4.10

Total Crimes, 2001



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Map 4.10 shows the distribution of the rates of all crimes at district level. From the map it may be clearly found out that the West Central region stands out as a region which recorded overall high rates of crimes. The region contiguous to this region of high rates of crimes also recorded moderately higher rates of crimes. Parts of the southern states, Kerala, coastal Tamil Nadu and southern Karnataka also recorded high rates of Total Crimes in 2001. High rates of crimes were also recorded in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura. (Appendix- IV.III)

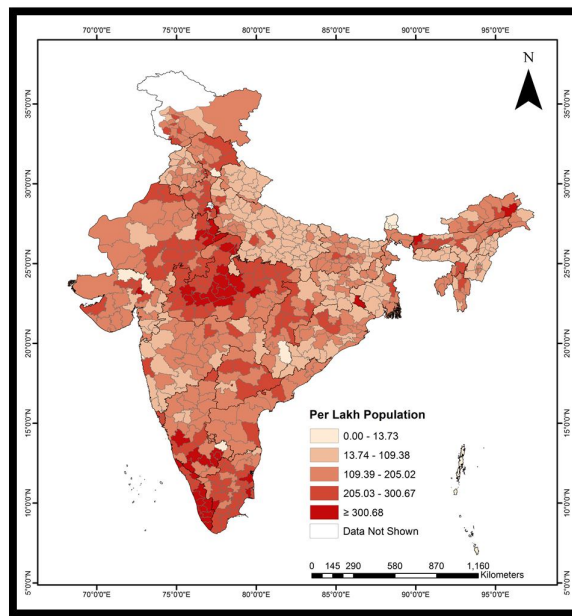
The section below shows the rates of total crimes recorded in all the districts of India.

District Level Patterns of Total Crimes, 2011

The spatial patterns of incidences of Total Crimes reported in 2011, at the district levels in India has been mapped and analysed in the following section

Map:4.11

Total Crimes, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 4.11 shows the spatial distribution of total crime rates in 2011. The regions which recorded high rates of crimes in 2001 had also recorded high rates of crimes in 2011. The west central zone continued to record the most number of incidences of crimes. Regions that showed similar trends were Kerala, coastal Tamil Nadu, parts of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura. (Appendix- IV.III)

The change in the pattern of crimes reported in the 2011 when compared with the reporting pattern in 2001, it may be observed that the districts that are contiguous to the districts that reported high rates of crimes in 2001, recorded higher rates of crimes in 2011. The contiguous districts could have experienced spill over effect of the criminal activities of the districts that had recorded very high rates of crimes in 2001.

To observe the change in the rates of crimes at the district level over the decade (2001 – 2011) the number of districts that recorded different rates of Total Crimes over the decade have been presented below.

Table 4.7. Number of districts according to the magnitude of Total Crimes in 2001 and 2011.

Years	Rate of Total Crimes					Total Districts
	Rate: (0.00-13.73 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (13.74-109.38 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (109.39-205.02 cases per lakh population)	Rate; (205.03-300.67 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (\geq 300.68 cases per lakh population)	
2001	17 (2.85)	210 (35)	208 (35)	120 (20)	41 (7)	596
2011	10 (1.6)	190 (30)	246 (40)	128 (20)	50 (7)	632

*Data was not available for 19 districts

The table above shows that in 2001, 3 percent of the districts recorded Total Crime rates ranging from 0.00 to 13.73 cases per lakh population, but in 2011. The share of these districts got reduced to 1.6 per cent. The percentage of districts that had recorded Total Crime rates ranging from 13.74 to 109.38 cases per lakh population in 2001 was 35 but the percentage declined to 30 in 2011. However, 35 per cent of the districts had recorded Total Crime Rates ranging from 109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population in 2001, but in 2011, the percentage of districts reporting similar rates rose to 40 per cent. The situation in the other categories remained unchanged though their numbers have increased marginally over the years.

In comparison to the decadal changes in the district level rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women from 2001 to 2011, where a considerable number of districts showed increase in the rates of the two categories of crimes over the decade. In the case of rates of Total Crimes, the district level rates have remained relatively stable over the decade, with definite rise in the rates, but the share of the districts that recorded higher rates had not gone up as significantly as it had in the case of Domestic Violence Rates and Violence Against Women rates in 2011.

To identify the districts that showed change in the rates of reporting total crimes, the decadal change in rates have been analysed in the following section. Colour codes have been used to facilitate the understanding the change in rates of Total Crimes over the decade from 2001 to 2011. Once again, red coloured districts indicate the rates have risen during the decade, green colour indicates a decrease in the rates and black when the rates of Total Crimes have remained unchanged.

Change in the position of the districts from 2001 to 2011

Total Crimes

Rates of Total Crimes Rates: 13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	----
Rate: (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Medinipur, Mon, Tamenglong, Ukhrul, Gurdaspur, Siddharthnagar, Zunheboto, Maharajganj, Ghazipur, Sant Kabirnagar, Sonbhadra, Phek, Bankura, Mathura, Mokokchung, Jaunpur, Ahmendebad, Khasi Hills West, Surat Rural, Kushi Nagar, Balrampur, Thane Rural, Almora, Champawat, Garo Hills West, Champawat, Churachabpur, Rudra Prayag, Bageshwar, Garo Hills East, Chitrakoot Dham, Azamgarh, Bahraich, Shrawasti, Tehri Garhwal, Garo Hills South, Muktsar, Chamoli, Hooghly, Pauri Garhwal, Dharwad, Gumla, Wokha, Varanasi, Ballia, Pune Rural, Purulia, Mansa, Ambedkarnagar, Ganjam, Gonda, Burdwan, aurangabad, Pithoragarh, Mau, Siwan, Chandel, Bijnor, Nowrangpur, Birbhum, Lalitpur, Kargil, Madhepura, Jaintia Hills, Basti, Firozpur, Saharsa, Pakur, Palamau, Kishanganj, Jammu, Mashubani, Solapur Rural, Raibareilly, Sultanpur, Hardoi, Sheohar, Deoria, Fatehpur, Sahebganj, Ratnagiri, Gajapati, Kabri Anglong, Rampur, Hoshiarpur, Nawadah, Pratapgarh, Moradabad, Kalahandi, Samastipur, Banka, Kolhapur, Sahanpur, Purnea, Barabanki, Uttarkashi, Nandurbar, Kannauj, Vadodhara Rural, Ri Bhoi, Sonapur, Ahwa Dang, Mahoba, Hamirpur, Auraiya, faridabad, Chhatra, gadag, Senapati, Sindudurg, Malkangiri, Nashik Rural, Dantewara, Mayurbhanj, Khiri, Badaun, Sundargarh, N C Hills, Kaushambi, Aurangabad, Araria, J P Nagar, Jhansi, Banda, Kohima, Supaul, Muzaffarnagar, Baramulla, jalaun, Fatehgarh, Giridih, Dahod, Mamit, Rayagada, Kapurthala, Srikakulam, Nayagarh,
Rate: (109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population)	Howrah, Murshidabad, Jalpaiguri, Paschimi Singhbhum, Uttar Dinajpur, Coochbehar, Bilaspur, Sangrur, Gorakhpur, Dumka, Raigarh, Dakshin Dinajpur, 24 Parganas North, Kendrapara, Garhwa, Faridkot, Khagaria, Panchmahal, Moga, Vishakkapatnam, Katihar, Darbhanga, 24 Parganas South, Baragarh, Sitamarhi, Karimganj, Bongaigan, Gaya, Morigaon, Bhatinda, West Tripura, Imphal East, Doda, Nuapada, Kanpur Dehat, Dhalai, Anantnag, Gopalganj, Lakhisarai, Bhadrak, Udhamsinghnagar, Jashpur, Jaipur, Jehanabad, Bolangir, Buldhana, Bagalkot, North Tripura, Darjeeling, Ahmednagar, Boudh,
Rate: (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Nadia, Kamrup, Darrang, Dhubri, Nalbari, Barpeta, Goalpara,
Rate: (>300.68 cases per lakh population)	Bangalore Rural, Kokrajhar,

The table above shows that the districts that recorded moderate rates of Total Crimes ranging from 13.73 to 109.38 in 2001, of those districts, some of the districts from West Bengal, Nagaland, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand recorded similar rates in 2011. Some districts from West Bengal, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Tripura, Rajasthan and Bihar recorded rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging between 109.39 to 205.02. A few districts from West Bengal and Assam recorded rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging from 205.03 to 300.67. One district each from Karnataka and Assam recorded rates of Total Crimes above 300.68 cases per lakh population.

The following section shows the changes in the rates of Total Crimes in districts that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging between 109.39 to 205.02 cases per lakh population in 2001.

Rates of Total Crimes Rates: 109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	
Rate: (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Bhagalpur, Khasi Hills East, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, Sitapur, Sangli, Nainital, Unnao, Jalandhar, Kupwara, Belgaum, Navsari, Bulandshahr, Tawang, Thiruvallur, Koraput, Nagpur Rural, Gadchiroli, Pulwama, Bareilly, Sarguja, Hathras, Nanded, Cuttack
Rate: (109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population)	Vizinagaram, Bhabhua, Jorhat, Deoghar, Saran, Hazaribagh, Baghpat, Ranchi, Ropar, Fatehgarh Sahib, Dhenkanal, Anantapur, Krishna, Jalgaon, Buxar, Balasore, Koppal, Leh, Prakasham, Dhemaji, Muzaffarpur, Cuddapah, Begusarai, Jagatsinghpur, Thoubal, Kurnool, Barmer, Firozabad, Bokaro, Budgam, Mainpuri, Pilibhit, Sonitpur, Haridwar, etah, Kaithal, Golaghat, Chamba, Yamunanagar, Tinsukhia, Satara, Trichy Rural, Keonjhar, Jind, Rohras, Lohit, Serchiip, Tirap, Changlang, Bishnupur, Kanker, Saem Rural, Bhojpur, Dhule, Vaishali, Kabirdham, Mathura, Etawah, Dhanbad, Koderma, Narmada, Mahboobnagar, Godda, medak, Dibrugarh, Raichur, Haveri, Dehradun, Dindori, Fatehabad, Gulbarga, Kolar, East Godavari, Bhiwani, Udhampur, Latur, Kameng West, Chamarnagar, Mahasamand, Malda, Kangra, Dimapur, Thiruvanamalai, Nalanda, Rajkot Rural, Chandrapur, Mahendragarh, Kandhamal, Ghaziabad, Debagarh, Amreli, Bijapur, Jalna, Janjgir, Bellary, Churu, Kanpur Nagar, Aligarh, Kathua, Puri, Chittoor, Sirsa, Dhamtari, Beed, Parbhani, Amravati, Sheikhpura, UpperSiang, Una, Dakshin Kannada, Agra, Adilabad, Subansiri Lower, Tumkur, Munger, Nagaour, Gondiya, Davanagere, Hingoli, Kullu, Jalore, Uttar Kannada, Yavatmal, Washim, Osmanabad, Seoni, Guntur, Nilgiris, Dungarpur, Poonch, Madurai Rural, Champhai, Sikar, Lunglei, Balaghat, Lakhimpur, Betul, Warangal, Mandi, Bhandara, Rajnandgaon, Jaisalmer, Barwani,
Rate: (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Raigarh, Nagaon, Godda, Medak, Dibrugarh, Rewari, Jharsaguda, West Godavari, Hailakandi, Harda, Nizamabad, Thanjavur, Nalgonda, Sibsagar, Sonipat, Meerut, Jhajjar, North Goa, Hissar, Kinnaur, Nellore, Karimnagar, Udipi, Lahaul – Spiti, Khammam, Karnal, Patna, Sidhi, Dharmapuri, Chitradurga, Rohtak, Panipat, Namakkal, Chhindwara, Kheda North, Patan,
Rate: (>300.68 cases per lakh population)	Chennai, Raisen, Gautam Buddha Nagar,

The table above shows that none of the districts that had recorded total crimes rates ranging between 109.39 to 205.02 cases in 2001, recorded decline in rates lower than 13.73 cases per lakh population. Most of the districts from the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Assam, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan continued to record similar rates after a decade. Some districts from Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, Odisha, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar recorded rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging from 205.03 to 300.67 cases per lakh population. Few districts from Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh showed a steeper rise in rates of Total Crimes that had recorded above 300.68.

The next section shows the changes in the rates of Total Crimes in districts that had recorded Total Crime Rates ranging between 205.03 to 300.67 cases per lakh population.

Districts that recorded Rates of Total Crimes Rates: 205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Hamirpur, Lawngtlai, Srohi, Ranga Reddy, Khurda,
Rate: (109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population)	Sheopur, Surendranagar, Coimbatore, Jhunjhunu, Bikaner, Anand, Valsad, Korba, Thiruvanamalai, Bhavnagar, Junagarh, Ambala, Kutch, Mandla, Kanchipuram, Bharuch, Vellore, Kameng East, Solan, Imphal West, Banswara, Subansiri Upper, Porbandar, Shahdol, Bidar, Patiala, Umraiya, Rajsamand,
Rate: (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Raipur, Jamnagar, Rajouri, Kurukshetra, Katni, Malappuram, Jammu, Panna, Khandwa, Pudukottai, Mandasaur, Rewa, Ariyalur, Durg, Sambalpur, Jodhpur Rural, Kannur, Jhabua, Narsinghpur, THirunelveli Rural, Srinagar, Panchkula, Kanyakumari, Chikmanglur, Cachar, Chhatarpur, Villupuram, Lucknow, Akola, Karur, alwar, Dindigul, Raigarh, Udaipur, Satna, Tikamgarh, Erode, Virudhunagar, Khargaon, Hanumangarh, Bhind, Damoh, Sivagangai, Pali, Ramanathapuram, Sawai Madhopur, Nagapattinam, Koriya, Siang East, Shajapur, Faridabad, Kozhikode Rural, Mehsana, Wardha, Neemuch, Dhar, Shivpuri, Ajmer, Jhalawar,
Rate: (>300.68 cases per lakh population)	Gurgaon, Theni, Hassan, Kasargod, Shimoga, Thiruvarur, Karauli, Dibang Valley, Palakkad, Gandhinagar, Mandya, Hoshangabad, Kodagu, Wayanadu, Dausa, Dholpur, Vidisha, Datiya,

The table above shows that a few districts from Himachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha recorded sharp decline in the rates of Total Crime rates in 2011 to rates ranging from 13.74 to 109.38 cases per lakh population. Districts from the states of Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Karnataka, Arunachal Pradesh and Gujarat recorded decline to rates ranging between: 205.03 to 300.67. Districts from Chhatisgarh, Haryana, Kerala, Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh continued to record similar rates of Total Crimes ranging between, 205.03 to 300.67 cases as was recorded in 2001. Few districts from Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh recorded rise in the rates of Total Crimes above 300.68 cases.

In the following section, the change in the rates of crimes in the districts that had recorded the highest rates of Total Crimes of above 300.68 cases per lakh population in 2001 has been presented.

Rates of Total Crimes Rates: >300.68 cases per lakh population in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes	Districts
Rate: (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	
Rate: (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Bangalore Rural, Kota Rural,
Rate: (109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population)	Siang West, Kolasib, Saiha,
Rate: (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Ganganagar, South Goa, Bilaspur, Sihore, Thoothukudi, Bhilwara, Tonk, Guna, Aizawl, Papum Pare, Chittorgarh, Baran, Bundi, Perambalur, Morena,
Rate: (>300.68 cases per lakh population)	Hyderabad City, Kollam, Thissur, Pathanamthitta, Cuddalore, Alappuzha, Bharatpur, Kottayam, Jabalpur, Dewas, Idukki, Ujjain, Gwalior, Ernakulam Rural, Indore, Bhopal,

The table above reveals that of the districts that had recorded Total Crime rates of above 300.68 2001, no districts showed decline in the rates lower than 13.73. Two districts from Karnataka and Rajasthan respectively, recorded decline in the Total Crime Rates ranging between 13.74 to 109.38. A few districts from Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram recorded decline in the rates to Total Crimes to 109.39 to 205.02. Districts from Rajasthan, Goa, Tamil Nadu and Mizoram also recorded moderate decline of rates ranging from 205.03 to 300.67 cases per lakh population. Finally some of the districts from Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh continued to record rates of Total Crimes above 300.68 in 2001.

The change in the rates of Total Crimes recorded in districts can be further analysed by finding out the percentage of districts in that features in each set of rates of Total Crimes in 2001 and 2011. The following table has been prepared to show the change.

Table 4.8. Change in the Rates of Total Crimes in Districts of India , 2001 and 2011

Rates of Total Crimes in 2001	Rates of Total Crimes in 2011 (Percentage Share)				
	Rate: (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (>300.68 cases per lakh population)
Rate: (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	0	0	0	0	0
Rate: (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	0	62	21.8	3.1	1.3
Rate: (109.39 – 205.02 cases per lakh population)	0	11.3	69.9	17.3	1.4
Rate: (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	0	4.5	25.5	53.6	16.3
Rate: (>300.68 cases per lakh population)	0	8.1	8.1	40.5	43.2

The table above shows that districts that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging between 13.74 to 109.38 cases per lakh population in 2001, 62 per cent of those districts continued to record similar rates of crimes in 2011 too and 21.8 per cent of those districts recorded slightly

higher rates of Total Crimes ranging from 109.39 to 205.02 and 3.1 per cent of those districts recorded higher rates ranging between 205.03 to 300.67 while 1.3 percent of the districts recorded a rise in the rates of Total Crimes above 300.68. Of the districts that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging between 109.39 to 205.02 cases per lakh population in 2001, 11.3 percent of the districts recorded decline in the rates of total crimes to 13.74 to 109.38 whereas majority of the districts (69.9 percent) recorded similar rates of Total Crimes as was recorded in 2001. 17.3 percent of the districts recorded rise to rates of Total Crimes ranging between 205.03 to 300.67 while only 1.4 percent of the districts recorded rise in rates of Total Crimes above 300.68.

Of the districts that that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging between 205.03 to 300.67 cases per lakh population in 2011, 53.6 percent of those districts recorded similar rates in 2011. 4.5 percent of the districts recorded decline to rates of Total Crimes ranging from 13.74 to 109.38 cases per lakh population in 2011, and 25.5 per cent of the districts recorded a lesser decline to 109.39 to 205.02 population in 2011. 16.3 percent of those districts recorded higher rates of Total Crimes in 2011, of above 300.68 cases. Finally the districts that had recorded the highest rates of Total Crimes of above 300.68 cases per lakh population, in 2001, majority of those districts (43.2 percent) of the districts continued to report similar rates in 2011, yet, almost equal number of districts (40.5 percent) recorded decline in the rates of Total Crimes ranging between 205.03 to 300.67 cases per lakh population. Further decline in rates of Total Crimes was also observed in 8.1 percent of the districts in each of the rate categories of 13.74 to 109.38 cases per lakh population and 109.39 to 205.02 cases.

Analysing the change in the reported rates of Total Crimes from 2001 to 2011, reveals that despite there appears alterations in the rates of reported crimes in the level of the districts. Majority of the districts continued to report similar crime rates in 2011 as was reported in 2001. In the case of decadal changes in the rates of Domestic Violence, and Violence Against Women, a miniscule percentage of districts recorded decline in the rates of the above mentioned crimes, but in the case of rates of Total Crimes, a substantial number of districts have recorded decline in the rates of crimes. It can be inferred from this observation, that there has been a rise in the rates of crimes against women from 2001 to 2011. This also means that other types of crimes like crimes against property, crimes against the State, economic crimes would have recorded decline for districts to record decline in Total Crimes during that period.

The regions of high rates of reporting can be further analysed to understand whether regions play any role in reporting Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women.

The following section attempts to establish linkages between regions of high rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women with regions of overall high rates of crimes.

Role of Regional Genderscapes:

The existence of Regional Genderscapes in the context of India has been introduced in Chapter 2. In this section the rates of crimes against women in the form of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women would be read in the light of the regional genderscape within which the rates have been recorded.

In the previous section of this chapter, the NFHS records for physical violence, emotional violence and sexual violence was related to the regional genderscapes paradigm. The data collected by NCRB too can be related to the Genderscapes that influence women's public and private lives in the country. The data at the level of districts reveal that within states very sharp variation of rates have been reported when crime data is studied at a disintegrated level. This points to the fact that the regional genderscapes of may influence the patterns of crimes against women and help in explaining the phenomenon, but at the level of districts the theory genderscapes remains elusive in explaining inter-state variations of crime statistics.

Since, the Genderscapes as a theoretical foil cannot be fitted into the district level patterns of crimes against women, the following section attempts to establish link between crimes against women and the subculture of violence of a region revealed through overall crime rates of a region.

Linkages between Domestic Violence and Regional Subculture of Violence.

The district level spatial patterns of the crime rates that occur have numerous etiological parameters that result in reporting and documentation of the crimes. In this section, an attempt is being made to look for explanation of the spatial pattern of the crimes by trying to fit it into the existing theories of the North- Central subculture of Violence propounded by scholars¹⁸.

The table below shows the average values, standard deviation from mean and the proportion of the three categories of crime that are being analysed in this study, namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes over two points of time.

Rates of Crimes, 2001						
Rates of Crimes (per lakh population)	Number of Districts	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard. Deviation	Ratio
Domestic Violence	596	0.08	21.14	3.67	3.52	1.0
Violence Against Women	596	0.09	49.43	11.88	8.30	3.33
Total Crimes	596	12.61	742.69	154.99	95.31	41.96

¹⁸ See Wolfgang E and Feracutti F (1967) *The Subculture of Violence*. Social Science Paperback, Londn. pp. 95-163; and Dutt AK et al (1998) 'Large Cities and Crime Pattern Changes in India' *National geographical Journal of India*. pp. 73-93.

The preceding table shows the mean values of the three categories of crimes, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes recorded in 2001. The average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded at 3.67 cases per lakh population at the districts and the rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes were recorded as 8.30 and 95.31. The magnitude of the incidences of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes recorded in districts were 3.33 times and 41.96 times respectively when compared to the occurrence of Domestic Violence. To establish a stronger link with occurrence of Domestic Violence and occurrence of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes at the districts in 2001, correlation coefficient was worked out and presented below.

The correlation of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women for the year 2001.

Variables	Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
Domestic Violence	1	.716**
Violence Against Women	.716**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The correlation of Violence Against Women with Total Crimes, for the year 2001

Variables	Violence Against Women	Total Crimes
Violence Against Women	1	.681**
Total Crimes	.681**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The tables above show that during 2001, Domestic Violence rates exhibit a very strong positive correlation (0.716) with reporting of Violence Against Women at the district levels. The relationship of Violence Against Women to Total Crimes also shows a strong positive correlation of 0.681. The analysis suggests that higher rates of Domestic Violence are reported in areas with higher rates of Violence Against Women. This means that where women are vulnerable to violence in public spaces, women experience higher rates of violence in private spaces too. The analysis also shows that women are more vulnerable to violence in regions where the overall rates of violence is high as is revealed through the rates of Total Crimes in a spatial unit.

To following section throws light on the relationship of Domestic Violence with Violence Against Women and Total Crimes at the levels of districts in 2011.

Rates of Crimes, 2011						
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Districts	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Ratio
Domestic Violence	632	0.1	40.88	5.99	6.661	1.0
Violence Against Women	632	0.93	95.78	15.91	12.092	2.66
Total Crimes	632	15.58	985.85	163.95	108.940	27.37

The preceding table shows the mean values of the three categories of crimes, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes recorded in 2011. The average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded at 5.99 cases per lakh population at the districts and the rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes were recorded as 15.91 and 163.95 cases per lakh population respectively. The magnitude of the incidences of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes recorded in districts were 2.66 times and 27.37 times respectively when compared to the occurrence of Domestic Violence.

The average rates in 2011 indicate an overall increase in the rates of crime reporting in all these categories of crimes (Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes) selected for the study from the rates that were recorded in 2001. The analysis also reveals the process of expanding space of Domestic Violence in the crime records at the district levels during the decade beginning from 2001 and ending in 2011. The reason for increased reporting of cases of Domestic Violence could be a result of the enactment of Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act in 2005, which garnered awareness among women about Domestic Violence and also deployment of protection officers offered accessibility of the law to women in distress.

To establish a stronger link with occurrence of Domestic Violence and occurrence of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes at the districts in 2011, correlation coefficient was worked out and presented below.

The correlation of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women for the year 2011.

Variables	Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
Domestic Violence	1	.776**
Violence Against Women	.776**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The correlation of Violence Against Women with Total Crimes, for the year 2011

Variables	Violence Against Women	Total Crimes
Violence Against Women	1	.617**
Total Crimes	.617**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The tables above show that during 2011, Domestic Violence rates exhibit a strong positive correlation (0.776) with reporting of Violence Against Women at the district levels. The relationship has become stronger than it was in 2001. The relationship of Violence Against Women to Total Crimes also shows a strong positive correlation of 0.617 and the relationship has slightly weakened from 0.681 in 2001. The decline in the value has only statistical value. The degree of confidence remains unchanged i.e., 99.9 per cent at both times.

Since the analysis shows strong positive correlation between reporting of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women in 2001 and 2011; it may be deciphered that in regions of high rates of Violence Against Women, Domestic Violence is also widely prevalent.

The correlation between rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes also show strong positive correlation in both the time periods chosen for the study; 2001 and 2011. It may be concluded that areas with high rates of crimes are also areas where women are prone to violent assaults. An overall climate of high rates of violence in any region make women more vulnerable to criminal assaults both in private and public spaces.

The occurrence of crimes alone may not be the reason for higher reporting of crimes. The support of the state and the third sector make the path of accessing justice from crimes, especially for women victims easy. The following section attempts to link the support measures offered by the State to enable women to access justice.

Situating Budgeting for Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act within the “Unruly” categories of Redistribution versus Recognition debate.

The budgeting for Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA) 2005, is an important issue which requires a critical analysis through the lens of Redistribution and Recognition debate¹⁹. Analysing the functioning of this act with the help of Redistribution and Recognition model is pertinent since this act was an outcome of two and a half decades²⁰ of struggle of the Women’s Movement. It is the women’s movement that worked towards visibilising the existence of Domestic Violence within the private sphere of social life. It has been documented in Chapter 1, the way Women’s Movement in India was built against gendered violence which ultimately resulted in law reform, particularly in the realm of criminal laws. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, marks a paradigm shift by putting in place a civil law geared towards the provision of reliefs and compensation instead of being directed at penalizing the perpetrators. This is not to say that criminal laws are not required to address the problem of Domestic Violence, as the deterrent effect of the criminal law, cannot be overemphasized. This is the reason why Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code²¹ has been retained and the new law provides options of a civil nature. What this law attempts is to equalise skewed power relations within the home by first providing a violence free space to negotiate from²².

¹⁹ The debate on Redistribution and Recognition has been discussed in Chapter 2.

²⁰ The lawyers Collective began the campaign for PWDVA 2005 in the mid 90s. (See Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion)

²¹ **Section 498 A of the India Penal Code** states “Husband or the relative of husband of a women subjecting her to cruelty- Whoever, being the husband or the relative of the husband of a women, subject such woman to cruelty shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine.

²² LCRWI (2007) *Report on Functioning of PWDVA 2005*. Lawyers Collective, New Delhi, pp 3 – 10.

Given the nature of violence experienced by women in a domestic relationship; which is usually of repetitive nature, the abuser often achieves his aim of getting rid of his liabilities by driving the woman to such a point, that she would agree to walk out of the house in destitution and desperation, giving up all claims only to be free from violence²³.

Jhamb (2011) exposes the fact that even after five years of the introduction of the PWDVA, the Central Government had not allocated funds for the implementation of the Act, and passed the responsibility of making the Act functional to the shoulders of the State Governments²⁴. The way the Central Government absolves itself from budgetary allocations, raises serious questions about gender budgeting for the provision of this Act. The Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability, New Delhi filed applications under the RTI Act, to analyse the overall expenditures made by the states towards making provisions of PWDVA²⁵. The various provisions under the PWDVA Act require funds for appointing Protection Officers, who are the strongest link in the chain of service providers who should be made available for women in distress to approach them. The denser the network of Protection Officers available in a region, there would be greater chance for interception of the cases of Domestic Violence by them. Thereby, more and more women could be benefitted by the legal provisions guaranteed by PWDVA, 2005.

Patel (2012) writes that the UN General Assembly Special Session on Women held in 2000, called upon all nations to prepare Gender Budgeting Statements (GBS) to introduce gender perspective into macro economic and social development policies²⁶. Patel (2018) analyses Union Budgets from 2001 to 2010, but finds no mention of separate allocation for PWDVA. Same is the case in her analysis of Union Budget 2018-19²⁷.

Jhamb (2011) further documents that there was no consistency in the appointment of Protection Officers (POs) between the years 2008-09 to 2009-10.

Of the 28 states, only 15 states listed in the table above provided separate allocations for the Act. These states are: Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab, Haryana, Tamil Nadu, Arunachal Pradesh, Delhi, Orissa, Manipur, Meghalaya, Sikkim and West Bengal. However,

²³ Ibid. Pp 5-10.

²⁴ Jhamb B (2011) The Missing Link in the Domestic Violence Act. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol XLVI No 33, 45-50.

²⁵ Ibid. pp 45-50.

²⁶ Patel V (2012) Gender Audits to Budget in India (2001-2 to 2009-10) In Kalpagam U Eds. *Women in India: Contemporary Concerns*. Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi. Pp 79 – 107.

²⁷ Patel V (2018) Union Budget 2018-19, *Janata*, Vol 73, No 12. Pp 18 - 20.

there are wide variations in outlays. A comparison of the total allocations made by the states would not provide a true picture because there are no benchmarks set by the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) for providing allocations for the under the various provisions of the Act. The allocations should have ideally been made on the basis of the size of population, which would have enabled the possibility of documenting the ratio of Protection Officers to the adult female population of any region.

Since the states were given a free hand to allocate funds for PWDVA, in 2005; the state governments did not follow uniformity in implementation. A cursory look at the range of allocations (2008-09 Budgetary Estimates) speaks for itself²⁸. The examples from two states are being presented below.

Madhya Pradesh with a very large number of districts (50 districts) allocated a little more than Rs. 2 Crores while Karnataka with less than 23 districts made an allocation of Rs. 1 crore showing lack of parity among state level allotment of funds.

A closer look at the provisions of PWDVA, 2005; clearly show why funds are required for the act to reach out to the women citizens. The Act gives foremost importance to appointment of Protection Officers. The need to set up, offer Medical facilities and Shelter Homes is integral to the act. Funds are also required for awareness generation about the Act and also for multi agency response and the Judiciary.

Jhamb (2011) reports that in most of the states, the Directors of District Women and Child Development Agency, Deputy Directors, Child Development Project Officers under the ICDS, Sub Divisional Magistrates, Tehsildars and Extension Officers have been assigned additional duties of Protection Officers, for which they are expected to play their role of Protection Officers beyond their regular duties. The states of Delhi, Haryana, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal had appointed protection officers on a full time basis whereas Sikkim and Rajasthan had neither appointed Protection Officers nor provided any support staff to the officials who have been assigned additional duties of Protection Officers.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that even though, the struggle in the form of recognition of gender based violence, by the women's groups helped in enactment of the

²⁸ LCRWI (2009) *Third Monitoring and Evaluation Report on PWDVA 2005*. Lawyers Collective, New Delhi. pp 48.

²⁸ Ibid. Pp 5-10.

PWDVA, yet the implementation of it in the right manner cannot take place unless there is Central Budgetary Allocation to the states are made and it is to ensure that there is parity in the expenditures incurred by the states. It is extremely important to map the implementation of the Act, at the ground level and examine whether infrastructure and proper implementation of the Act was adequately in place for securing women's rights of violence free homes. A cadre of full time Protection Officers with requisite qualification and gender perspective along with institutional status and infrastructure should be appointed and states should conduct regular and systematic assessment with regards to the type of support along with adopting comprehensive system for monitoring, for fixing accountability, Protection Officers should be asked for mandatory reporting to all stakeholders; and the training of the Protection Officers should be institutionalised.

Since there has always been a resource crunch for women's issues, women's groups act as lobby groups and should take up the issue of accountability. The issue of the politics of underutilisation of funds should also be taken up by the women's groups since the government has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and are committed to provide the funds for smooth operation of the Act²⁹. The experience of PWDVA and its implementation, stresses the need for looking at the question of social justice through the processes of recognition alone may not be able to bring about equality, a combination of both recognition as well as redistribution might have a better solution to address the issues of inequality.

Fraser's agreement with the fact that the problem of injustice facing the world today is that the majority of the world's population, having been unlucky enough to be born on the wrong side of the tracks,³⁰ or the wrong side of the border, are denied recognition and the basic goods sufficient to live. Hence issues of justice may best be investigated not only by class and gender but also by geography to address such injustices in spatial contexts.

To document the progress of the PWDVA, 2005, The Lawyers Collective (Women's Rights Initiative) has been publishing Monitoring and Evaluation Reports of the functioning of the PWDVA2005 since 2017. The latest is the 6th Edition published in 2013. Staying Alive

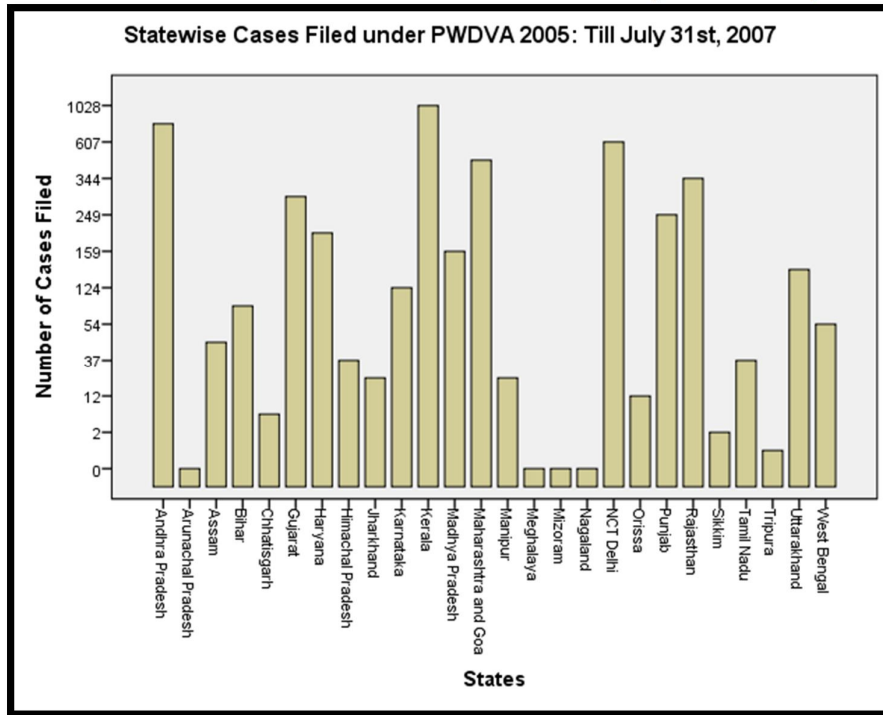
²⁹ The Ratification of CEDAW has been discussed in details in Chapter 1.

³⁰ Blunden(2004) Review of Nancy Fraser on Recognition and Redistribution Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange. Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth. Verso 2003 . pp 1 – 11. Retrieved from [http:// mira.net/~andy/works/fraser-review.htm](http://mira.net/~andy/works/fraser-review.htm)

Record showcases the performances of States in implementation of the Act, and also publishes the best practices adopted by the states in implementing the Act.

The use and application of the law (PWDVA 2005) is being presented in the form of two graphs for states from where the list of cases filed were collected.

Fig: 4.2.
State-wise Cases Filed under PWDVA2005, since inception till July 31st, 2017.



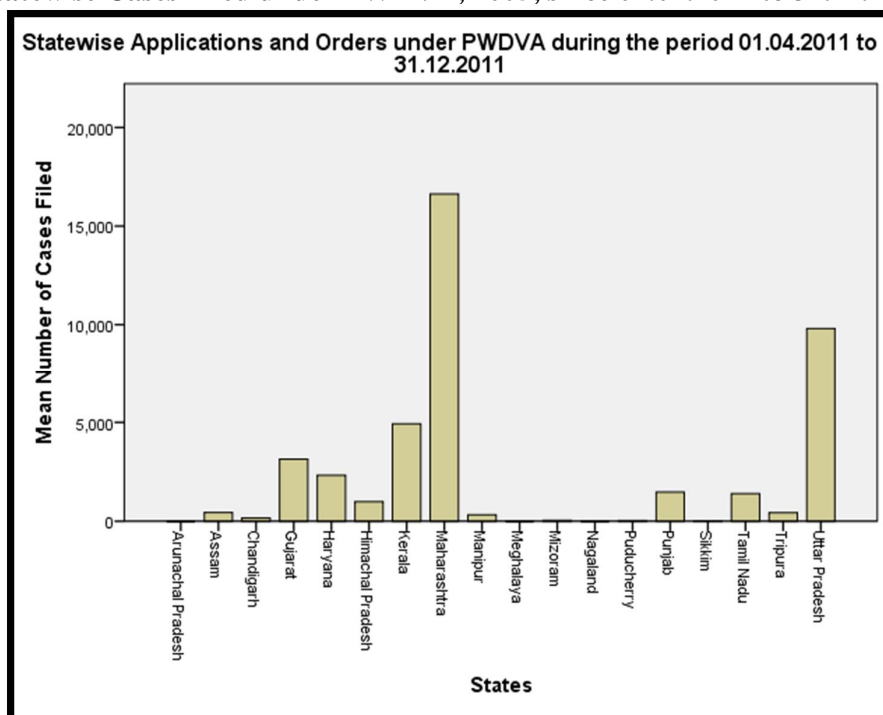
(Source: 1st Monitoring Report on Functioning of PWDVA, 2005, LCWRI.)

Figure 4.2 shows that in the initial stages of the implementation of the PWDVA, 2005, most number of cases were filed from the states of Kerala, Maharashtra, Goa, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh. These states also reported high rates of Domestic Violence as recorded by National Crime Records Bureau too.

The next figure (Fig: 4.3) shows complaints filed under PWDVA 2005 during 2011.

Fig:4.3.

Statewise Cases Filed under PWDVA, 2005, since 01.04.2011 to 31.12.2011.



(Source: 6th Monitoring Report on Functioning of PWDVA, 2005, LCWRI.)

The figure above shows that Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh recorded steep rise in the complaints made under the PWDVA, 2005. The number of cases filed under the PWDVA 2005, went up from a mere highest of 1100 cases to more than 15,000 cases within 4 to years period. The rise in the rates of complaints is not only an indicator of the prevalence of Domestic Violence, but also indicated that the new Act has made access to justice from the Legal institutions has become a preferred mode of intervention for women experiencing Domestic Violence.

This change is a product of the innovative ways in which the knowledge about the law has been disseminated to women. The Staying Alive reports document the Best Practices for generating awareness about reporting of Domestic Violence. Different states adopt different methods which make it incomparable, so a few of the 'Best Practices' are being mentioned which played an important role in increase in the cases of reporting.

The Protection Officers (POs) should be appointed on full time basis; the state should provide infrastructure to POs and they should as far as possible have proficiency in comprehending sensitive social issues. The number of POs should be adequate to cater to the population of the state. They should be gender sensitised and know how to maintain records. POs should fill DIRs in all cases even if they dont go to the courts. The POs must undertake socio-legal counseling courses and must attempt reconciliation where women approach them with such desires. For the Police force involved in the implementation of PWDVA 2005; the report suggests that the Police should inform women about the existence of the PWDVA, they must counsel women, serve notices and enforce orders, record DIRs as mandated by the law, identify cases of Domestic Violence and document those separately along with the medical history of the victim. They should avoid bias and provide emergency care.

Many states have advertised about the '1091' toll free women's helpline on public transport and radio jingles on short stay homes. Mobile numbers and contact details of Protection Officers were also advertised on public transport.

The most significant innovative action taken for raising awareness about Domestic Violence is 'Bell Bajao' – Ring the Bell Campaign. The electronic media was used for disseminating the idea by Breakthrough India since 2008. The campaign urged citizens to ring the doorbell of any household where they could sense any form of Violence Against Women took place behind closed doors. This would make the abuser realise that the community is watching his acts of violence. Through this campaign it was attempted to make men powerful partners against Domestic Violence. The implementation of the provisions of the act through activism does have the potential of being evolved as a 'counter hegemonic block' that would have the potential bring changes in the structures that disempower women.

Concluding Remarks:

The chapter attempts to explore the spatial patterns of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes at the levels of districts and states in India over two time periods, namely, 2001 and 2011. The data for the crime records have been taken from National Crime Records Bureau, Government of India and the National Health and Family Survey reports.

The two time periods, 2001 and 2011 were times before and after the implementation of PWDVA, 2005 which elucidates the rising importance of Domestic Violence as a category of crime taken into cognizance by the Indian Penal Code.

The study also explores the National Health and Family Survey reports to collate the responses of women at the state level on their experiences of three types of domestic abuse, namely, emotional violence, sexual violence and physical violence.

Since criminal behaviour cannot be studied simplistically at the level of an individual alone, the role of physical and cultural spaces in the form of regional genderscapes was used as foils to compare the crime rates among districts. Regions of weaker forms of patriarchy did register lesser assault on women when compared to assaults experienced in regions of stronger patriarchy.

This analysis was followed by a more disintegrated study of the reporting of crimes at the district level. All three categories of crimes namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes were mapped for the two time periods, 2001 and 2011. The maps explored the spatial concentration of the crimes. Following the mapping of the crimes, all three categories of crimes were grouped into classes and the share of the districts in each range were compared over the decadal period to note the trends of reporting of each of the crime categories from 2001 to 2011.

Further to this analysis the change in the rates of crimes in the districts over the decade was also classified into districts which recorded decline in the rates of crimes, districts where the rates of crimes remained unchanged and districts where the rates of crimes rose over the decade.

The next section of the chapter attempted to establish links between and among the three categories of crimes chosen for the study, namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes to identify areas where a subculture of violence may exist and whether such a subculture makes women's lives more vulnerable to violence both at private and public spaces.

In the chapter, crime patterns at the district levels, brings up questions about whether districts are the suitable spatial units to be chosen for analysing crime rates vis a vis crime rates of states; since its important to remember that districts were administrative divisions created by the British for ease of control over native population.

The aspects of homogeneity that make up a region were overlooked and ignored by giving primacy to aspects of ease of governance in delineation of district boundaries.

This study is also a pointer in the direction that though the district level data may offer disintegrated values for in depth research, yet it fails to offer the results that a region with physical or cultural attributes may reveal. On the other hand, districts get marked as hostile or unsafe generating 'fearscapes' over space. The role of the colonial panopticon continues to serve its purpose to the modern governments too, by organising crime data at district levels which continue to be administrative units.

The final part of the chapter elucidates how the politics of recognition did help in bringing about new law on Domestic Violence and why politics of redistribution is the need of the times for gender-just schemes to operate on a wider spatial scale.

The next chapter attempts to analyse urban crimes by locating urban centres in their physical, cultural, historical and functional niche to offer meaning to regions that exhibit peculiar social pathologies of the nature of crimes against women.

Chapter 5

Crimes Against Women in Urban India

Cities are neither organisms nor machines. They are flesh and stone intertwined. They are 'built thought'. They are the containers of dreams and desires, hopes and fears. They are an assemblage of active historical agents making daily choices of how to live well. They are assemblages of communities: communities of interest as well as communities of place.¹

An approach to the analysis of regional patterns of crime is one that provides a higher level of geographical resolution. The study of inter-metropolitan crime rates helps researchers to achieve the desired geographical regulation². Cities have dominated the crime patterns in India for half a century. When urban crime patterns are aggregated by city size, the set of largest cities have the highest crime rates, the second largest has the second highest crime, and so on down the set of smallest cities, which show the lowest crime rates³.

The aggregate pattern can however be misleading. When crime rates of individual cities and metropolitan areas are examined without being combined, a different clustering of cities with similar crime rates emerge. Some of these clusters are geographic, some are keyed to population size and some are linked to economic conditions and processes⁴.

Inter-city or inter-metropolitan analysis of crime rates comes much closer to the real criminal event than other levels of resolutions – such as macro regional patterns and such analysis begin to provide pattern information that can be used by crime control planners.

The population of all towns of India is increasing as a part of the total phenomenon of the growing urbanization, but this growth is not identical to that of industrial cities of the West. Although the number of factors related to industrialization, trade and commerce, political power and the pull and the push, factors operating in the rural hinterland have contributed to their present status. While examining the trend of crimes in cities, it is,

¹ Sandercock L (2012) Practicing Utopia: Sustaining Cities. *disP: The Planning Review*, Vol 38, Issue 148. pp 4-9.

² Brantingham, Paul and Patricia,(1984) *Patterns of Crime*, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York. pp 279.

³ Ibid, pp 280.

⁴ Dutt A K et al (1998) Large Cities Crime Patterns Changes in India: 1971 – 1991. *National Geographical Journal of India*, pp 73 -90

therefore, necessary to view them in their specific ecological settings, since cities with distinct cultural traditions and occupational leanings reflect divergent attitudinal responses as there is a limit to the modifications people can make to the city's structure and cultural characteristics.

The 63 towns selected for the present study during the years 2000, 2001 and 2002, and 77 towns selected for the study during 2010, 2011 and 2012⁵; require to be classified according to their inherent characteristics. A classification becomes necessary for comprehending the true character of the cities. The list of the cities that have been selected for analysis of urban crime patterns for the two time periods is being presented below.

⁵ The process of the selection of the cities have been discussed in details in Chapter 3

Table: 5.1. List of Cities selected for the Study of Urban Crimes Patterns, 2001

Sl. No	City	Sl. No	City
1	Hyderabad	33	Solapur
2	Vijaywada	34	Thane
3	Vishakapatnam	35	Amritsar
4	Guwahati	36	Jalandhar
5	Patna	37	Ludhiana
6	Durg	38	Ajmer
7	Raipur	39	Bharatpur
8	Ahmedabad	40	Bikaner
9	Bhavnagar	41	Jaipur
10	Rajkot	42	Jodhpur
11	Surat	43	Kota
12	Vadodhara	44	Udaipur
13	Faridabad	45	Chennai
14	Bangalore	46	Coimbatore
15	Belgaum	47	Madurai
16	Gulbarga	48	Salem
17	Hubli Dharwad	49	Tirunelveli
18	Mysore	50	Trichy
19	Kochi	51	Agra
20	Kozhikode	52	Aligarh
21	Trivandrum City	53	Allahabad
22	Bhopal	54	Bareilly
23	Gwalior	55	Gorakhpur
24	Indore	56	Kanpur
25	Jabalpur	57	Lucknow
26	Aurangabad	58	Meerut
27	Amravati	59	Moradabad
28	Mumbai	60	Varanasi
29	Nagpur	61	Asansol
30	Nashik	62	Kolkata
31	Navi Mumbai	63	Delhi
32	Pune		

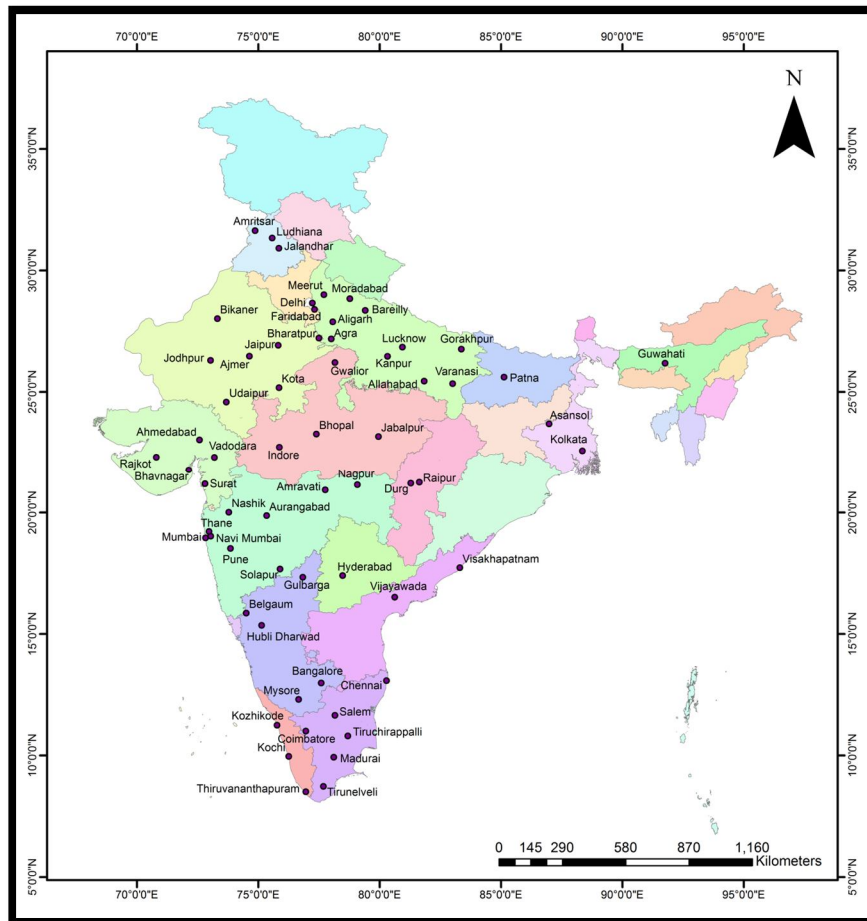
Table: 5.2. List of Cities selected for the Study of Urban Crimes Patterns, 2011

Sl. No	City	Sl. No	City
1	Guntur	41	Mumbai
2	Hyderabad	42	Nagpur
3	Rajamundhry	43	Nasik
4	Tirupathi	44	Navi Mumbai
5	Vijaywada	45	Pune
6	Vishakapatnam	46	Solapur
7	Warangal	47	Thane
8	Guwahati	48	Amritsar
9	Patna	49	Jalandhar
10	Durg	50	Ludhiana
11	Raipur	51	Ajmer
12	Ahmedabad	52	Bharatpur
13	Bhavnagar	53	Bikaner
14	Rajkot	54	Jaipur
15	Surat	55	Jodhpur
16	Vadodhara	56	Kota
17	Faridabad	57	Udaipur
18	Srinagar	58	Chennai
19	Dhanbad	59	Coimbatore
20	Jamshedpur	60	Madurai
21	Ranchi	61	Salem
22	Bengaluru	62	Tirunelveli
23	Belgaum	63	Trichy
24	Gulbarga	64	Agra
25	Hubli Dharwad	65	Aligarh
26	Mangalore	66	Allahabad
27	Mysore	67	Bareilly
28	Kochi	68	Ghaziabad
29	Kozhikode	69	Gorakhpur
30	Kollam	70	Kanpur
31	Malppuram	71	Lucknow
32	Thrissur	72	Meerut
33	TVPM City	73	Moradabad
34	Bhopal	74	Varanasi
35	Gwalior	75	Asansol
36	Indore	76	Kolkata
37	Jabalpur	77	Delhi
38	Ujjain		
39	Aurangabad		
40	Amravati		

The comprehensive list of cities are distributed geographically across the length and breadth of the country which may be seen in the location of the cities within the state boundaries carved on the maps of the country for the two selected time periods depicted in map 5.1 and Map 5.2

Map: 5.1

Cities selected for the Study of Urban Crimes Patterns, 2001



Cities in India have seen much change since Kautilya's age. The social, cultural and economic characteristics of these cities have changed greatly since those times. As mentioned before, cities of India have a history of 2500 years and in the course of time they have been transformed by distinct cultural influences.

To undertake a genealogical study of the cities of India requires a multi faceted approach, since there is no one way of locating a city historically. In this study five distinct approaches have been considered to locate the city in its historico-socio-economic-geographic -cultural milieu.

1. Cities as a Historical Text

In this section of the chapter, in the context of the historical backgrounds of the cities of India, it has been attempted to ascertain whether the historical processes that operated on the towns have any bearing on the crime pattern of the cities. Whether cities that originated at the same period have similar crime patterns. Whether cities that have a history of prevalence of certain crimes: e.g., Varanasi of 'thugees'⁷ and whether they dominate the crime scene of those cities. Keeping the historical process in mind, that might have contributed to the crime pattern of the cities; the cities have been classified into four categories based on Ramachandran's⁸ classification of Indian cities. The table 5.3 shows the time periods which have been used as markers to classify the Indian cities historically.

Table: 5.3. Historical Classification of Indian Cities.

Period	Time
Ancient	Till 700 AD
Medieval	700 to 1900 AD
European Indian Cities	1600 to 1947
Post Independence	Since 1947.

⁷ Das S (1977) Crime and Punishment in Ancient India, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi. pp 16.

⁸ Ramachandran, R, op.cit. pp 167-170

On the basis of this classification, the urban centers selected for the present study has been fitted into the four categories. On the basis of the time of origin of the cities, Table 5.4 shows the list of towns organised on the basis of the historical period during which the town was established.

Table: 5.4. Towns in Time

TYPE	TOWNS
Ancient	Vijaywada, Vishakapatnam, Patna, Belgaum, Hubli Dharwad, Jabalpur, Madurai, Allahabad, Varanasi,
Medieval	Hyderabad, Guwahati, Raipur, Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Vadodhara, Rajkot, Surat, Vadodhara, Faridabad, Bengaluru, Gulbarga, Mysore, Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore, Aurangabad, Amravati, Nagpur, Nashik, Pune, Solapur, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Udaipur, Coimbatore, Tirunelveli, Trichy, Agra, Aligarh, Bareilly, Gorakhpur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Meerut, Moradabad, Asansol, Delhi
Colonial Towns	Durg, Kochi, Kozhikode, Thiruvananthapuram City, Mumbai, Thane, Chennai, Salem, Kolkata
Post Independence	Navi Mumbai

The table above shows that in the ancient towns' category, mainly the temple towns of North and South India feature. In these towns the main occupation revolved around the temples in the initial days of its evolution, and still continue to have a tremendous social and cultural influence on its inhabitants.

The medieval towns were the fortified towns, where the vestiges of the forts may still be visible. The walled part of the city continues to exist even as the modern city seems to have spilled out of the boundaries of the forts. These cities are characterised by existence of typical *mohallas* in the city where people of common socio cultural background reside.

The colonial towns were primarily port towns, the leading metropolises of India- belonged to this period later cantonment towns were established inland and also towns of rest and recreation were set up in the salubrious climates of the mountains.

Post Independence cities have grown around industrial or residential townships. This study features only one such town- Navi Mumbai.

2. Cities as Socio –Cultural Texts.

The population composition of most the Indian cities is heterogeneous. Cities have people speaking different languages and profess different religions; further there are differences of *jatis* and *varnas* which exists and people move into the cities without leaving those allegiances behind. The population mix of the city is a measure of its cosmopolitan culture. From the viewpoint of western concepts of secularization and modernization; a cosmopolitan culture is considered as a desirable attribute.⁹ But in terms of theoretical perspective of urban crime, cosmopolitanism foments the feeling of anonymity, and leads one to deviant behaviour. The anomie theory and the culture conflict theory fit well into the urban milieu. Differential association, social disorganization, delinquent subculture and relative deprivation theory, etc., all explain the etiology of criminal behaviour in terms of urban community.¹⁰

i. The cities discussed in the present study have been analyzed to determine the combination of the dominant religious groups of the cities.

Weaver's¹¹ combinational analysis has been applied to determine the dominant religious combinations present in the cities taken up in the study.

⁹ Ramachandran R, op cit. pp 170.

¹⁰Shelley I L (1980) *Crime and Modernisation*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondalle and Edwards Ville. pp 3-15.

¹¹Weaver JC as cited in Mahmood A (1977) *Statistical Methods in Geographical Studies*, Rajesh Publications, New Delhi. Pp. 117.

Table: 5.5. Religious Composition Of Cities (2001 And 2011)

1.CITIES WITH ONE MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUP:	
i. Hindus	Guntur, Rajamundhry, Tirupathi, Vijaywada, Vishakapatnam, Warangal, Guwahati, Patna, Durg, Raipur, Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Surat, Vadodhara, Faridabad, Dhanbad, Jamshedpur, Bengaluru, Belgaum, Mysore, Thiruvanathapuram City, Gwalior, Indore, Jabalpur, Ujjain, Nashik, Navi Mumbai, Pune, Solapur, Thane, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Udaipur, Chennai, Coimbatore, Madurai, Salem, Trichy, Agra, Allahabad, Ghaziabad, Gorakhpur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Asansol, Kolkata, Delhi.
ii. Muslims	Srinagar
2.CITIES WITH TWO MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS:	
i. Hindus and Muslims	Hyderabad, Gulbarga, Hubli Dharwad, Mangalore, Kozhikode, Malppuram, Bhopal, Mumbai, Tirunelveli, Aligarh, Bareilly, Meerut, Moradabad, Varanasi
ii. Hindus and Sikhs	Ludhiana, Amritsar, Jalandhar
iii. Hindus and Christians	Thrissur
3.CITIES WITH THREE MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS:	
i. Hindus, Muslims and Christians	Kochi, Kollam,
ii. Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists	Amravati, Aurangabad
iii. Hindus, Muslims and Others	Ranchi
iv. Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims	Nagpur

(Source: Appendix: V.I.R.)

ii. Linguistic Classification:

Language is a major social parameter that lends a distinct personality to a city. Twelve languages feature prominently in the Indian urban scene; within each linguistic framework, most of the cities selected for the study show a high degree of homogeneity.

Table 5.7.Linguistic Composition Of Cities 2001 And 2011.

LANGUAGE	CITY
Telugu	Guntur, Hyderabad, Rajamundhry, Tirupati, Vijaywada, Vishakapatnam, Warangal.
Assamese	Guwahati
Bhojpuri and other local languages	Patna, Dhanbad, Jamshedpur, Ranchi
Gujarati	Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Surat, Vadodhara
Kannada	Bengaluru, Belgaum, Gulbarga, Hubli-Dharwad, Mangalore, Mysore
Malayalam	Kochi, Kozhikode, Kollam, Malppuram, Thrissur, Thiruvananthapuram,
Marathi	Aurangabad, Amravati, Mumbai, Nagpur, Nashik, Navi Mumbai, Pune, Solapur, Thane
Punjabi	Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana
Tamil	Chennai, Coimbatore, Madurai, Salem, Tirunelveli, Trichy
Bengali	Asansol, Kolkata
Hindi and associated dialects*	Durg, Raipur, Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore, Jabbalpur, Ujjain, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Udaipur, Agra, Aligarh, Allahabad, Bareilly, Ghaziabad, Gorakhpur, Kanpur, Lucknow, Meerut, Moradabad, Varanasi, Delhi
Kashmiri	Srinagar
Haryanvi	Faridabad

*In the table above, the Bhojpuri speaking belt was merged with Hindi as the script followed is the same.

3. Cities as Ecological Texts:

The application of ecological principles to the study of crime was pioneered by Park.¹² The Chicago School drew much of its inspiration from the ecological concept that the community within the confines of a specific geographical area, develops a typical organism. “Knowledge of ecological process...is basic to all social science as social and political institutions have a spatial base and arise and function in response to changing conditions of environment and competition. Institutional stability largely depends on space relations.”¹³

¹²Park R is one of the earliest ecologists who studied the effect of environment on culture adopting the anthropological method of participation observation.

¹³R D Mackenzie, Human Ecology, *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, 1942 edition, as cited in Rao Venugopal, op.cit, pp 88

The spatial dispersion of criminal area can be questioned on the ground that 'criminal area' is not necessarily where the crime is committed but wherefrom the criminal emerges. If crime is studied as a phenomenon, the area in which it occurs is important, it is perceived merely as an aberration, the area from which the criminal attains his status assumes importance. Both are relevant and the emphasis being dependent on the angle from which criminality is explored. The distinction has been well made by El Saaty; between the "breeding areas and the attracting areas."¹⁴ To Gandhiji, "the blood of the village was the cement with which the edifice of the cities was built."¹⁵

Several scholars while analyzing the spatial pattern of non-agricultural employment and the changes in the employment patterns in the rural and urban areas have come up with two divergent viewpoints. One is based on the residual hypothesis which says that the incapacity of agriculture to employ the growing population is forcing people to seek absorption in various low productive; non-agricultural activities in rural areas or to migrate to urban areas. It is further postulated that the non-agricultural sectors absorbing a large majority of agricultural workers is not really a dynamic or a vibrant sector. It's growth therefore must not be viewed as a healthy symptom for the economy. The second viewpoint states that sustained growth in agriculture in the seventies and eighties have created employment opportunities in the rural as well as the urban areas.¹⁶

Such aggregative results however tend to conceal the differences in the levels and patterns of development in different agro-climatic regions.¹⁷ In order to find out the effects of varying land productivity, and varying capacity of different regions to support the growing populations, the cities have been further categorized by placing them in the Agro Ecological Regions worked out by the National Bureau of Soil Survey and Land Use Planning (NBSSLUP) under the aegis of Indian Council of Agriculture Research (ICAR). Nagpur. (Table: 5.8) Since these regions have been carved out taking into consideration climate, length of growing period, differences in landforms and soil conditions- which are modifiers of climate and length of growing period; disaggregation

¹⁴El Saaty (1984) *Juvenile Delinquency in Egypt* quoted in Terrence Morrison in '*The Criminal Area*'. Routledge and Kegan Paul, as quoted in Rao V, op.cit. pp 88

¹⁵ Ganguly BN (1984) *Gandhiji's Social Philosophy*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

¹⁶ Kundu A (1992) *Urban Development and Urban Research in India*, Khama Publishers, pp 25-47

¹⁷ Ibid, pp 25-47.

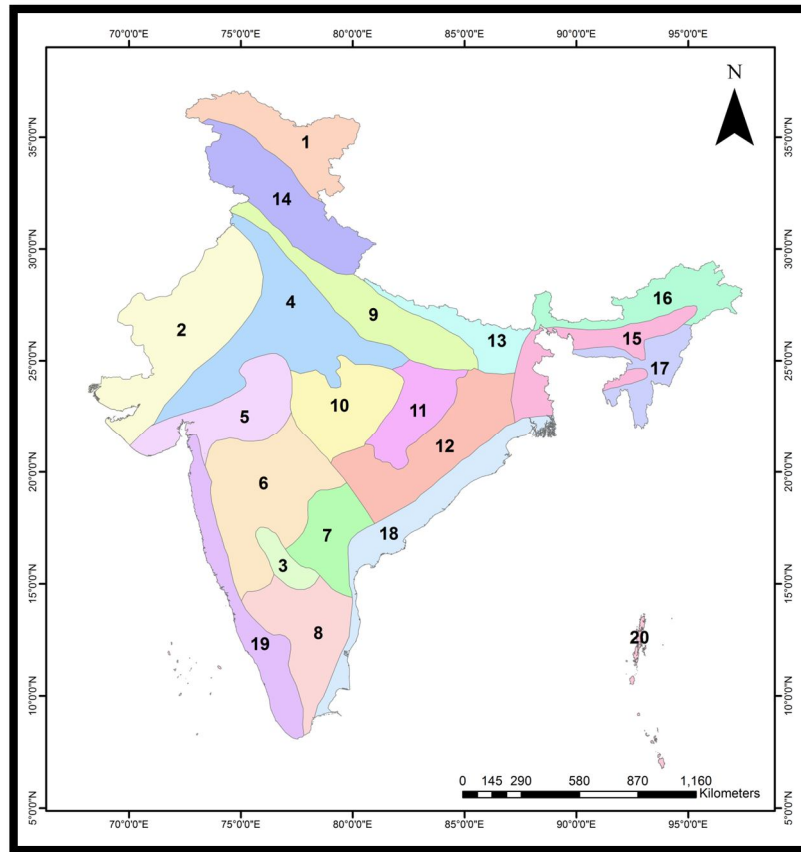
at this level gives an idea whether the rate of migration from rural to urban areas or whether the climate of an area has an effect on the occurrence of crimes.

Table 5.8 Agro-Ecological Regions

No.	TYPES
1.	Western Himalayas: Arid, Cold Ecological Region
2.	Western Plain, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot, Arid Ecological region
3.	Karnataka Plateau (Rayalseema), hot arid ecological subregion
4.	Northern Plains, Central Highlands including Aravallis.
5.	Central Highlands (Malwa), Gujarat plains and Kathiawar, Semi Arid Ecological Region.
6.	Deccan Plateau: Hot Semi Arid Eco Region
7.	Deccan Plateau (Telangana) Eastern Ghats, Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region
8.	Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu Uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau) Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region
9.	Northern Plains, Hot Sub Humid (Dry) Ecological Region
10.	Central Highlands, (Malwa and Bundelkhand), Hot, Sub Humid (Dry) Ecological Sub Region.
11.	Moderately to gentle sloping Chhattisgarh/ Mahanadi Basin. Hot Moist Dry transitional Eco Sub Region with deep loamy to clayey red and yellow soils.
12.	Eastern Plateau (Chotanagpur) and Eastern Ghats, Hot Humid Ecological Region
13.	Eastern Plain, Hot Sub Humid (Moist) Ecological Region.
14.	Western Himalayas, Warm Sub-Humid Ecological
15.	Assam Bengal Plain, Hot Sub Humid to Humid Eco Region.
16.	Eastern Himalayas Warm Per Humid Ecological Region
17.	North Eastern Hills, Warm Per Humid Ecological Region.
18.	Eastern Coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region.
19.	Western Ghats and Coastal Plains, Hot Sub Humid to Per Humid Ecological Region.
20.	Islands of Andaman-Nicobar and Lakshadweep, Hot Humid to Per Humid Island Ecological Region.

The table shows that a great variety of Agro Ecological regions exist in India, and following map (Map 5.3) shows the extent of the Agro Ecological Regions.

Map:5.3 Agro-Ecological Map of India



Source: National Bureau of Soil Survey and Land Use Planning (NBSSLUP), Year 1999.

The cities selected for the study have been classified and organised on the basis of the Agro Ecological Region they are located in. The table below lists the cities located in Agro Ecological Regions

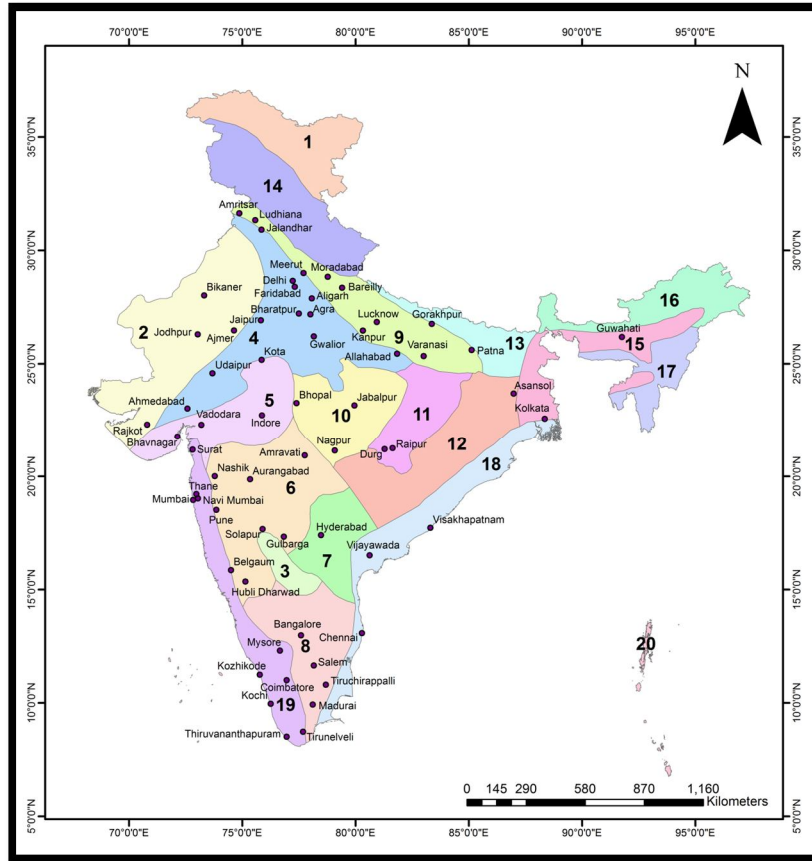
Table: 5.9. Agro-Ecological Setting of Selected Towns, 2001 and 2011

ZONE	TYPE	TOWNS
2.	Western Plain, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot, Arid Ecological region	Rajkot, Ajmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur
4.	Northern Plains, Central Highlands including Aravallis.	Agra, Aligarh, Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Delhi, Meerut, Gwalior, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Jaipur, Udaipur, Ahmedabad, Faridabad, Kota, Tirupati
5.	Central Highlands (Malwa), Gujarat plains and Kathiawar, Semi Arid Ecological Region.	Indore, Kota, Bhavnagar, Surat, Vadodhara
6.	Deccan Plateau: Hot Semi Arid Eco Region	Aurangabad, Amravati, Nasik, Pune, Solapur, Belgaum, Gulbarga, Hubli-Dharwad
7.	Deccan Plateau (Telangana) Eastern Ghats, Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region	Hyderabad, Vijaywada
8.	Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu Uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau) Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region	Bangalore, Coimbatore, Madurai, Salem, Thirunelveli. Trichy
9.	Northern Plains, Hot Sub Humid (Dry) Ecological Region	Bareilly, Moradabad, Varanasi, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Patna
10.	Central Highlands, (Malwa and Bundelkhand), Hot, Sub Humid (Dry) Ecological Sub Region.	Bhopal, Jabalpur, Nagpur
11.	Moderately to gentle sloping Chhattisgarh/ Mahanadi Basin. Hot Moist Dry transitional Eco Sub Region with deep loamy to clayey red and yellow soils.	Bhilai-Durg
12.	Eastern Plateau (Chotanagpur) and Eastern Ghats, Hot Humid Ecological Region	Ranchi*
13.	Eastern Plain, Hot Sub Humid (Moist) Ecological Region.	Gorakhpur
15.	Assam Bengal Plain, Hot Sub Humid to Humid Eco Region.	Kolkata, Guwahati
18.	Eastern Coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region.	Vishakapatnam, Chennai
19.	Western Ghats and Coastal Plains, Hot Sub Humid to Per Humid Ecological Region.	Kochi, Trivandrum, Kozhikode, Mumbai

*Town that was a part of the study in 2001, but not in 2011.

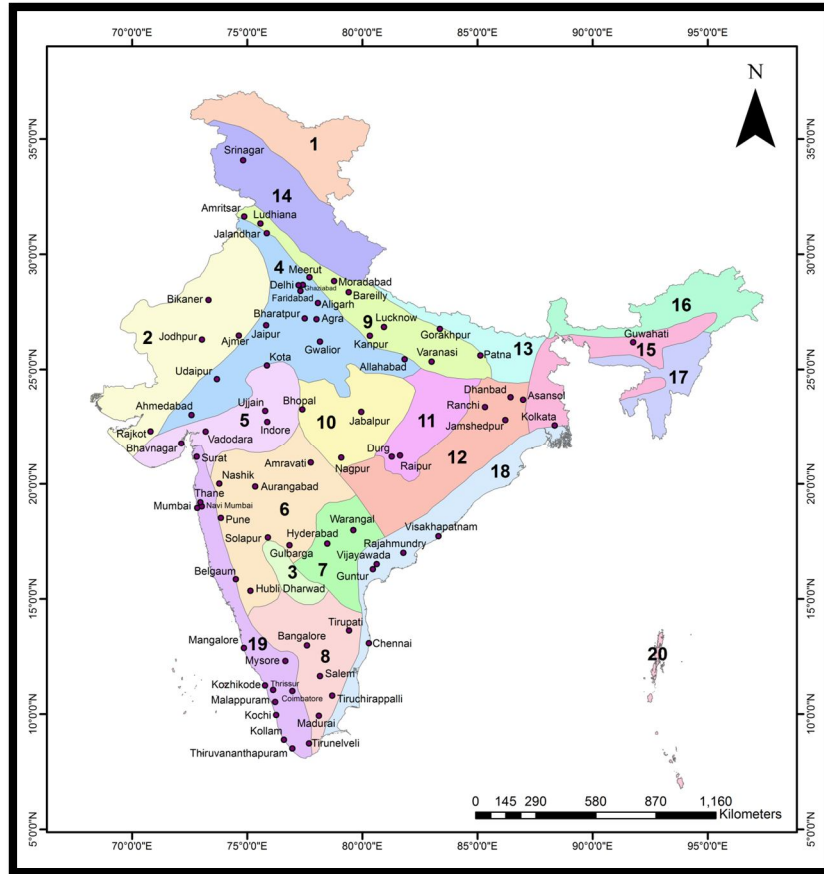
The cities were then superimposed on a the map of the Agro Ecological Regions for 2001 and 2011. (Map 5.4 (A)and Map 5.4 (B))

Map 5.4 (A)
AGRO-ECOLOGICAL SETTING OF SELECTED TOWNS, 2001



Map:5.4 (B)

AGRO-ECOLOGICAL SETTING OF SELECTED TOWNS, 2011



4. Cities as Economic Texts.

A further level of disaggregation of the towns have been attempted in order to relate crime with the dominant function of the city. The idea is to investigate whether criminal opportunities are created by different mixture of employment found in the cities.

The Brantinghams, (1980) analysed crimes rates of 1970 for SMSAs with 250,000 or more population as against a set of employment, occupational and

socio-demographic variables¹⁸. Prior work by Ogburn (1935)¹⁹ Schuessler and Slatin (1964)²⁰, Flango and Sherbenou (1976)²¹ and Harries (1976)²² suggested that employment and occupational variables might have a strong effect on crime rates from city to city.

Occupational patterns suggest the proportions of the work force that hold high-status/ high-paying jobs as professional, technical and managerial workers; medium status jobs as white collar or industrial worker; and low status jobs such as household services or unskilled labour. These patterns measure a range of potential motivations for crime and also suggest something about criminal opportunity.

The present study has taken up industrial category of worker; and low status jobs such as household services or unskilled labour. These patterns measure a range of potential motivations for crime and also suggest something about criminal opportunity.

The present study uses the industrial category of workers classified by the Census of India.²³ (See Appendix V.I) For the town population the first two categories are excluded from the nine categories, as they represent the Cultivators and Agricultural Labourers respectively. Here categories III to IX have been compiled into three categories as shown in the table given below.

The census of India has been classifying the main workers into nine categories of which the non-primary categories may be further clustered on the basis of the broad type of their functions. Three types of predominant functions have been listed in the following table.

¹⁸ Brantingham PJ and Brantingham PL (1980) Crime, Occupation and Economic Specialisation: A Consideration of Inter Metropolitan Patterns In D Georges Abeyie and K Harris Eds. *Crime: A Spatial Perspective*. Columbia University Press, New York. Pp 93-103.

¹⁹ Ogburn W F (1935) Factors in the Variation of Crimes Among Cities. *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 30. Pp 12-34.

²⁰ Schuessler K and Stalin G (1964) Sources of Variation in US City Crime, 1950 and 1960. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 1. Pp 127-148.

²¹ Flango VE and Sherbenou EL (1976) *Poverty, Urbanisation and Crime*. *Criminology*, 14, pp 331-346.

²² Harris K D (1976) Cities and Crime: A Geographical Model. *Criminology*, 14. Pp 369-386.

²³ Census of India B 3 (F) *Economic Tables*, State wise Data, 2001 and 2011.

Table: 5.10. Major Functional Types

TYPE	PREDOMINANT FUNCTION	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES
A	Industry	IV, V, VI.
B	Trade and Transport	VII, VIII
C	Services	IX

Where, the Industrial categories represent,

IV – Mining and Quarrying. V – Manufacturing and Processing. VI – Construction. VII – Trade and Commerce. VII- Transport and Storage IX – Other Services.

The percentage shares of A, B and C type of towns are then plotted on a Ternary Diagram based on Mitra's²⁴ classification of towns based on 1961 Census data. In the present study the data pertains to 2001 and 2011 Census data. Since most of the towns appear to be diversified in their functions towns have been classified according to their dominant function.

1. Service Towns: within sub triangles I & II
2. Industrial Towns: within sub triangles III & IV
3. Trade and Transport Towns: within sub triangles V & VI.

²⁴Mitra A (1967) Internal Migration and Urbanization in India: Office of the Registrar General of India, as cited in Mahmood A, (1977) *Statistical Methods in Geographical Studies*, Rajesh Publications, New Delhi, pp 122-124.

INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES Census (2001) were altered and have been categorised as D – Manufacturing ; E – Electricity, Gas and Water Supply; F – Construction; G – Wholesale and Retail Trade; H – Hotels and Restaurants; I – Transport, Storage and Communications; J – Financial Intermediation; K – Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities; L – Public Administration and Defence, Compulsory Social Security; M – Education; N – Health and Social Work; O – Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities; P – Private Households with Employed Persons; Q – Extra-Territorial Organisations and Bodies.

Table: 5.11. Major Functional Types (2001)

TYPE	PREDOMINANT FUNCTION	INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES
A	Industry	D, E, F,
B	Trade and Transport	G, H, I,
C	Services	J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q

Table 5.12. shows the dominant functions of the sixty three towns (2001) and seventy seven towns (2011) discussed in the current study.

Table : 5.12. Functional Classification Of Towns, 2001 And 2011

Predominant Function	Towns
1. Industrial Towns	Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Rajkot, Surat, Vadodhara, Faridabad, Bangalore, Jabalpur, Aurangabad, Nashik, Navi Mumbai, Solapur, Ludhiana, Jaipur, Coimbatore, Salem, Tirunelveli, Aligarh, Meerut, Moradabad, Varanasi,
2. Trade and Transport Towns	Vijaywada, Guwahati, Durg, Belgaum, Gulbarga, Hubli-Dharwad, Mysore, Kozhikode, Nagpur, Amritsar, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Kota, Udaipur, Bareilly, Gorakhpur, Kanpur, Asansol,
3. Service Towns	Hyderabad, Vishakapatnam, Patna, Raipur, Kochi, Thiruvananthapuram, Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore, Amravati, Greater Mumbai, Pune, Thane, Jalandhar, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Chennai, Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Kolkata, Delhi.

(Source: Appendix V.I.F.)

The cities in the study are uniformly distributed among industrial, trade and transport and service towns during the period of the study.

This classification was undertaken in this study to help in determining whether the dominance of a particular occupational category in an urban centre abets occurrence of certain types of crimes.

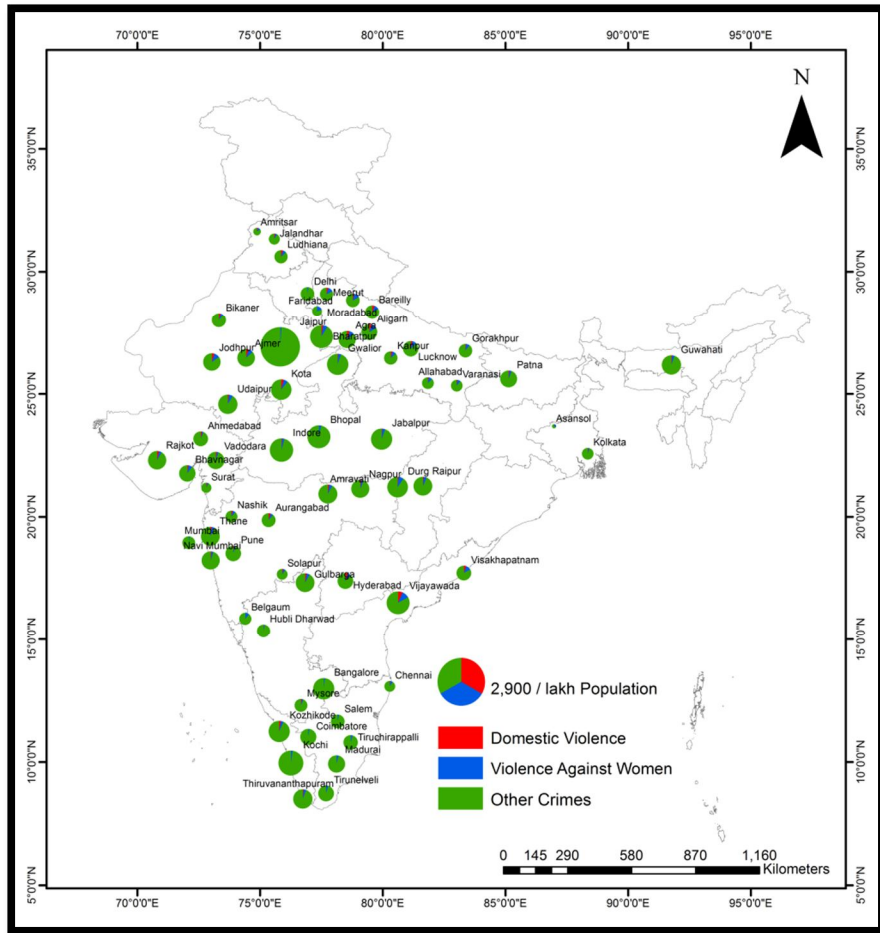
The classification brings out the fact that India's urban centers can be classified into four groups historically. For socio cultural attributes; language and religion have been the basis of classification. For religion, the towns have been grouped according to the number of religious groups having numerical dominance; but for linguistic classification, a simplified method has been followed by considering the major language spoken to be the same as the major language spoken in that state. The cities have also been classified according to the agro ecological region they belong to, which gives an idea of the hinterland the city caters to. Finally the cities have been grouped in accordance to the functional categories they fall into; depending on the kind of occupation the city dwellers are engaged in as certain occupation open up the opportunities for occurrence of certain crimes.

Significance of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women.

Share of Crimes against women in the total crimes occurring in the city offer an insight into the pervasiveness of crimes against women in a city and the rate of reporting of particular crimes against women. A study of the proportionate share of the crimes against women to the aggregate of all categories of crimes can be read as a marker of the amount of surveillance the crime may elicit from the state authorities and also from the civil societies. In the following section the proportion of rates of Domestic Violence, all types of Violence Against Women and total crimes recorded in a city have been depicted with the help of pie charts for all cities selected for the study over the two decadal periods, 2001 and 2011.

Map: 5.5

Rates of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes, 2001

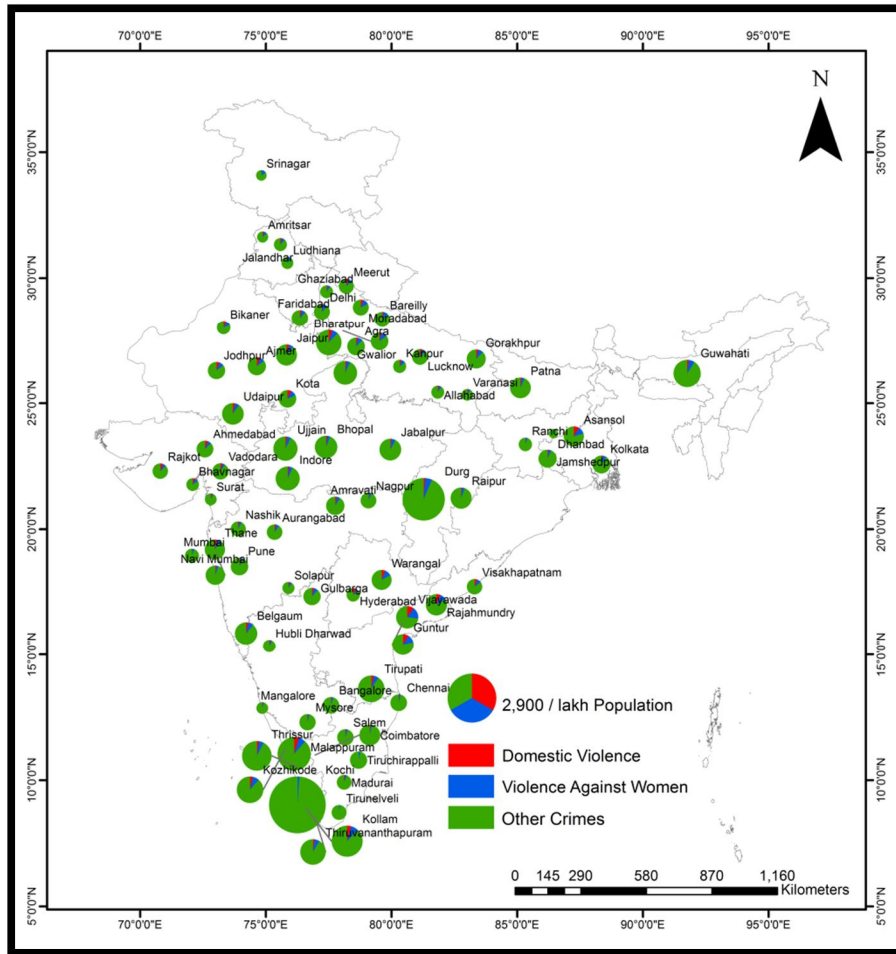


(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Maps 5.5 shows that the proportion of reported incidences of Domestic Violence is miniscule in the pie chart representations depicting the share of Domestic Violence, vis a vis Violence Against Women, and finally both the categories of crimes in relation to all crimes occurring in the 63 cities selected for the study.

Map 5.6

Rates of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes, 2011



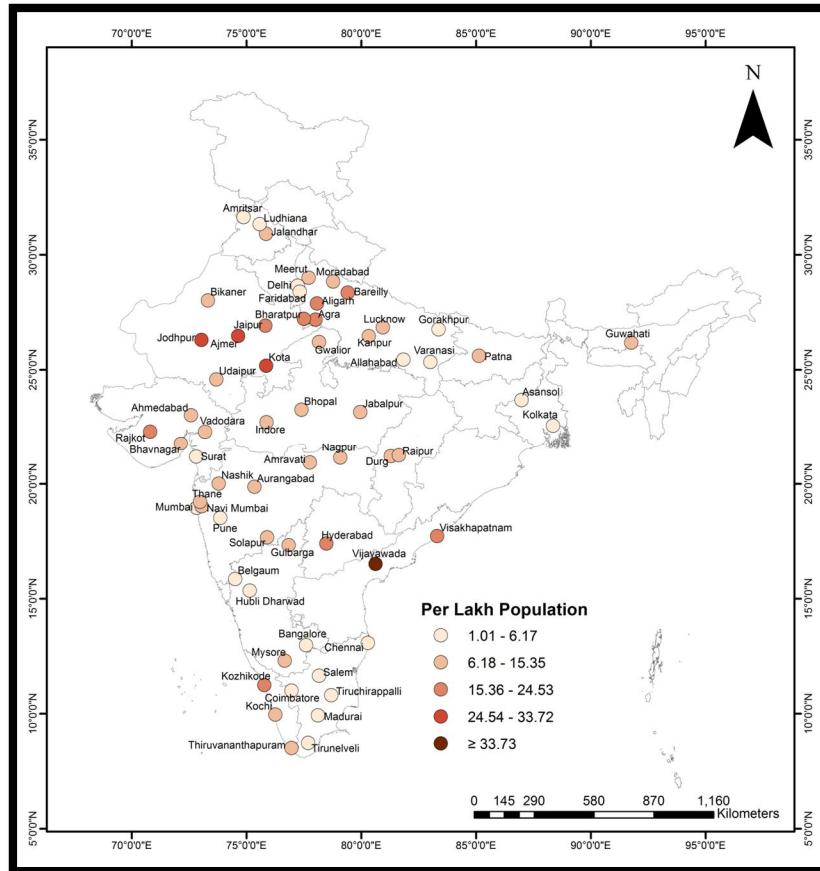
(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 5.6 shows similar pattern of the share of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women to the Total number of crimes occurring in the 77 cities selected for the study. Even though the crimes against women comprise a very small percentage of the total crimes occurring in the cities, yet, its important to remember, that these crimes affect a huge proportion of the city population who are women. It has been discussed in Chapter 1, the wellbeing of women is of foremost importance, and crimes can cause severe detriment to their wellbeing.

The following section analyses the rate of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Other Crimes occurring in the cities selected for the study over 2001 and 2011. Maps

have been constructed to present a visual representation of the records of the reported cases of Domestic Violence in the cities selected for the study.

Map 5.7
Domestic Violence, 2001

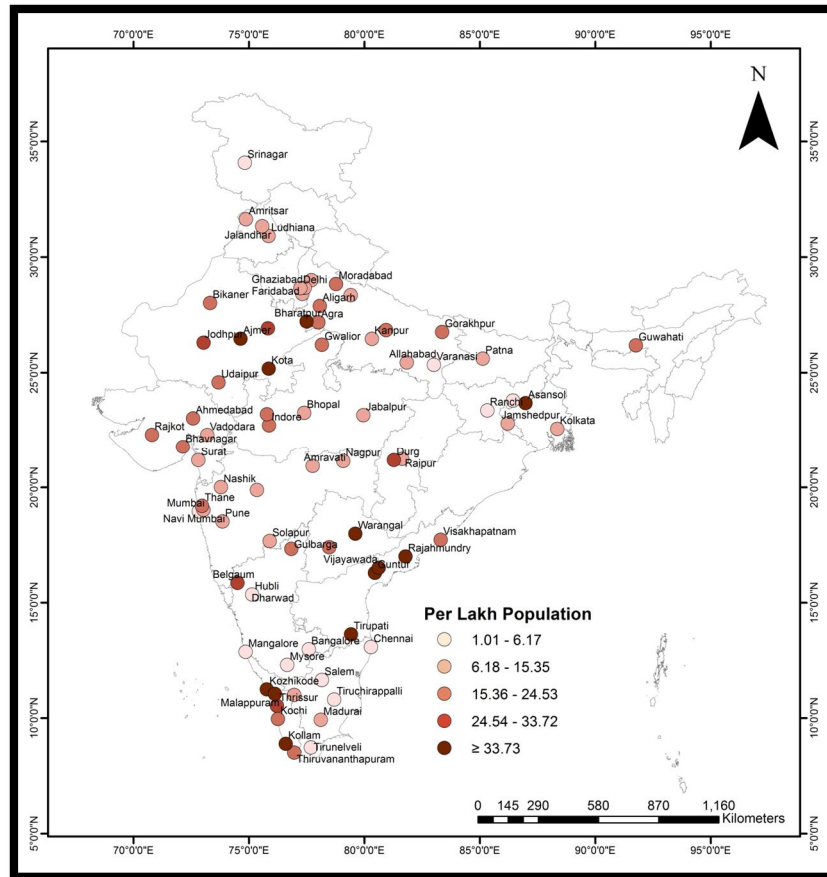


(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

Map 5.7 shows that the rates of Domestic Violence reporting in the cities have been presented in five categories. The first group of cities represents the lowest rates (1.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population). Delhi, Belgaum, Tirunelveli, Mumbai, Faridabad, Salem, Asansol, Chennai, Trichy, Hubli, Dharwad, Madurai, Coimbatore, Kolkata, Surat, Amritsar, Varanasi, Pune, Gorakhpur, Bengaluru, Allahabad and Jalandhar feature in this category. The next group of cities that recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from (6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population) cities of Patna, Mysore, Solapur, Bhopal, Jabalpur, Navi Mumbai, Raipur, Gwalior, Kochi, Vadodhara, Guwahati, Thiruvananthapuram, Indore, Durg, Nasik, Ahmendabad, Udaipur, Bhavnagar, Kanpur,

Amravati, Moradabad, Ludhiana, Aurangabad, Lucknow, Gulbarga, Meerut, Bikaner, and Thane find place. The third group of cities recording rates (15.36 – 24.53 cases per lakh population) had cities of Jaipur, Kozhikode, Baratzpur, Rajkot, Aligarh, Hyderabad, Vishakapatnam, Bareilly and Agra. In the group of cities with highest rates of Domestic Violence (higher than 33.73 cases per lakh population) featured only one city, namely, Vijaywada in this category in 2001. (Appendix V.I) The changes that occurred in the rates of crimes reported in the cities selected for the study from 2001 to 2011, have been analysed from the map presented below. (Appendix- V.I)

Map 5.8
Domestic Violence, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 5.8 shows that the rates of reporting of Domestic Violence in the cities could be categorised and the cities may be presented in five categories as it was done for the year 2001. (Appendix- V.I)

The lowest rates of Domestic Violence (1.01 -6.17 cases per lakh population) featured cities like Dhanbad, Thirunelveli, Ranchi, Mumbai, Srinagar, Mangalore, Trichy, Chennai, Salem, Mysore, Varanasi, Hubli Dharwad feature in this category. The second group of cities that recorded Domestic Violence rates (6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population), featured cities of Surat, Madurai, Raipur, Solapur, Nagpur, Ludhiana, Ghaziabad, Pune, Coimbatore, Jamshedpur, Allahabad, Amritsar, Navi Mumbai, Nasik, Jalandhar, Delhi, Aurangabad, Bareilly, Kanpur, Jabalpur, Bhopal, Kolkata, Amravati, Patna, Faridabad, Vadodhara, Meerut in this group. In the third group of cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates (15.36 – 24.53 cases per lakh population), Indore, Gwalior, Bhavnagar, Gulbarga, Agra, Ujjain, Lucknow, Thane, Aligarh, Thiruvananthapuram, Hyderabad, Gorakhpur, Rajkot, Kochi, Moradabad, Vishakapatnam, Guwahati, Udaipur, Bikaner, and Ahmendabad form a part of this category. In cities where rates of Domestic Violence ranged between (24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population) cities of Belgaum, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Thissur and Durg fit in. Cities that recorded the highest rates of Domestic Violence (above 33.73 cases per lakh population), Tirupathi, Ajmer, Kozhikode, Kota, Warangal, Rajamundhry, Bharatpur, Asansol, Kollam, Guntur, Malppuram and Vijaywada were a part of this category. (Appendix V.I)

To analyse the change in the rates of Domestic Violence recorded in the cities selected for the study, the shift of each city within the five categories of rates of Domestic Violence have been prepared in the table below.

Table: 5.13. Decadal change in the position of Cities in relation to Domestic Violence from 2001 to 2011

Cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rate: (0.01 – 6.17) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Cities
Rate: (0.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population)	Tirunelveli, Mumbai, Salem, Chennai. Trichy, Hubli Dharwad, Varanasi, Bengaluru, Allahabad
Rate: (6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population)	Delhi, Faridabad, Madurai, Coimbatore, Kolkata, Surat, Amritsar, Pune, Jalandhar
Rate: (15.36 – 24.33 cases per lakh population)	Gorakhpur
Rate: (24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population)	Belgaum
Rate: (>33.73 cases per lakh population)	Asansol

The preceding table shows that of the 21 cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates ranging between 0.01 to 6.17 cases per lakh population in 2001, 9 cities continued to record similar rates in 2011. 9 other cities recorded a rise in the rates ranging from 6.18 to 15.35 cases per lakh population. 1 city recorded rise in Domestic Violence Rates ranging from 15.36 to 24.33 cases per lakh population, 1 city recorded steeper rise to rates of Domestic Violence ranging between 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population and 1 city recorded rates of Domestic Violence above 33.73 cases per lakh population.

The following table shows the changes in rates of Domestic Violence in cities which had recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 6.18 to 15.35 cases per lakh population.

Cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rate: (6.18 – 15.35) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Cities
Rate: (0.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population)	Mysore
Rate: (6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population)	Patna, Solapur, Bhopal, Jabalpur, Navi Mumbai, Raipur, Vadodhara, Nasil, Nagpur, Kanpur,, Amravati, Ludhiana, Aurangabad, Meerut
Rate: (15.36 – 24.33 cases per lakh population)	Gwalior, Kochi, Guwahati, Thiruvananthapuram, Indore, Ahmendabad, Bhavnagar, Udaipur, Moradabad, Lucknow, Gulbarga, Bikaner, Thane
Rate: (24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population)	Durg
Rate: (>33.73 cases per lakh population)	-----

The table above shows the change in rates of the 29 towns that had recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 6.18 to 15.32 cases cases per lakh population. 1 city registered decline in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates lower than 6.17 cases cases per lakh population. 14 cities continued to record similar rates of crimes after a decade. 13 cities recorded a rise in the rates of reporting of Domestic Violence ranging from 15.36 to 24.33 cases per lakh population. 1 city recorded a steep rise in the rates of Domestic Violence of above 24.54 cases per lakh population in 2011. No city recorded rates higher than 33.73 cases per lakh population.

The following section shows the changes in the rates of Domestic Violence in cities which had recorded rates ranging from 15.36 to 24.33 cases per lakh population in 2001.

Cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rate: (15.36 – 24.33) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Cities
Rate: (0.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population)	Bareilly
Rate: (15.36 – 24.33 cases per lakh population)	Rajkot, Aligarh, Hyderabad, Agra, Vishakapatnam
Rate: (24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population)	Jaipur,
Rate: (>33.73 cases per lakh population)	Kozhikode, Bharatpur

The table above shows that of the 9 cities that had recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging between 15.36 to 24.33 cases per lakh population in 2001, no city recorded decline in rates below 6.18 cases per lakh population in 2011. 1 city recorded decline in the rate of Domestic Violence to rates ranging from 6.18 to 15.35 cases per lakh population in 2011. 5 cities continued to report similar rates of Domestic Violence as was recorded in 2001. 1 city registered rise in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates ranging between 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population and 2 cities recorded steep rise in rates of Domestic Violence to above 33.73 cases per lakh population.

In the following section, the change in the rates of Domestic Violence in cities that had recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population in 2001 is being analysed

Cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rate: (24.54 – 33.72) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Cities
Rate: (0.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (15.36 – 24.33 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population)	Jodhpur
Rate: (>33.73 cases per lakh population)	Ajmer, Kota.

The table above shows that the cities that had recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population in 2001. None of the cities recorded decline in the rates of Domestic Violence after a decade. 1 city continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence as was recorded in 2001. 2 cities recorded rise in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates ranging above 33.72 cases per lakh population.

The next section shows the changes in the rates of Domestic Violence in cities that had recorded rates of Domestic Violence rates ranging above 33.73 cases per lakh population in 2011.

Cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rate: (>33.73) in 2001

Rates of Domestic Violence in 2011	Cities
Rate: 0.01 – 6.17)	-----
Rate: 6.18 – 15.35)	-----
Rate: 15.36 – 24.33)	-----
Rate: 24.54 – 33.72)	-----
Rate: >33.73)	Vijaywada

The table above shows that only 1 city had recorded rates of Domestic Violence of above 33.73 cases per lakh population. In 2011, that city continued to record similar rate of above 33.73 cases per lakh population.

The decadal changes in the rates of Domestic Violence in the cities show that there have been both decline in the rates of reporting of Domestic Violence in some cities while there have been rise in the rates of reporting of Domestic Violence in some other. To identify the cities that showed greater tendency to record increase in rates of Domestic Violence, the cities have been classified on the basis of the rate of Domestic Violence recorded in 2011, and the percentage of cities that have recorded shift in the rates of Domestic Violence is being presented in the table in the following section.

The change in the rates of Domestic Violence reported in individual cities that occurred between the years 2001 to 2011 can be summarized through the table below.

Table 5.14 Change in Rates of Domestic Violence in Cities in Different Categories in 2011

Rates of Domestic Violence in Cities in 2001	Rates of Domestic Violence in Cities in 2011 (Percentage Share)				
	Rate: 0.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population)	Rate: 6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population)	Rate: 15.36 – 24.33 cases per lakh population)	Rate: 24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population)	Rate: >33.73 cases per lakh population)
Rate: 0.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population)	42.8	42.8	4.8	4.8	4.8
Rate: 6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population)	3.4	48.3	44.8	3.4	0
Rate: (15.36 – 24.33 cases per lakh population)	0	11.1	55..5	11.1	22.3
Rate: (24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population)	0	0	0	33.3	66.7
Rate: (>33.73 cases per lakh population)	0	0	0	0	100

(Figures represent percentage share)

The table above shows that of the cities that had recorded the least rates of Domestic Violence in 2001 (Rates ranging from 0.01 to 6.17 cases per lakh population); 42.8 percent of those cities continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence in 2011;

42.8 percent of the cities recorded rise in the rates of registering cases of Domestic Violence ranging from 6.18 to 15.35 cases per lakh population. 4.8 per cent each of the cities recorded rise in the rates of Domestic Violence reporting to rates ranging from 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population and above 33.73 per lakh population respectively.

The cities that had recorded rates of Domestic Violence ranging from 6.18 to 15.35 cases per lakh population 3.4 percent of the cities registered a slight decline in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates ranging between 0.01 to 6.17 cases per lakh population in 2011. 48.3 percent of the cities continued to record rates similar to the rates registered in 2001. 44.8 percent of the cities showed rise in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates ranging from 15.36 to 24.33 cases per lakh population and a meagre 3.4 percent of the districts rise in rates ranging between 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population and no city recorded rates of Domestic Violence above 33.73 cases per lakh population.

Cities that had recorded Domestic Violence rates ranging from 15.36 to 24.33 cases per lakh population in 2001, of those cities, no city recorded Domestic Violence Rates of majority of them (55.5 percent continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence rates in 2011. No city recorded rates below 6.18 cases per lakh population; 11.1 percent of the cities registered a slight decline in the rates (6.18 to 15.35 cases per lakh population) and another 11.1 percent of the cities registered a moderate rise in the rates of Domestic Violence (24.54 to 33.73 cases per lakh population) 22.3 percent of the cities recorded a steep rise in the rates of Domestic Violence of rates raging above 33.73 cases per lakh population in 2011.

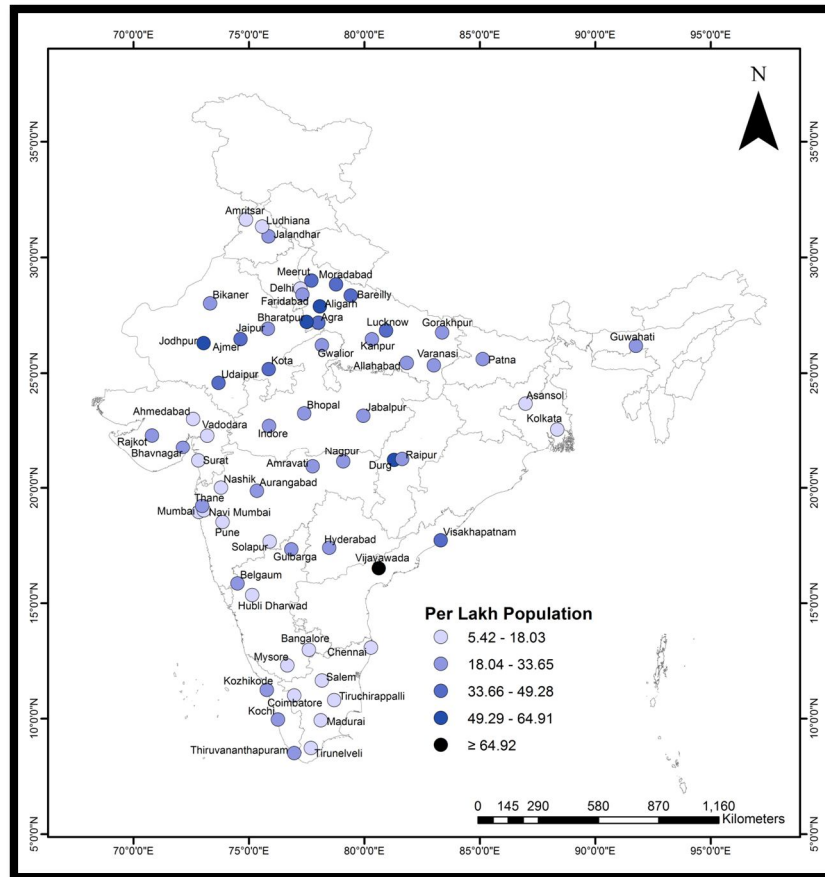
The cities that had recorded Domestic Violence Rates ranging from 24.54 to 33.72 cases per lakh population in 2001, none of the cities recorded decline in the rates of Domestic Violence in 2011. 33.3 percent of the districts continued to record similar rates of Domestic Violence while a majority of the cities (66.7 percent) registered rise in the rates of Domestic Violence to rates above 33.73 cases per lakh population.

The city which had recorded Domestic Violence Rates of above 33.73 cases per lakh population, continued to record rates which were higher than 33.73 cases per lakh population.

To understand the relationship between occurrences of Domestic Violence in cities, the occurrence of Violence Against Women is also undertaken in the following section. This would help in understanding whether cities which have high rates of Violence Against Women create an ethos within the family for men to be violent with their partners which may result in increased rates of Domestic Violence in those cities.

The maps in the following section depict the rates of Violence Against Women in the cities selected for the study.

Map 5.9
Violence Against Women, 2001



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2000, 2001, 2002)

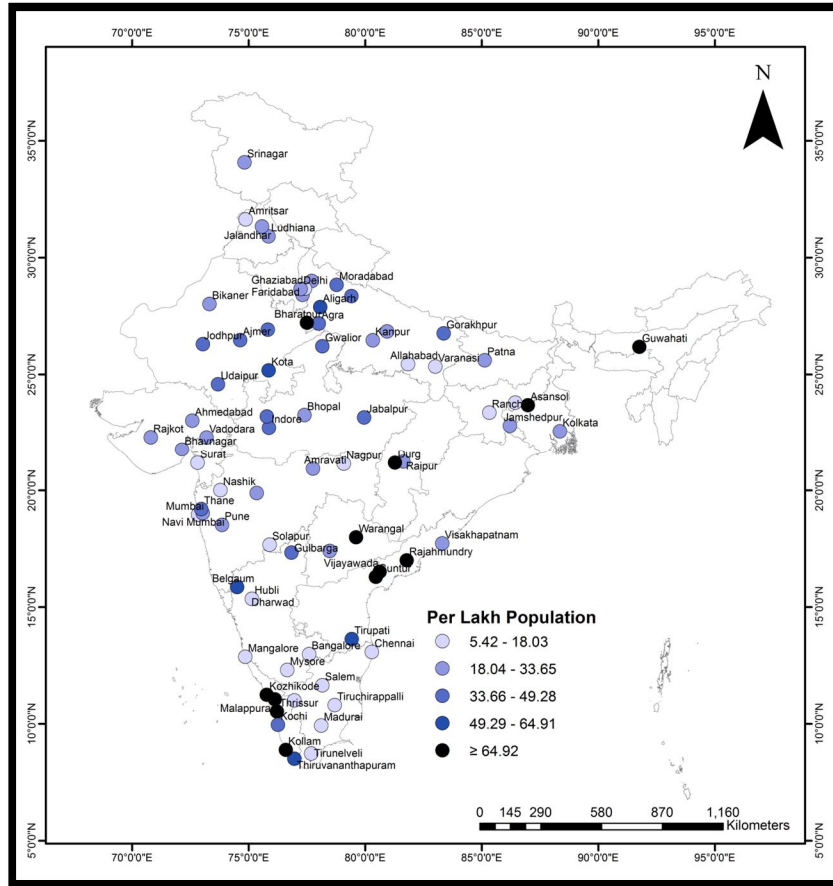
Map 5.9 Shows that on the basis of the rates of Violence Against Women recorded in the cities, the cities may be classified into five categories.

The group of cities with the lowest rates of Violence Against Women (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population) features cities like, Mumbai, Hubli Dharwad, Surat, Kolkata, Delhi,

Salem, Coimbatore, Asansol, Mysore, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Solapur, Vadodhara, Trichy, Pune, Chennai, Navi Mumbai, Tirunelveli, Madurai, Nasik. In next group of cities recording Violence Against Women rates of 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population) comprises of cities like, Patna, Kochi, Aurangabad, Varanasi, Nagpur, Guwahati, Allahabad, Jaipur, Bikaner, Thiruvananthapuram, Ludhiana, Gorakhpur, Rajkot, Indore, Belgaum, Bhopal, Kanpur, Hyderabad, Thane, Raipur, Kozhikode, Gwalior, Gulbarga, Amravati, Jabalpur, Bhavnagar, Faridabad. In the third group of cities that registered rates of Violence Against Women of 33.66 – 49.29 cases per lakh population; cities of Lucknow, Bareilly, Udaipur, Meerut, Moradabad, Agra, Vishakapatnam, Ajmer and Kota fall in this category. The fourth group of cities recording Violence Against Women with rates ranging from (49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population), cities of Bharatpur, Jodhpur, Aligarh and Durg feature. Finally in the group of cities that recorded the highest rates of Violence Against Women (above 64.92 cases per lakh population) only one single city of Vijaywada could be categorised. (See Appendix V.II)

The changes that occurred in the rates of crimes reported in the cities selected for the study from 2001 to 2011, may be analysed from the following map depicting Violence Against Women in Urban centres in 2011.

Map 5.10 Violence Against Women, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 5.10 Shows that the rates of Violence Against Women in 77 cities selected for the study was grouped into five categories. Cities with the lowest rates of Violence Against Women (05.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population) were Mangalore, Dhanbad, Thirunelveli, Surat, Chennai, Mysore, Hubli Dharwad, Ranchi, Varanasi, Mumbai, Coimbatore, Madurai, Bengaluru, Trichy, Solapur, Salem, Nasik, Allahabad, Nagpur, Ghaziabad, Amrirsar. The next group of cities recording rates ranging from (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population) were found in cities of Pune, Ludhiana, Vadodhara, Jalandhar, Navi Mumbai, Bhavnagar, Jamshedpur, Aurangabad, Srinagar, Hyderabad, Rajkot, Patna, Kanpur, Raipur, Meerut, Kolkata, Amravati, Ahmendabad, Bhopal, Lucknow, Delhi, Bikaner, Vishakapatnam, Faridabad. Cities with moderate rates of Violence Against Women with Violence Against Women rates ranging from (33.66 –

49.29 cases per lakh population) were Gulbarga, Bareilly, Indore, Gwalior, Thane, Jodhpur, Jabalpur, Ajmer, Udaipur, Agra, Ujjain, Moradabad, Kochi, Gorakhpur. High rates of Violence Against Women with rates ranging from (49.29 - 64.91 cases per lakh population) were found in cities of Belgaum, Aligarh, Kota, Thirupati and Thiruvananthapuram fall in this category. Cities that recorded the highest rates of Violence Against Women (above 64.92 cases per lakh population) were Thissur, Warangal, Bharatpur, Guwahati, Rajamundhry, Asansol, Kozhikode, Guntur, Malppuram, Kollam, Durg and Vijaywada feature in this category. (Appendix- V.II)

To analyse the change in the rates of Violence Against Women recorded in the cities selected for the study, from 2001 to 2011, the change in the rates of Violence Against Women of each city within the five categories of have been prepared and presented in the following table.

Table 5.15. Decadal change in the position of cities in relation to rates of Violence Against Women, 2001 to 2011

Cities that recorded Rates of Violence Against Women (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Cities
Rate: (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	Mumbai, Hubli Dharwad, Surat, Salem, Coimbatore, Mysore, Amritsar, Bengaluru, Solapur, Trichy, Chennai, Thirunelveli, Madurai, Trichy
Rate:(18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	Kolkata, Delhi, Jalandhar, Ahmendabad, Vadodhara, Pune, Mumbai,
Rate: (33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate:(49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (>64.92 cases per lakh population)	-----

The table above shows that of the 21 cities that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 5.42 to 18.03 cases per lakh population in 2001, 14 cities continued to record similar rates of Violence Against Women in 2011 too. 7 cities registered rise in

the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging between 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population. No city recorded rates higher than 33.66 cases per lakh population.

In the following section, changes in the rates of Violence Against Women in cities that had recorded rates ranging from 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population is being analysed.

Cities that recorded Rates of Violence Against Women (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Cities
Rate: (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	Varanasi, Nagpur, Allahabad,
Rate: (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	Patna, Aurangabad, Bikaner, Ludhiana, Rajkot, Bhopal, Kanpur, Hyderabad, Raipur, Amravati, Bhavnagar, Faridabad,
Rate: (33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	Kochi, Jaipur, Gorakhpur, Indore, Thane, Gwalior, Gulbarga, Jabalpur,
Rate: (49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	Thiruvananthapuram, Belgaum,
Rate: (>64.92 cases per lakh population)	Guwahati, Kozhikode

The table above shows that of the 27 cities that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging between 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population; 3 cities recorded a decline in the rates of Violence Against Women ranging from rates between 5.42 to 18.03 cases per lakh population in 2011. 12 cities continued to record similar rates of Violence Against Women in 2011 as was recorded in 2001. 8 cities recorded marginal rise in the rates of Violence Against Women registering rates ranging from 33.66 to 49.28 cases per lakh population. 2 cities recorded rise in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging between 49.29 to 64.91 cases per lakh population in 2011. 2 cities recorded a steep rise to join the cities that had recorded the highest rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging above 64.92 cases per lakh population.

In the following section, changes in the rates of Violence Against Women in cities that had registered rates ranging from 33.96 to 49.28 cases per lakh population has been analysed.

Cities that recorded Rates of Violence Against Women (33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Cities
Rate: (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	Lucknow, Meerut, Vishakapatnam
Rate: (33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	Bareilly, Udaipur, Moradabad, Agra, Ajmer,
Rate: (49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	Kota,
Rate: (>64.92 cases per lakh population)	-----

The table above shows that, of the 9 cities that had registered rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 33.66 to 49.28 cases per lakh population in 2001, no city recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women below 18.03 cases per lakh population, but 3 cities showed decline in the rates in 2011, with the rates ranging from 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population. 5 cities continued to record similar rates of crimes as was registered in 2001. 1 city recorded rise in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging from 43.29 to 64.91 cases per lakh population, though no city recorded rise in rates of Violence Against Women above 64.92 cases per lakh population in 2011.

In the following section, changes in the rates of Violence Against Women in cities that had registered rates ranging from 49.29 to 64.91 cases per lakh population has been analysed.

Cities that recorded Rates of Violence Against Women (49.29 – 64.91cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Cities
Rate: (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	Jodhpur
Rate: (49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	Aligarh
Rate: (>64.92 cases per lakh population)	Durg, Bharatpur

The table above shows that of the 4 cities that had registered rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 49.29 to 64.91 cases per lakh population in 2001, no city registered decline in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates below 33.65 cases per lakh population in 2011. 1 city registered decline in the rates to new rates ranging from 33.66 to 49.28 cases per lakh population. Only 1 city continued to record similar rates as was recorded in 2001 and 2 cities registered rise in the rates of Violence Against Women to above 64.92 cases per lakh population.

In the following section, changes in the rates of Violence Against Women in cities that had registered rates above 64.92 cases per lakh population has been analysed.

Cities that recorded Rates of Violence Against Women (>64.92cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Cities
Rate: (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: (>64.92 cases per lakh population)	Vijaywada

The table above shows that there was only a single city that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women above 64.92 cases per lakh population in 2001 and the city continued to record rates above 64.92 cases per lakh population.

The analysis shows that there have been significant changes in the rates of Violence Against Women across Indian cities during 2001 and 2011. To identify whether cities that had registered lower rates of Violence Against Women in 2001 showed more changes in the rates or the cities which had recorded higher rates of Violence Against Women in 2001 exhibited rise in the rates of Violence Against Women ; the following analysis has been undertaken.

The change in the rates of Violence Against Women reported in individual cities that occurred between the years 2001 to 2011 can be summarized through the following table.

Table: 5. 16 Change in Rates of Violence Against Women in Cities in Different Categories in 2011.

Rates of Violence Against Women in 2001	Rates of Violence Against Women in 2011 (Percentage Share)				
	Rate: (5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	Rate: 33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	Rate: 49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	Rate: >64.92 cases per lakh population)
Rate: 5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population)	66.7	33.3	0	0	0
Rate: 18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population)	11.1	44.4	29.7	7.4	7.4
(Rate: 33.66 – 49.28 cases per lakh population)	0	33.3	55.6	11.1	0
Rate: 49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population)	0	0	25	25	50
Rate: >64.92 cases per lakh population)	0	0	0	0	100

(Figures represent percentage share)

Table 5.15 shows that of the cities that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 5.42 to 18.03 cases per lakh population in 2001, 66.7 per cent of the cities continued to record similar rates in 2011, 33.3 per cent of the cities marked a slight rise in the rates of Violence Against Women and recorded rates ranging from 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population. No city recorded rise in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates above 33.66 cases per lakh population.

Of the cities that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 18.04 to 33.65 cases per lakh population in 2001, only 11.1 percent of the cities recorded a decline in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging from 5.42 to 18.03 cases per

lakh population in 2011. 44.4 per cent of the cities continued to record similar rates of crimes as was recorded in 2001. 29.7 percent of the cities registered a rise in the rate of Violence Against Women to rates ranging from 33.66 to 49.28 cases per lakh population in 2011 and 7.4 percent of the cities recorded a steep rise in the rates of Violence Against Women recording rates above 64.92 cases per lakh population in 2011.

Of the cities that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 33.66 to 49.28 cases per lakh population in 2001, no city recorded decline in the rates of Violence Against Women lower than 18.03 cases per lakh population in 2011. 33.3 percent of the cities recorded a fall in the rates of Violence Against Women to rates ranging from 18.03 to 33.65 cases per lakh population in 2011. 55.6 percent or the majority of the cities continued to record similar rates of Violence Against Women as was recorded in 2001. 11.1 percent of cities recorded a rise in the rates of Violence Against Women to 49.29 to 64.91 cases per lakh population in 2011 but no city showed rise in the rates of Violence Against Women above 64.92 cases per lakh population.

Of the cities that had recorded rates of Violence Against Women ranging from 49.29 to 64.91 cases per lakh population in 2001, no city recorded decline in the rates below 33.65 cases per lakh population, but 25 percent of the cities showed decline in rates ranging from 33.66 to 49.28 rates per lakh population 25 percent of the cities continued to record rates similar to those registered in 2001. A significant percentage of the cities, 50 percent recorded rise in the rates of Violence Against Women and recorded rates above 64.92 cases per lakh population.

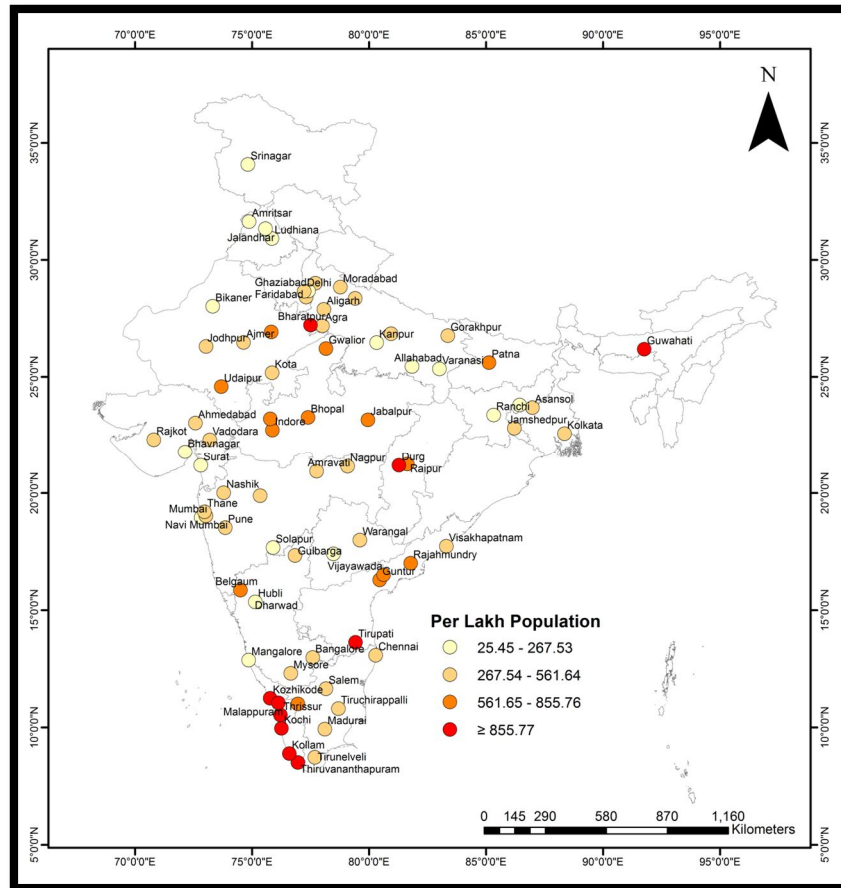
Of the city that had recorded Violence Against Women rates of above 64.92 cases per lakh population, it continued to record similar rates, leading to 100 percent stable rates over the decade with no decline in the rates in the highest rates of Violence Against Women.

As rates of Violence against Women were analysed in the section above to understand the level of hostility women experience in the city to understand if it affects levels of hostility women experience at private spaces. In the same manner whether the overall crime rates of a city impact the amount of hostility women experience in the city may be analysed by studying the rates of Total Crimes prevalent in those cities

Map 5.11 shows rates of crimes recorded in 66 cities during 2001. The cities with very high rates of Total Crimes are located in the North Central Region followed by a few cities in Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. There were fewer cities in the Eastern parts and North Eastern parts of India that were selected in the study but the cities selected recorded lower rates of total crimes when compared to the cities of the North Central and Southern Region. (Appendix V.III)

The records of Total Crimes recorded in 77 cities for the year 2011, has been presented in map in the following section.

Map 5.12
Total Crimes, 2011



(Source: Crime in India, National Crime Records Bureau, 2010, 2011, 2012)

Map 5.12 shows that in 2011, the number of cities selected for the study were 77 and the cities were dispersed geographically and the trend that was observed in 2001, gets replicated after a decade. The cities in the North Central belt continued to record high

rates of Total Crimes and same observation was true for cities of Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. Guwahati in the Northeastern part recorded rise in the rates of Total Crimes when compared to the recorded rates of 2001. (Appendix V.III.)

To get a clearer idea of the change in the rates of Total Crimes in the cities selected for the study, all change in the rates have been documented in the following section. (Table 5.17)

Table 5.17. Decadal change in the position of cities in relation to rates of Total Crimes, 2001 to 2011 Total Crimes Cities that had recorded Total Crimes Rate (25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes in 2001	Districts
Rate: 25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population)	Amritsar, Surat, Solapur, Jalandhar, Allahabad, Varanasi, Mumbai, Hubli Dharwad, Ludhiana, Kanpur
Rate: 267.54 – 561.64 cases per lakh population)	Asansol, Faridabad, Chennai, Kolkata, Nasik, Mysore, Meerut, Gorakhpur, Moradabad
Rate: 561.65 – 855.76 cases per lakh population)	Belgaum
Rate: \geq 855 cases per lakh population)	-----

The table above shows that the cities which had recorded the least number of crimes (25.45 to 267.53 cases per lakh population) in 2001, of those cities 10 cities continued to report similar rates of crime, 9 cities recorded higher rates of total crimes ranging between 267.54 to 561.64 cases per lakh population. Only one city, Belgaum recorded rise in the rate above 561.65 cases per lakh population.

The following section shows the change in rates of Total Crimes in for cities that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging from 267.54 to 561.64 cases per lakh population in 2001.

Cities that had recorded Total Crimes Rate (267.54 – 561.64 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes in 2001	Districts
Rate: 25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population)	Bikaner, Hyderabad, Bhavnagar,
Rate: 267.54 – 561.64 cases per lakh population)	Delhi, Salem, Bareilly, Aurangabad, Trichy, Vishakapatnam, Ahmendabad, Lucknow, Pune, Tirunelveli, Aligarh, Madurai, Agra, Vadodhara, Jodhpur, Ajmer, Nagpur, Navi Mumbai, Rajkot, Gulbarga, Thane, Amravati
Rate: 561.65 – 855.76 cases per lakh population)	Coimbatore, Patna, Raipur, Udaipur
Rate: \geq 855.77 cases per lakh population)	Thiruvananthapuram, Guwahati

The table above shows that of the cities that had recorded rates of total crimes ranging from 267.54 to 561.64 cases per lakh population, only 3 cities showed decline in the rates of total crimes. Majority of the cities (22 cities) continued to record similar rates of Total Crimes as was recorded in 2001. 4 cities registered rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging between 561.65 to 855.76 cases per lakh population and 2 cities recorded a steep rise in the rates of crimes to above 855.77 cases per lakh population.

The following section shows the change in the rates of Total Crimes in 2011 for cities that had recorded Total Crime rates ranging between 561.65 to 855.76 cases per lakh population.

Cities that had recorded Total Crimes Rate (561.65 – 855.76 lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes in 2001	Districts
Rate: 25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: 267.54 – 561.64 cases per lakh population)	Kota, Bengaluru
Rate: 561.65 – 855.76 cases per lakh population)	Bhopal, Vijaywada, Indore,
Rate: \geq 855.77 cases per lakh population)	Kozhikode, Jabalpur, Gwalior, Bharatpur

The table above shows that of the cities that recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging between 561.65 and 855.76 cases per lakh population in 2001. In 2011, only 2 cities recorded decline in the rates ranging between 267.54 to 561.64 cases per lakh population.

3 cities continued to record similar rates of Total Crimes while 4 cities registered rise in the rates of Total Crimes to above 855.77 cases per lakh population.

The following table shows the changes in cities which had recorded Rates of Total Crimes above 855.77 cases per lakh population in 2001

Cities that had recorded Total Crimes Rate (≥ 855.77 cases per lakh population) in 2001

Rates of Total Crimes in 2001	Districts
Rate: 25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: 267.54 – 561.64 cases per lakh population)	-----
Rate: 561.65 – 855.76 cases per lakh population)	Jaipur
Rate: ≥ 855.77 cases per lakh population)	Kochi

In 2001, only 2 cities had recorded Total Crime rates of above 855.77 in 2001, and of the two cities one city recorded decline in the rate of total crime while the other continued to record similar rate of Total Crimes.

The change in the rates of total crimes reported in individual cities that occurred between the periods of 2001 to 2011 can be summarized from the following table.

Table : 5. 18. Change in Rates of Total Crimes in Cities in Different Categories in 2011

Rates of Total Crimes in 2001	Rates of Total Crimes in Cities in 2011 (Percentage Share)			
	Rate: (25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (267.54 – 561.64 cases per lakh population)	Rate: (561.65 – 855.76 cases per lakh population)	Rate: ≥ 855.77 cases per lakh population)
Rate: 25.45 – 267.53)	50	45	5	0
Category 2 (Rate: 267.54 – 561.64)	9.7	71.5	12.9	6.1
Category 3 (Rate: 561.65 – 855.76)	0	22.2	33.3	44.5
Category 4 (Rate: ≥ 855.77)	0	0	50	50

(Figures represent percentage share)

Table 5.16 shows that of the cities that had recorded Total Crime rates ranging from 25.45 to 267.53 cases per lakh population in 2001, 50 percent of the cities continued to report similar rates of Total Crimes in 2011. 45 percent of the cities recorded rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging from 267.54 to 561.64 cases per lakh population. 5 percent of the cities recorded rates ranging between 561.65 to 855.76 cases per lakh, but no city recorded a rise over 855.77 cases per lakh population.

Of the cities that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging between 267.54 to 561.64 cases per lakh population in 2001, 9.7 percent of the cities recorded a decline in the rates of Total Crimes to rates ranging from 25.45 to 267.45 cases per lakh population in 2011. Majority of the cities (71.5 percent) continued to record similar rates of Total Crimes in 2011. 12.9 percent of the of the cities recorded a rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging from 561.65 to 855.76 cases per lakh population and a small number of cities (6.1 percent) recorded a steep rise in the rates of Total Crimes ranging above 855.77 cases per lakh population.

Of the cities that had recorded rates of Total Crimes ranging from 561.65 to 855.77 cases per lakh population in 2001, of those cities no city recorded decline in the rates of Total Crimes in 2011. 50 percent of the cities continued to record similar rates of Total Crimes in 2011, and the rest 50 percent of the cities recorded a rise in the rates of Total Crimes in 2011.

Table 5.18 also shows that even though there were cities that showed change in the rates of crimes during the decade ending in 2011, most of the cities continued to record rates in 2011 similar to the rates recorded in 2001. To then understand whether the particular crimes are linked with the overall crime rates that occur in the city becomes important. To explore the linkages between different categories of crimes, the following section looks into the relationship between and among the rates of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and the Total Crimes recorded in each city.

Linkages between occurrence of Domestic Violence in relation to Violence Against Women and Total Crimes 2001 and 2011.

Scholars investigating crime patterns have found linkages with crimes against women and the overall subculture of violence in the region²⁵. Studies on crime patterns in Indian cities too, reiterate a similar understanding and propagate the existence of a North Central Subculture of Violence²⁶. In this section of the chapter, the linkages between crimes against women and the overall crime rates are being tested to investigate if such linkages exist.

To establish any link between the categories of crimes, Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient of the variables have been calculated in the section below.

In the section below, the descriptive statistics and the correlation coefficient of the variables selected for the study is being presented.

Table 5.19 Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes, Cities, 2001

Rates of Crimes, 2001						
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Ratio
Domestic Violence	63	1	60	10.73	9.258	1.0
Violence Against Women	63	5	95	25.83	15.732	1.69
Total Crimes	63	25	2209	414.57	296.518	32.02

²⁵Wolfgang E and Ferracutti F (1967) *The Subculture of Violence*. Social Science Paperback, London. Pp. 93 – 163.

²⁶Dutt A K et al (1998) Large Cities Crime Patterns Changes in India: 1971 – 1991. *National Geographical Journal of India*, pp 73 -90

The correlation of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women for the year 2001.

Variables	Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
Domestic Violence	1	.842**
Violence Against Women	.842**	1

****.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The correlation of Violence Against Women with Total Crimes, for the year 2001

Variables	Violence Against Women	Total Crimes
Violence Against Women	1	.328**
Total Crimes	.328**	1

****.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The average rates of Domestic Violence in 63 cities selected for the study for the decade 2001, was 10.79 cases per lakh population. The average rate of reporting of Violence Against Women was recorded at 25.83 cases per lakh population. The reporting of the cases of Domestic Violence showed a strong positive correlation with reporting rates of Violence Against Women, the correlation coefficient being 0.842.

The average rate of Total crimes in the 63 cities selected for the study during the same time period, recorded a rate of 414.57 cases per lakh population. The rates of Total Crimes and the rates of Violence Against Women show a weak positive correlation at 0.328, indicating that higher rates of Total Crimes do not necessarily lead to higher rates of reporting of cases of Violence Against Women.

Although apparently, it may appear that in regions of higher rates of violence, women are not particularly vulnerable to violence from this analysis, and that the findings tend to weaken the theory of the existence of the theory of subculture of violence, yet it may also be taken into consideration that at cities where the rate of overall, crimes rates are high, women may feel more intimidated to register criminal cases against the perpetrators of violence

In the following section, the crimes rates that were recorded in 2011 are being analyzed to determine the changes in crime patterns over the decadal period.

Table 5.20. Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes, Cites, 2011

Rates of Crimes, 2011						
Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh population)	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Ratio
Domestic Violence	77	1	90	19.61	17.766	1.0
Violence Against Women	77	7	152	38.49	29.716	1.67
Total Crimes	77	118	4305	540.36	555.702	31.27

The correlation of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women for the year 2011

Variables	Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
Domestic Violence	1	.906**
Violence Against Women	.906**	1

****.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The correlation of Violence Against Women with Total Crimes, for the year 2011

Variables	Violence Against Women	Total Crimes
Violence Against Women	1	.506**
Total Crimes	.506**	1

****.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

The average rate of reporting of Domestic Violence rose from 10.73 cases per lakh population to 19.61 cases per lakh population in 2011 in the 77 cities selected for the study. The average rate of Violence Against Women also rose to 38.49 cases per lakh population in 2011 from 25.83 cases per lakh population in 2001.

The reporting of cases of Domestic Violence continued to show a very strong correlation with the rate of reporting of all types of Violence Against Women. The correlation coefficient value is 0.906, which also indicates that the relationship between the two variables has become stronger over the decade. (The correlation coefficient was 0.842 in 2001)

The average rates of Total Crimes recorded in the 77 cities selected for the study show an increase in the average rate of Total Crimes to 540.36 cases per lakh population in 2011 from 414.57 cases per lakh population in 2001.

The correlation between the rates of Violence Against Women and rates of Total Crimes showed a weak positive correlation. The correlation coefficient value is 0.506. It is worth mentioning that the correlation coefficient has strengthened over the decade as the correlation coefficient was 0.328 in 2001.

The weak correlation between the average rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes in cities reaffirms the fact that higher rates of Violence Against Women are not related to the higher rates of total crimes occurring in the cities. This also means that the subculture of violence apparently does not work towards making women more vulnerable to violence, but since the rates are representative of only the reported crimes, it may also indicate that in regions where there exists a strong subculture of violence, women experience a higher degree of intimidation to report crimes against women.

In a contrast to the results that emerged in the district level analysis of crimes in the previous chapter (Chapter 4) where it was observed that Domestic Violence rates shared strong positive correlation with rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes reported in a district. It was concluded at the district level that, recording of Domestic Violence is higher in regions where women are more vulnerable to violent assaults both at public and private spaces. It was also concluded that in areas of over all high rates of crimes (Total Crime rates) the violent subculture makes women's vulnerability to violence rise manifolds. In the urban centres, the relation between over all rates of crimes and rates of Domestic Violence appears to be weaker.

The analysis presented in this section pertains to all the cities selected in the study. This analysis does not throw much light on the city type and its influence in the crime patterns that occur in the cities.

In the following section, attempt is being made to present the crime patterns recorded in cities taking into consideration, the historical, socio-cultural, agro-ecological and functional characteristics of the cities

Genealogy of Cities and Crime Patterns

In the beginning of the chapter the unique character of urbanisation in India was elucidated. Cities in India have evolved at different time periods in history and are located in diverse physical and socio-cultural niches. The cities also have specific functions. These are a few of the reasons why cities in India cannot be treated enmasse and it is unfair to reach generalization on the social pathology that is experienced in the cities. The character of the cities can be analyzed better by segregating the cities into generic categories, and organizing the cities genealogically.

Crime rates in cities do show diverse patterns when compared to the crime rates that make up the hinterland of the city. Yet, treating all the crime patterns in the cities as a mere expression of urbanism would be a rather facile way of examining the etiology of the crimes in cities.

Before embarking on the analysis of the crimes grouped into various categories, the analysis of the average rates of all cities in the two time periods chosen for the study over the decadal periods of 2001 and 2011 would provide a foil for comparing the diverse categories of cities.

The analysis of the average crime patterns of 63 cities in 2001 and 77 cities in 2011 has been presented in the table below.

Table 5.21. Average Crime Rates in Cities, 2001 and 2011.

Rates of Crimes, 2001						
Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh population)	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Ratio
Domestic Violence	63	1	60	10.73	9.258	1.0
Violence Against Women	63	5	95	25.83	15.732	1.69
Total Crimes	63	25	2209	414.57	296.518	32.02
Rates of Crimes, 2011						
Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh population)	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Ratio
Domestic Violence	77	1	90	19.61	17.766	1.0
Violence Against Women	77	7	152	38.49	29.716	1.67
Total Crimes	77	118	4305	540.36	555.702	31.27

In 2001, the average rate of reporting of Domestic Violence in 63 cities was 10.73 cases per lakh population with the minimum rate being 1 and maximum 60 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 9.25. In 2011, the average rate of Domestic Violence in 77 cities rose to 19.61 cases per lakh population with minimum rate still at 1 and maximum rate rose to 90 cases per lakh population. The standard deviation of the dataset was also higher than 2001, at 15.732 indicating more diversity among the rates of crimes recorded in the cities.

In 2001, the average rate of Violence Against Women in 63 cities was recorded at 25.83 cases per lakh population, with minimum and maximum rates at 5 and 95 cases per lakh population respectively and standard deviation equaling 15.73. In 2011, the average rate of Violence Against Women increased to 38.49 cases per lakh population; with minimum and maximum rate of 1 and maximum rate of 152 cases per lakh population showing an increase from 2001. The standard deviation of the rates of Violence Against Women was 29.71 which is higher than that of 2001 indicating higher variation in rates of Violence Against Women recorded in the selected cities.

In 2001, the Total Crime Rates reported an average of 269.5 cases per lakh population. The average rate of total crimes rose to 540.36 cases per lakh population in 2011. This indicates a very steep rise in the crime rates in the cities between the years 2001 and 2011 along with rise in the rates of reporting of crimes in cities.

As discussed in the previous section, the crime rates of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women would be compared among groups of cities in accordance with their historical, socio-cultural, agro ecological and functional commonalities.

City groups created on the basis of historical categories is being presented in the following table.

Table 5.22. Age of Cities and Crime Rates.

Ancient Cities, Rates of Crimes, 2001					
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Domestic Violence	9	1	60	12.33	18.695
Violence Against Women	9	6	95	31.11	26.117
Total Crimes	9	196	750	374.78	202.382
Ancient Cities, Rates of Crimes, 2011					
Domestic Violence	9	6	90	24.83	32.529
Violence Against Women	9	12	152	42.33	54.342
Total Crimes	9	178	660	374.17	196.751
Medieval Cities, Rates of Crimes, 2001					
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Domestic Violence	44	1	28	11.14	7.010
Violence Against Women	44	7	54	25.89	13.131
Total Crimes	44	25	2209	414.98	327.879
Medieval Cities, Rates of Crimes, 2011					
Domestic Violence	54	2	68	18.52	13.605
Violence Against Women	54	7	100	35.69	20.416
Total Crimes	54	150	1172	454.72	233.381
Colonial Cities, Rates of Crimes, 2001					
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Domestic Violence	9	2	18	7.56	5.812
Violence Against Women	9	5	55	21.22	15.627
Total Crimes	9	169	876	446.56	243.576
Colonial Cities, Rates of Crimes, 2011					
Domestic Violence	13	1	80	22.00	23.743
Violence Against Women	13	7	131	47.63	43.280
Total Crimes	13	118	4305	894.44	1089.933

Post Independent Cities: Only a single city namely Navi Mumbai features in this category in both the time periods 2001 and 2011; so the trends of the Post Independent cities cannot be generalized or inferred from this study.

From the Table 5.22, it may be seen that 9 ancient cities were analyzed in 2001. The average rate of Domestic Violence recorded was 7.56 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum values were 1 and 60 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 18.69. The average rates of Violence Against Women in ancient cities were 31.11 cases per lakh population. The minimum and maximum rates of Violence Against Women was 6 and 95 cases per lakh population respectively, with standard deviation of 26.11.

In 2011, the average rates of Domestic Violence rose to 24.83 cases per lakh population, with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 6 to 90 cases per lakh population with a standard deviation of 32.52. The rates of Violence Against Women also increased in 2011, with the average rate of 42.33 cases per lakh population. The minimum and maximum rates range from 12 to 152 cases per lakh population with a standard deviation of 54.34.

In 44 medieval towns selected in the study during 2001, the average rate of Domestic Violence was 11.14 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum values ranging from 1 and 28 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 7.01. The average rates of Violence Against Women was recorded at 25.89 cases per lakh population. The minimum and maximum rates ranges from 7 to 54 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 13.13.

In 2011, the number of cities that had been established in the medieval period went up to 54. The average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded at 18.52 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 2 and 68 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set being 18.52. The average rates of Violence Against Women was recorded at 35.69 cases per lakh population. The minimum and maximum rates ranges from 7 to 100 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 20.41

In 9 colonial cites selected in the study during 2001, the average rate of Domestic Violence was 7.56 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum values ranging from 2 and 18 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 5.81. The average rate of Violence Against Women was recorded at 21.22

cases per lakh population. The minimum and maximum rates ranges from 5 to 59 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 15.62.

In 2011, the number of cities that had been established in the medieval period went up to 13. The average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded at 18.52 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 1 and 80 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set being 23.74. The average rate of Violence Against Women was recorded at 47.63 cases per lakh population. The minimum and maximum rates ranges from 7 to 131 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 43.28

Among the cities grouped on the basis of their origin historically, in 2001, colonial cities recorded rates lower than the average while ancient and medieval cities recorded higher rates. For the data on Violence Against Women too, colonial cities recorded lower rates than the average rates of all 63 towns selected for the study.

Beyond the historical classification, the cities selected for the study have been classified into linguistic regions and the religious composition of the cities.

The regional character of the cities is shown by locating in their linguistic niche. The table below shows the crime records in groups of cities in selected linguistic regions.

Table 5.23. Linguistic Regions and Crimes

Cities in Linguistic Regions, Rates of Crimes, 2001								
Linguistic Region	Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh Population)						Coefficient of Variation	
	Domestic Violence			Violence Against Women			Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		
Bengali	2	3	2.5	7	10	8.5	28	24
Gujarati	4	19	10.2	7	32	18	52	56
Hindi	1	28	13	6	55	33.88	56	37
Kannada	1	14	6	6	30	17	81	61
Malayalam	8	18	11.3	19	29	24	50	20
Marathi	2	15	9.11	5	31	18.67	49	42
Punjabi	5	14	8.33	10	24	15	58	52
Tamil	1	3	2.5	8	17	13.5	33	27
Telugu	19	60	33	28	95	55.67	70	61
Cities in Linguistic Regions, Rates of Crimes, 2011								
Linguistic Region	Rates of Crimes cases per lakh Population						Coefficient of Variation	
	Domestic Violence			Violence Against Women			Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		
Bengali	2	3	2.5	7	10	8.5	28	24
Gujarati	6	24	16.4	9	30	21.6	41	38
Hindi	1	48	17.93	7	131	38.27	60	58
Kannada	3	27	10.5	7	53	22.17	90	83
Malayalam	20	80	42	48	116	82.7	57	34
Marathi	3	19	9.56	12	40	21.33	47	41
Punjabi	7	10	8.67	17	20	18.67	17	8
Tamil	2	8	4.67	7	15	12.33	50	24
Telugu	20	90	45.71	26	152	74.14	55	57

The table above shows, in 2001, cities located in the Malayalam linguistic region recorded the highest average rates of Domestic Violence of 11.30 cases per lakh population followed by cities located in the Gujarati speaking linguistic regions (10.2 cases per lakh population) and Marathi linguistic region (9.11 cases per lakh population). The lowest rates of Domestic Violence was recorded in cities located in Bengali and Tamil linguistic regions, (2.5 cases per lakh population), followed by Kannada linguistic region (6 cases per lakh population). Crime rates within the Bengali and Tamil linguistic

regions also demonstrated a low coefficient of variation and thereby indicating similar pattern of reporting within the cities of the region.

The highest rate of Violence Against Women was recorded in Telugu linguistic regions (55.67 cases per lakh population) followed by cities of Gujarati linguistic region (33.88 cases per lakh population).

The lowest rate of Violence Against Women was recorded in Bengali and Tamil linguistic regions (8.5 and 13.5 cases per lakh population, respectively). In the two groups of cities the coefficient of variation was also less indicating uniformity in the rates of the cities located within the region.

The lowest rate of Violence Against Women was recorded in Bengal and Tamil linguistic regions (8.5 and 13.5 cases per lakh population respectively). In these two groups of cities too, the coefficient of variation of the rates were low, indicating that the rates of Violence Against Women in the cities of those linguistic regions show uniformity.

In 2011, the lowest rates of Domestic Violence were found in cities located in Bengali linguistic region (2.5 cases per lakh population) followed by the cities in the Tamil linguistic region (4.67 cases per lakh population). The cities located in the Telugu linguistic region recorded highest rates of Domestic Violence (45.71 cases per lakh population) followed by cities located in the Malayalam linguistic region (42 cases per lakh population).

The lowest rate of Violence Against Women is observed in Bengali linguistic region (8.5 cases per lakh population) followed by Tamil linguistic region (12.33 cases per lakh population). The highest rate of Violence Against Women was recorded in cities located in Telugu linguistic region (74.14 cases per lakh population) followed by cities of Hindi linguistic region (38.27 cases per lakh population).

Apart from linguistic niche within which the cities are located, the religious composition of the cities were also considered as factors that create the socio-cultural space of the city. The uniformity or diversity religious practices that the city population follow also leads to creation of a heterogeneous distinct socio- cultural ethos. In the following table, the

rates of Domestic Violence and Crimes Against Women have been calculated for groups of cities with different religious composition.

Table 5.24. Religious Composition and Crimes.

Cities with One Dominant Religious Group 2001					
Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh population)	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Domestic Violence	44	1	60	10.70	10.394
Violence Against Women	44	7	95	26.30	16.970
Total Crimes	44	25	2209	433.84	328.413
Cities with Two Dominant Religious Groups 2001					
Domestic Violence	15	1	20	10.67	6.789
Violence Against Women	15	5	54	25.27	14.185
Total Crimes	15	81	746	327.40	177.268
Cities with Three Dominant Religious Groups 2001					
Domestic Violence	4	8	14	11.25	2.754
Violence Against Women	4	19	31	22.75	5.560
Total Crimes	4	275	876	529.50	251.903
Crimes in Cities with One Dominant Religious Group 2011					
Domestic Violence	53	1	90	20.34	17.404
Violence Against Women	53	7	152	39.32	29.268
Total Crimes	53	118	2394	502.98	336.010
Crimes in Cities with Two Dominant Religions 2011					
Domestic Violence	18	2	80	17.28	18.275
Violence Against Women	18	7	115	35.28	29.407
Total Crimes	18	165	1487	444.72	378.570
Crimes in Cities with Three Dominant Religions: 2011					
Domestic Violence	6	3	63	20.17	22.058
Violence Against Women	6	11	116	40.83	39.010
Total Crimes	6	241	4305	1157.50	1589.842

The table above shows that the in 2001, 44 out of 63 cities selected for the study had one dominant religious group. The average rate of Domestic Violence was 10.70 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 1 to 60 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 10.39. The average rates

of Violence Against Women was recorded at 26.30 cases per lakh population, with the highest and the lowest rates ranging from 7 to 95 cases per lakh population.

In 15 out of 63 cities selected for the study in 2001 two dominant religious groups were present and in those cities the average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded at 10.67 cases per lakh population with the maximum and minimum rates ranging from 1 and 20 cases per lakh population. The average rate of Violence Against Women was recorded at 25.27 cases per lakh population with the highest and lowest rates ranging from 5 and 54 cases per lakh population.

In 4 out of 63 cities selected for the study in 2001, three major dominant religious groups were present. The average rate of Domestic Violence in those cities was recorded at 11.25 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 8 and 14 cases per lakh population respectively. The average rate of Violence Against Women was recorded at 22.75 cases per lakh population, with the minimum and maximum rates ranging from 19 and 31 cases per lakh population.

In 2011, 53 out of 77 cities selected for the study had one dominant religious group. The average rate of Domestic Violence was 20.34 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 1 to 90 cases per lakh population respectively. The standard deviation of the data set is 117.04. The average rate of Violence Against Women was recorded at 39.32 cases per lakh population, with the highest and the lowest rates ranging from 7 to 152 cases per lakh population.

In 18 out of 77 cities selected for the study in 2001 two dominant religious groups were present and in those cities the average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded at 17.28 cases per lakh population with the maximum and minimum rates ranging from 2 and 80 cases per lakh population. The average rate of Violence Against Women was recorded at 35.28 cases per lakh population with the highest and lowest rates ranging from 7 and 115 cases per lakh population.

In 6 out of 77 cities selected for the study in 2001, three major dominant religious groups were present. The average rate of Domestic Violence in those cities was recorded at 20.17 cases per lakh population with minimum and maximum rates ranging from 3 and 63 cases per lakh population respectively. The average rates of Violence Against Women

was recorded at 40.83 cases per lakh population, with the minimum and maximum rates ranging from 11 and 116 cases per lakh population.

In the ancient cities the rate of Domestic Violence remain unchanged from 2001 to 2011.

In cities with one dominant religious group and cities with three dominant religious groups, the average rate of reporting of Domestic Violence doubled over the decade 2001 to 2011. In cities with two dominant religious groups, lowest average rates of Domestic Violence among the three groups of cities, during both the time periods, 2001 and 2011; though the difference in the rates is not very significant. The rates of Violence Against Women had increased in all groups of towns indicating rising vulnerability of women in cities. Cities with three dominant religious groups recorded a marked increase in the average rates of Violence Against Women.

Barring the socio – cultural conditions that prevail in the cities, the physical conditions that make up the hinterland of a city renders an important aspect of the composition of the city population. Agro ecological regions that make up the hinterland of the city is an important determinant of not only the economic linkages from the sub-urban regions of the city, but also a large part of the migrants who make up the city population giving the city it's unique character.

The following table depicts the role of the agro ecological regions in determining the rates of crimes against women in the cities.

Table 5.25 Agro Ecological Regions and Crimes

Cities in Agro Ecological Regions, Rates of Crimes, 2001								
Agro Ecological Regions	Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh Population)						Coefficient of Variation	
	Domestic Violence			Violence Against Women			Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		
2	15	26	21.25	24	54	37	24	40
4	1	28	12.3	7	53	30.5	73	48
5	8	10	9	14	32	24	11	38
6	1	14	8.25	6	31	19.75	62	44
8	2	6	3.5	8	17	13	48	28
9	5	20	11.64	10	54	29.36	48	46
10	7	10	8	21	31	26	21	19
15	3	8	5.5	7	22	14.5	63	71
18	3	20	11.5	15	44	29.5	109	68
19	1	18	7.2	5	29	16.7	76	52
Cities in Agro Ecological Regions, Rates of Crimes, 2011								
Agro Ecological Regions	Rates of Crimes (cases per lakh Population)						Coefficient of Variation	
	Domestic Violence			Violence Against Women			Domestic Violence	Violence Against Women
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		
2	21	35	27.25	26	42	35.5	22	21
4	7	48	22.5	16	73	40.8	55	41
5	15	18	16.25	19	45	31.75	7	38
6	6	27	12.1	11	54	25.5	21	41
7	20	40	30	26	70	48	47	64
8	3	7	4.75	14	15	14.25	36	3
9	6	23	13.8	12	54	31.36	43	45
10	7	10	8	21	31	26	21.5	19.2
11	7	33	20	29	131	80	91	9
12	1	60	18.25	7	79	30	155	110
15	14	23	18.5	30	75	52.5	34	59
18	4	90	46	11	152	74.8	74	74
19	2	80	21.93	7	116	43.79	109	90

The table above shows in 2001, the lowest average Domestic Violence rate was observed in Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau), Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region). The average rate was 3.5 cases

per lakh population, followed by Agro Ecological Region 15 (Assam Bengal Plain , Hot Sub Humid to Humid Eco Region) and Agro Ecological Region 19 (Western Ghats and Coastal Plains, Hot Humid to Per Humid Ecological Region). The average rates were 5.5 cases per lakh population and 7.2 cases per lakh population respectively.

Cities that recorded the highest rates of Domestic Violence were located in Agro Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region). The average rate was 21.25 cases per lakh population. The other two regions that recorded high rates of Domestic Violence were Agro Ecological Region 4 (Northern Plains, Central Highlands including Aravallis) and Agro Ecological Region 9 (Northern Plains, Hot Sub Humid, Dry Ecological Region). The average rates of recorded Domestic Violence in the cities located in the two regions were 12.3 cases per lakh population and 11.64 cases per lakh population respectively.

Rate of Violence Against Women was lowest in Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau), Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region) the rate being 13.0 cases per lakh population. Cities of this region was followed by cities within Agro Ecological Region 15 (Assam Bengal Plain , Hot Sub Humid to Humid Eco Region) and Agro Ecological Region 19 (Western Ghats and Coastal Plains, Hot Humid to Per Humid Ecological Region) the average rates recorded were 14.5 cases per lakh population and 16.5 cases per lakh population respectively. Cities that recorded the highest rates of Violence Against Women were located within Agro Ecological Region 4 (Northern Plains, Central Highlands including Aravallis) recording an average rate of 30.4 cases per lakh population, followed by Agro Ecological Region 18 (Eastern Coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region) where cities recorded average rates of 29.5 cases per lakh population and Agro Ecological Region 9 (Northern Plains, hot Sub Humid (Dry) Ecological Region) with average rates of 29.36 cases per lakh population.

In 2011, the lowest average rate of Domestic Violence was recorded in cities that were located Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau) recording a rate of 4.75 lakh per population. Cities of this region was

followed by cities located in Agro Ecological Region 10 (Central Highlands (Malwa and Bundelkhand), Hot Sub Humid Dry Ecological Sub Region) with a rate of 8 cases per lakh population.

The highest rates of Domestic Violence were recorded in Agro Ecological Region 18 (Eastern Coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region) with a rate of 46 cases per lakh population. The cities of Agro Ecological Region 7 (Deccan Plateau (Telangana) Eastern Ghats, Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region) followed with rate of 30 cases per lakh population.

The lowest average rates of Violence Against Women was recorded in cities located in Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau), Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region) with a rate of 14.25 cases per lakh population. This region was followed by cities in the region of Agro Ecological Region 10 (Central Highlands (Malwa and Bundelkhand), Hot Sun Humid Dry Ecological Sub Region) with a rate of 26.0 cases per lakh population.

The highest average rates of Violence Against Women was recorded in cities located in the Agro Ecological Region 18 (Eastern coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region) with a rate of 74.8 cases per lakh population. This region was followed by Agro Ecological Region 19 (Western Ghats and Coastal Plains, Hot Humid to Per Humid Ecological Region) and Agro Ecological Region 4 (Northern Plains, Central Highlands including Aravallis) recorded rates of 43.79 cases per lakh population and 40.8 cases per lakh population respectively.

Over the decadal period of 2001 to 2011, cities located in Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau), Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region) continued to record least rates of Domestic Violence. Agro Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region) continued to record highest rates of Domestic Violence in the cities located in this region.

Rates of Violence Against Women were found to be the highest in cities located in the Agro Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region) in 2001, but in 2011, cities located within the Agro Ecological

Region 18 (Eastern coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region) emerged as the region with cities reporting highest rates of Violence Against Women. Cities located within Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau) showed least change in the rates from 2001 to 2011.

As the physical setting of a city influences its cultural environment, the functional characteristic of the city. In the next section, the records of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women in cities have been compared on the basis of the dominant function of the city. The following table shows the rates of crimes in three groups of cities prepared on the basis of the functional specialities.

Table 5.26. .Dominant Function of the City and Crime Rates

Industry, Rates of Crimes, 2001					
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard. Deviation
Domestic Violence	20	1	19	9.10	5.656
Violence Against Women	20	7	54	22.90	12.384
Total Crimes	20	136	2209	419.60	445.360
Services, Rates of Crimes, 2001					
Domestic Violence	25	1	25	9.56	6.826
Violence Against Women	25	5	55	25.04	13.440
Total Crimes	25	169	876	421.20	194.265
Trade and Transport, Rates of Crimes. 2001					
Domestic Violence	18	1	60	14.17	13.908
Violence Against Women	18	6	95	30.17	21.103
Total Crimes	18	25	750	399.78	213.014
Industry, Rates of Crimes, 2011					
Rates of Crimes cases per lakh population	Number of Cities	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard. Deviation
Domestic Violence	23	2	63	14.22	12.84
Violence Against Women	23	7	116	28.09	23.23
Total Crimes	23	178	1291	389.52	236.99
Services, Rates of Crimes, 2011					
Domestic Violence	31	3	40	15.65	10.085
Violence Against Women	31	11	131	35.23	24.058
Total Crimes	31	150	4305	647.61	799.067
Trade and Transport, Rates of Crimes, 2011					
Domestic Violence	22	1	90	28.09	22.807
Violence Against Women	22	7	152	50.50	35.208
Total Crimes	22	118	986	503.91	246.209

From the table above it may be inferred that cities that have Trade and Transport as a dominant function recorded highest rates of Domestic Violence in 2001 as well as 2011. The starkness of the difference persists in both the time periods chosen for the study. In

2001, while cities with dominant function as Industry and Services recorded rates of 9.10 and 9.56 cases per lakh population respectively, the cities with dominant function as Trade and Transport recorded a rate of 14.17 cases per lakh population. In 2011 too similar pattern of reporting Domestic Violence was observed. While cities with dominant functions as Industry and Services reported rates of 14.22 and 15.65 cases per lakh population respectively, Cities that reported Trade and Transport as the dominant function recorded 28.09 cases per lakh population.

The pattern also bears similarity with rates of reporting of Violence Against Women. Cities that recorded Industry and Services as the dominant function reported rates of Violence Against Women as 22.90 and 25.04 cases per lakh population respectively, while cities that recorded Trade and Transport as the dominant function reported Violence Against Women rates as 30.17 cases per lakh population. In 2011, the cities that recorded Industry and Services as the dominant function reported Violence Against Women rates as 28.09 and 35.23 cases per lakh population respectively, while cities that recorded Transport and Trade as the dominant function recorded Violence Against Women rates as 50.50 cases per lakh population.

For the two time periods taken up in the study, cities with Trade and Transport reported highest rates of cases of Domestic Violence as well as Violence Against Women.

Concluding Remarks:

The chapter opens with a discussion on the significance of research on urban crimes and moves on to listing the urban centers selected for the study for the time periods 2001 and 2011.

The urban centres were genealogically classified on the basis of the period of origin of the cities, the Agro Ecological Region within which the cities are located, the religious and linguistic composition of the city population and finally, the 'Functional Specialization' of the city in terms of its occupational composition. The three categories of crimes chosen for the study; Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes were tabulated for each city and the share of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women in proportion to the volume of Total Crimes have presented across the cities. Each category of crime, namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women

and Total Crimes was mapped for two time periods; 2001 and 2011 and the decadal change in all the urban centre were documented. The rates of Domestic Violence was compared and contrasted with rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes to identify whether high rates of crimes led to higher rates of Violence Against Women and that in turn influenced the rates of Domestic Violence. It was deciphered that high rates of Violence Against Women did influence the rates of Domestic Violence in the cities, but the rates of Total Crimes did not have any significant bearing on rates of Domestic Violence which is characteristic to urban centres as in the district level analysis in the previous chapter yielded contrasting results.

The genealogical classification of the urban centres and their role in determining the rates of crimes resulted in identifying city types that were associated with higher rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women.

The chapter paves the path for researching the issue of Domestic Violence in within the socio – ecological realm one occupies. Researching the individual who is experiencing Domestic Violence and the family members who perpetrate such atrocities is the way forwards which has been undertaken in the following chapter.

The cities classified historically indicated that the cities that had originated in the colonial period, registered higher rates of increase in the rates of both Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women during the decade ending in 2011, when compared to the cities that had origins in the medieval and ancient period. No generalisation could be made on cities of Post Independence era since only a single city featured in the study.

Cities classified on the basis of their linguistic regions showed that the cities located in the Malayalam linguistic region recorded highest rates of Domestic Violence followed by cities located in the Gujarati linguistic region. The lowest rates of Domestic Violence were recorded in Bengali and Tamil linguistic regions while highest rates of Violence Against Women were recorded in cities of Telugu and Gujarati linguistic regions.

In cities with one, two or three dominant religious groups did not record any significant difference in the rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women, but recorded doubling of the rates of both Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women in cities where there were either one dominant religious group, or three dominant religious

groups. In cities where there were two dominant religious groups the rise in the rates of Domestic Violence as well as Violence Against Women were less pronounced.

Over a period from 2001 to 2011, cities located in Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau), Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region) continued to record least rates of Domestic Violence. Agro Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region) continued to record highest rates of Domestic Violence in the cities located in this region.

Rates of Violence Against Women were found to be the highest in cities located in the Agro Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region) in 2001, but in 2011, cities located within the Agro Ecological Region 18 (Eastern coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region) emerged as the region with cities reporting highest rates of Violence Against Women. Cities located within Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau) showed least change in the rates from 2001 to 2011

In terms of functional classification of the cities selected in the study, cities where Trade and Transport was a dominant function recorded highest rates of Domestic Violence in 2001 as well as 2011. The cities where Industry or Services dominated the occupational structure of the city population, the rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women did not reveal any significant change in rates during 2001 and 2011.

For a deeper understanding of the ecological realms that influence the subjects experiencing and perpetrating crimes in the urban milieu, detailed personalised investigation into their socio-cultural, socio-structural realms would be studied in the following chapter to comprehend the etiology of crimes against women in general and Domestic Violence in particular in the urban spaces of India.

Chapter – 6

Determinants of Domestic Violence in Metropolitan Cities of Delhi and Kolkata.

“One day we should show how intra familial relations ... have become “disciplined” absorbing since the classical age the schemata, first educational and military, then medical, psychiatric, psychological, which have made the family the privileged locus of the disciplinary question of the normal and the abnormal.”

[Michel Foucault (1995)]

Resistances to power is one of the important ways to know and understands how power works. In this chapter, women’s resistances to Domestic Violence has been documented to probe into the ways violence is unleashed on women within families to discipline them, to force them to conform to the marital family’s rules and how family member act with complete impunity when it comes to violently disciplining married women.

In the previous chapters, the rationale for choosing two metropolitan cities- Delhi and Kolkata as ‘field region’ for interviewing women experiencing Domestic Violence has been discussed. The sites chosen for meeting women who could share their experience of domestic abuse were; Crime Women Cell at Nanakpura in New Delhi and Women’s Grievance Cell at Lalbazar in Kolkata. Crime Women Cell at Nanakpura in New Delhi is a specialized cell handling cases related to violence against women in general and Domestic Violence in particular. The Police Officers appointed at the Cell are trained at counselling services who offer their expertise to women approaching them to seek relief from incidences of Domestic Violence. The counsellors also guide the family members of the respondents and give them the opportunity to voice their concerns and grievances. Legal advice is also provided as well as counselling sessions are organised for both the parties (the aggrieved woman and her natal family with her husband and his family members). Attempts are made to try and resolve the differences between the two parties and in case the parties are not able to mutually resolve their differences by way of mediation, the counsellors then advise them to resort to legal recourse through courts. In Delhi, many unitary police stations are also well equipped to take up cases of

Domestic Violence, but the Crime Women Cell at Nanakpura is the most important centre of them all. This particular Police Station deals exclusively in cases of Domestic Violence and offer many other ancillary facilities like counselling through external agencies like certain volunteering NGOs, and Psychiatrists are also invited to help the complainants deal with traumatic memories of abuse. The Police Station too has an unit for teaching self defence techniques to women. It is also the main Police Station for the control room interlinked to all Police Control Room (PCR) Vans that ply all around the city to intercept offenders who inflict violence on women.

In Kolkata, the Women's Grievance Cell similar to the Crime Women Cell in Delhi offers services that are specialised in offering relief to aggrieved women who experience Domestic Violence. The Cell is one of its kinds in Kolkata. There exists one more centre in the eastern margins of the city of Kolkata but that centre caters to women complainants from the districts located adjacent to the city of Kolkata. In the Women's Grievance Cell in Kolkata too, the Police Officers are trained in counselling services pertaining to Domestic Violence. The space allocated to the Women's Grievance Cell in Kolkata is comparatively smaller as compared to the Crime Women Cell in Delhi; but since the cell is located within the main campus of the Detective Department of Kolkata Police, the ancillary services of offering PCR Vans and operation of a control room for attending phone calls of women in distress are made available with ease.

The accessibility of the crime women cells in the two metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata is being discussed in the following section.

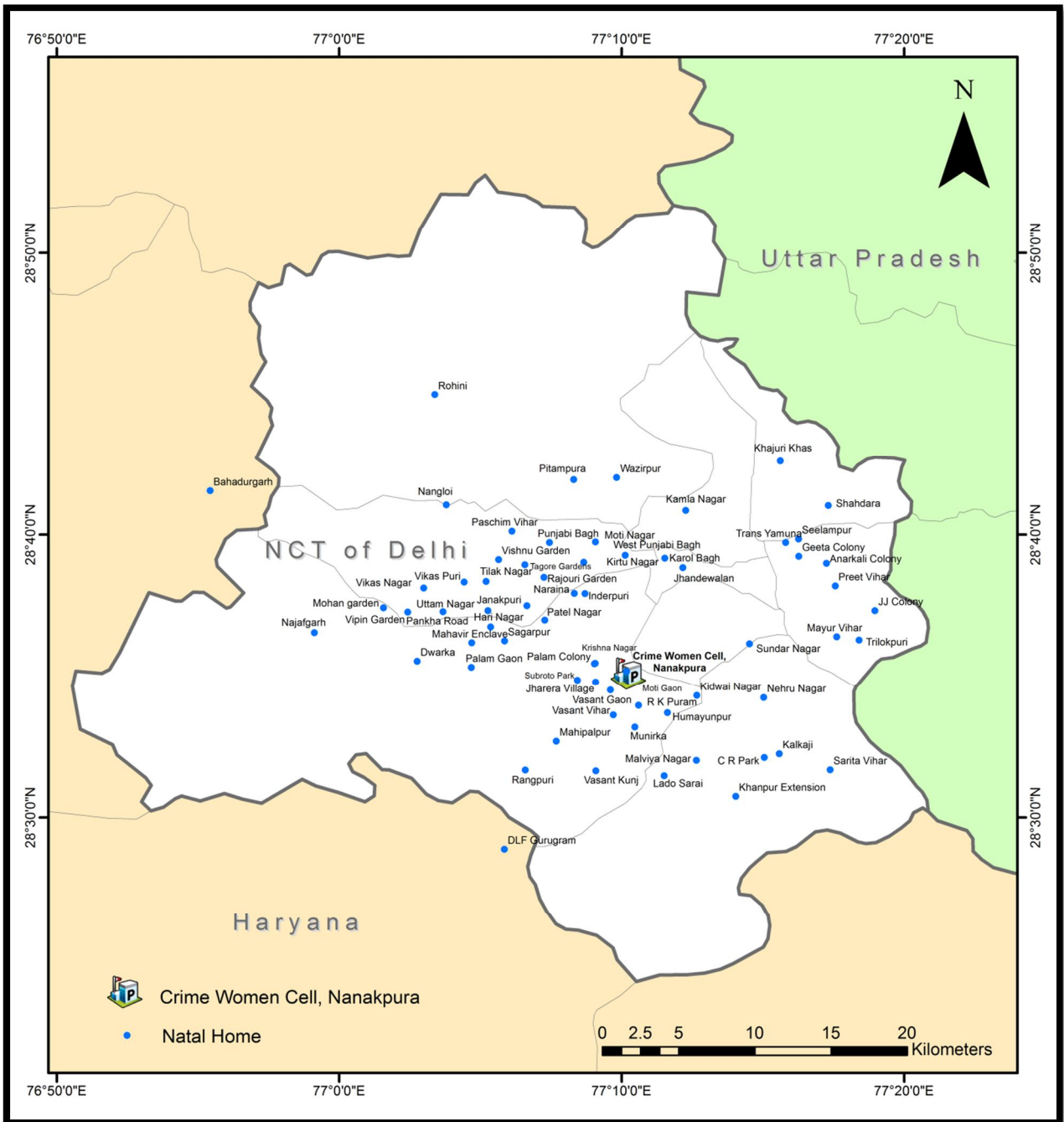
Spatial Location of Respondents.

The setting up of women's cells in the urban centres have offered women an exclusive space where they can assert their rights as citizens of the nation for a violence free home. The crime women cells are different from all women police stations as these cells are operated by male and female police staffs who are trained in handling cases of Domestic Violence. . Women and their family members travel from all parts of the city to the cells for seeking support and justice. The maps show the locations of the natal homes as well as the marital homes of the respondents since, during the course of the arbitration process, women could be travelling to

the crime women cell from their natal as well as marital homes. Mapping the natal as well as marital homes of the respondents is also important because during the arbitration process, members from the natal family as well as the marital family are present for discussions and counselling session for the aggrieved couple and their families.

Map 6.1 shows the location of the natal homes of the respondents of Delhi who were interviewed for the study.

Map: 6.1. Location of Natal Homes of Respondents in Delhi

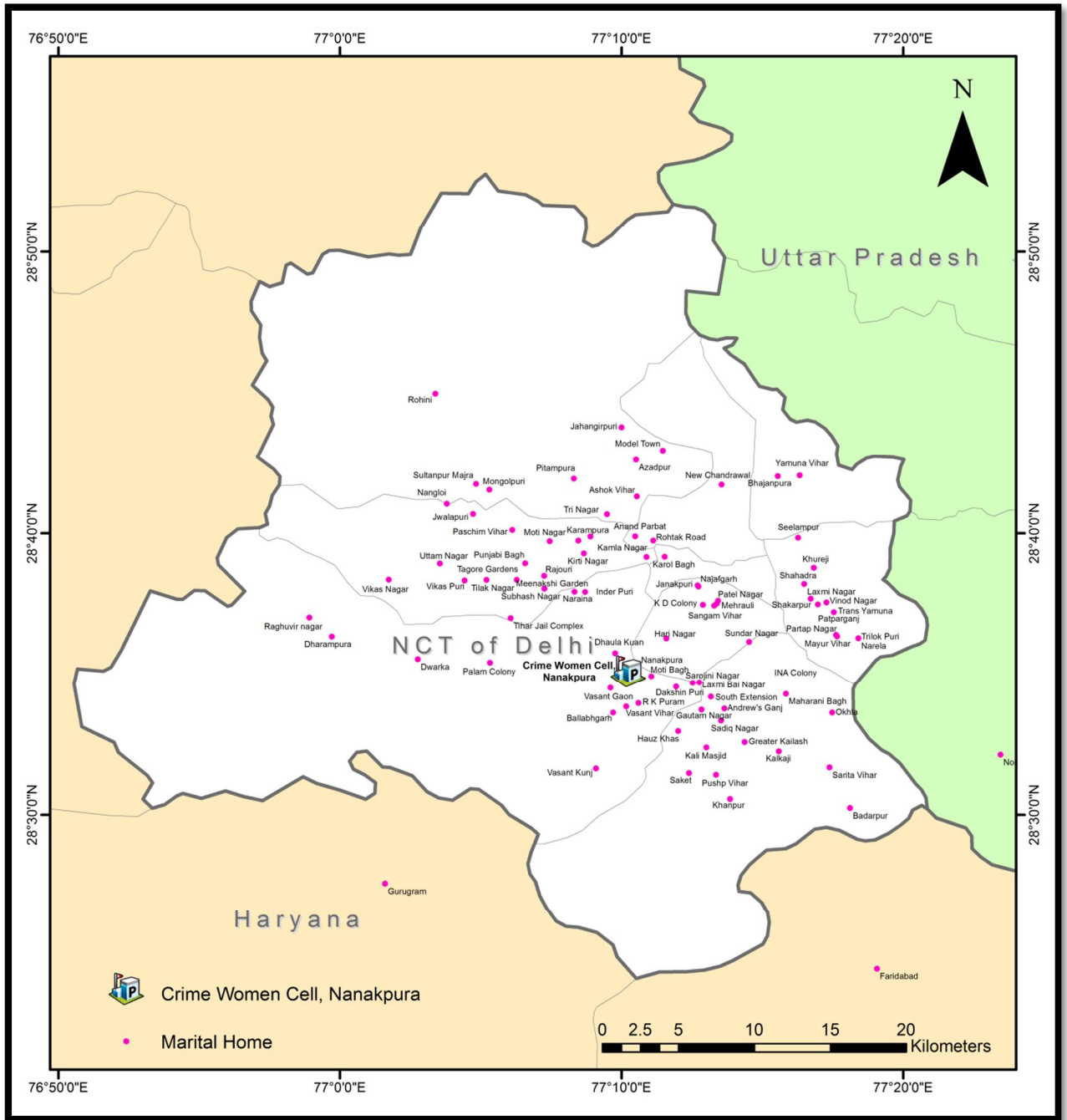


The map above shows the location of the Natal homes of the respondents of cases of Domestic Violence. The map shows that the respondents' natal homes are spread across the city which once again highlights the role of the Crime Women cell at Nanakpura which caters to women

from all the districts of Delhi and not just localities which are geographically close to the cell. Some of the localities where the Natal homes of the respondents were located include, Rohini in the North West, Yamuna Vihar in the North East, Raghuvir Nagar in the West, Trans-Yamuna, Lakshmi Nagar in the East, Badarpur in South East and Vasant Kunj in South West Delhi. In order to reach the Crime Women Cell at Nanakpura, most of the respondents living at their natal home would have to travel more than 20 kilometers.

While living at the marital home too, the respondents ensued arbitrations for Domestic Violence. To understand how far and wide the locations of the marital homes of the respondents were located, Map 6.2 below gives a vivid picture.

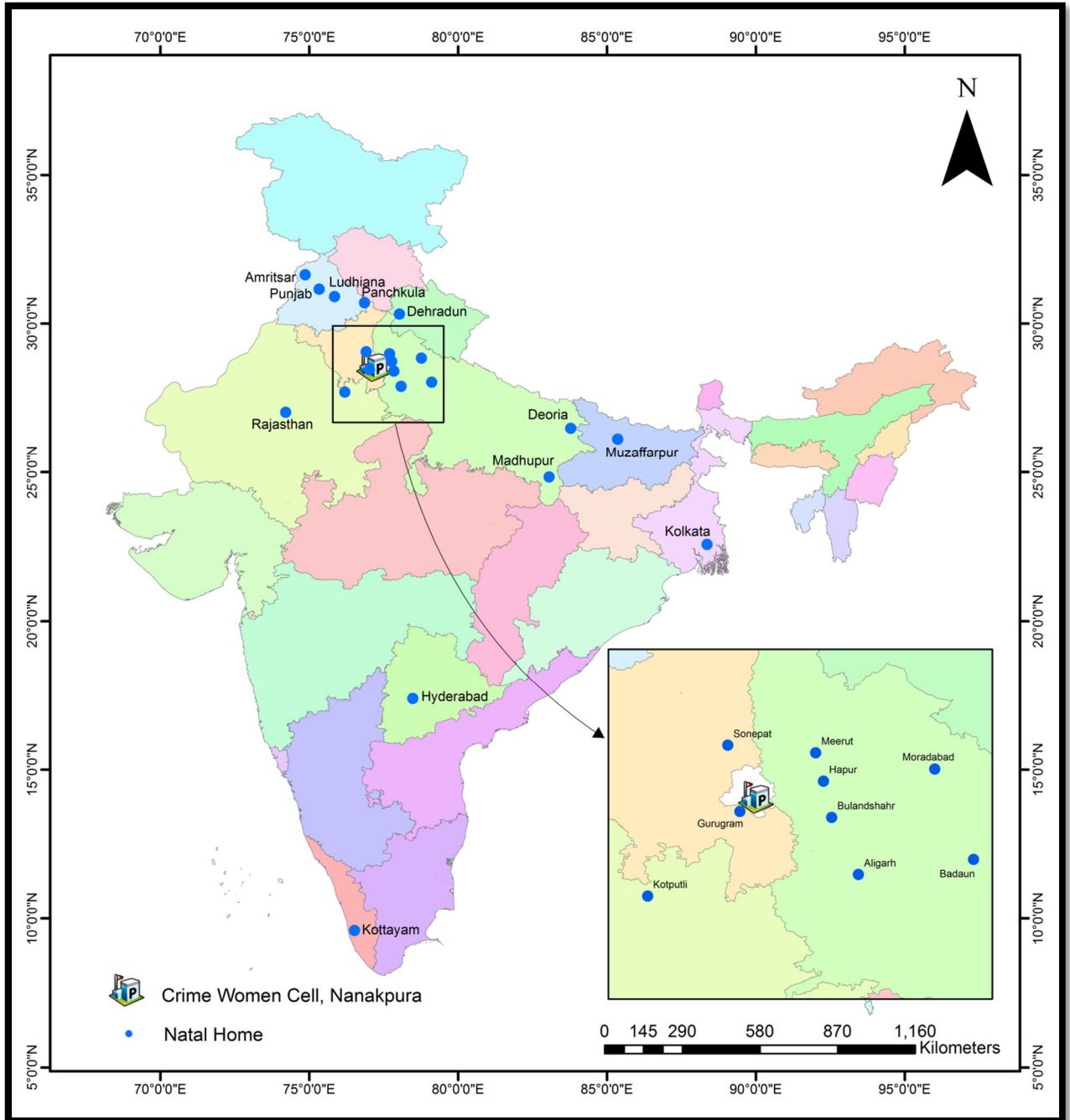
Map 6.2. Location of Marital Homes of Respondents in Delhi



Location of the Marital homes of the respondents of cases of Domestic Violence in Delhi show a wider swath over the city space from where women accessed the services of the Crime Women Cell. From Rohini in North West, Pithampura, Wazirpur in the North, Khajuri Khas in the North East, JJ Colony, Preet Vihar, Trilokpuri in the East, Khanpur Extension in the South

East and DLF Gurgaon and Rangpuri in the South West. The distance travelled by the respondents and their marital families to access services to ease the issues of Domestic Violence. Map 6.3 shows the location of natal homes of respondents located outside Delhi.

Map: 6.3. Location of Natal Homes of Respondents in Delhi (Outside Delhi)

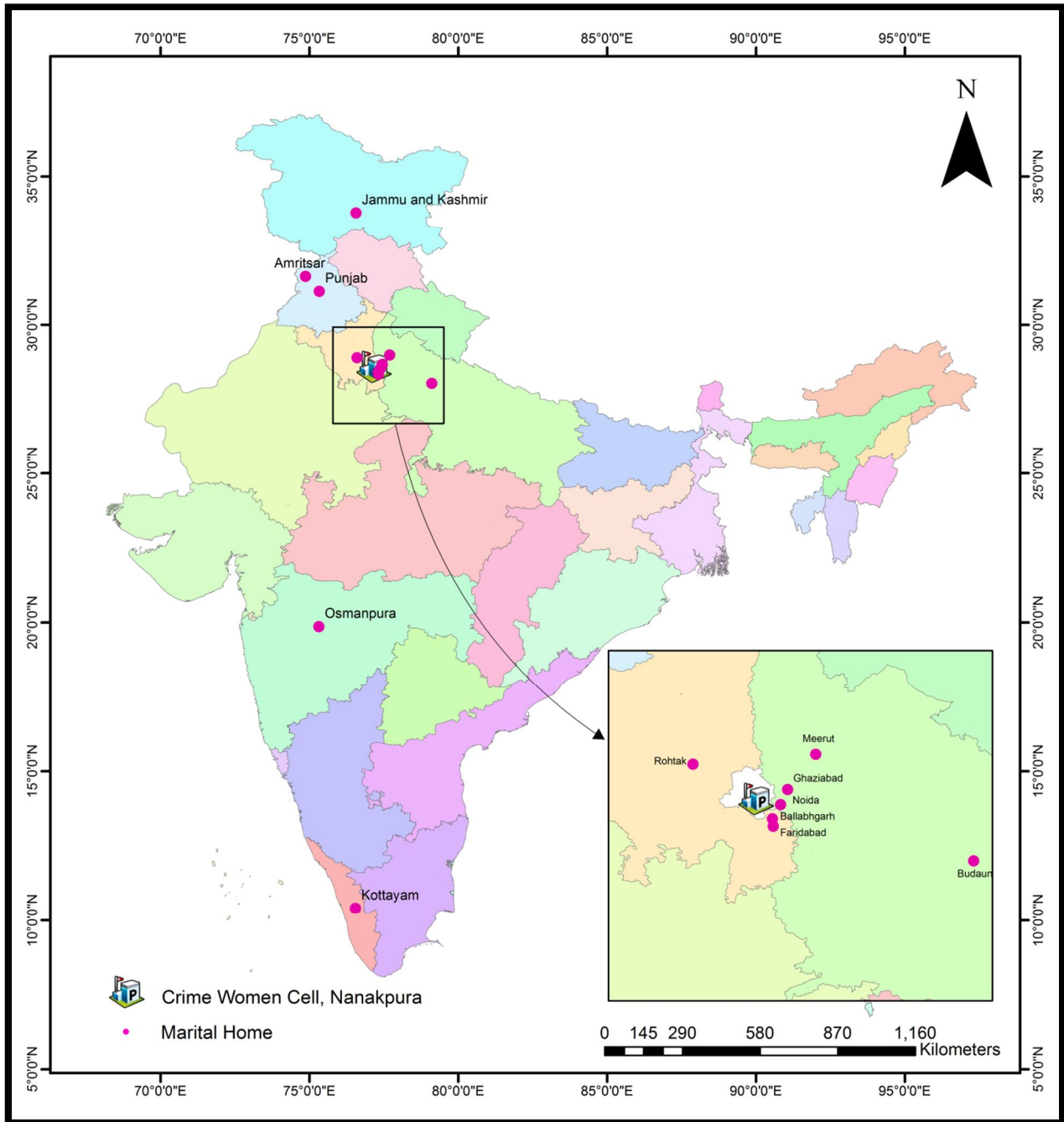


Map 6.3 shows that in the case of some respondents the locations of their natal homes were situated beyond the city limits of Delhi like, Jammu and Kashmir in the north to Kottayam in

Kerala in the south. Majority of the outstation natal homes were located in the National Capital Region from cities like Rohtak, Meerut, Ghaziabad, Ballabgarh and Faridabad.

Map 6.4 shows location of marital homes of respondents located outside Delhi.

Map: 6.4. Location of Marital Homes of Respondents in Delhi (Outside Delhi)

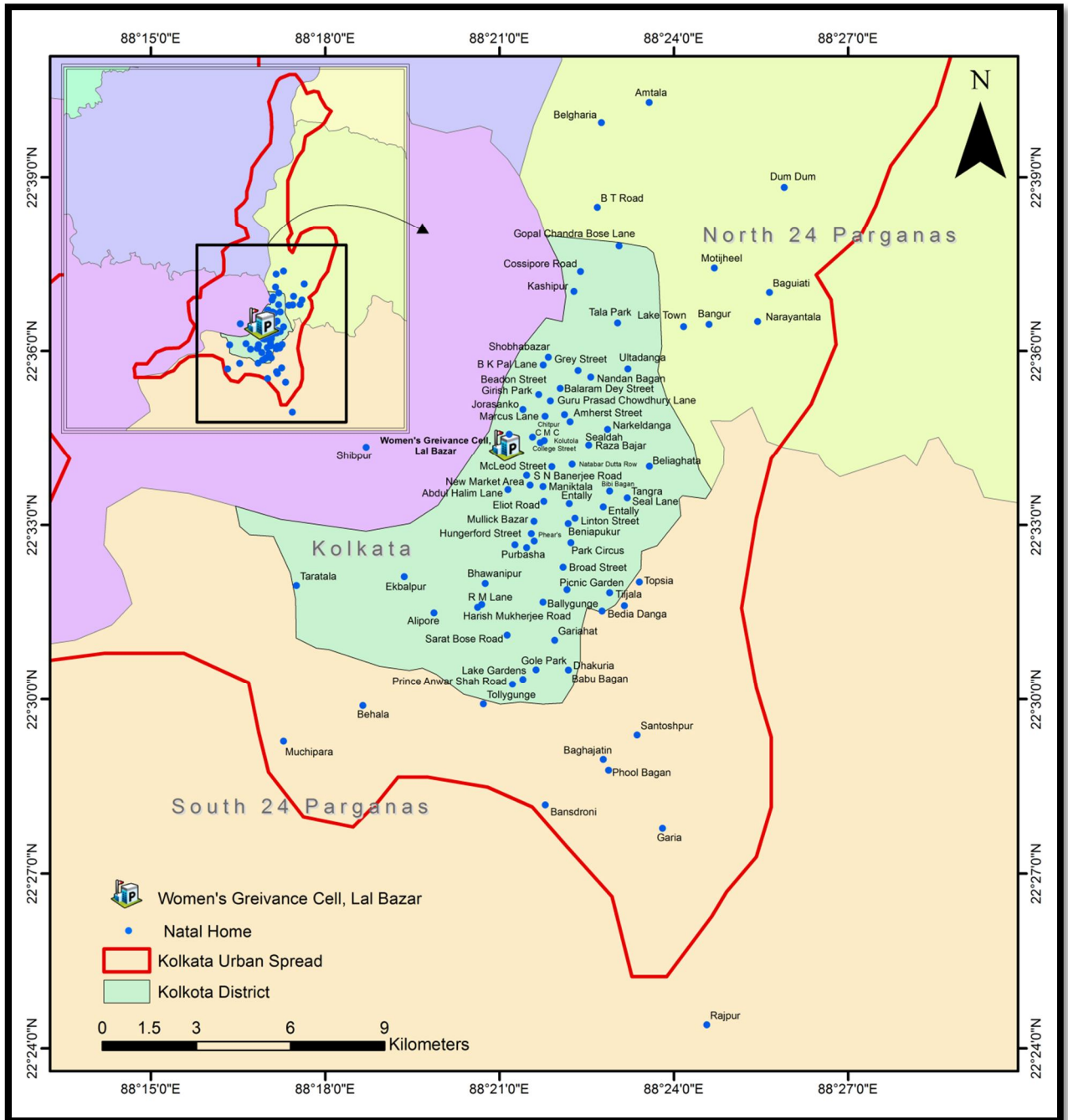


Map 6.4 documents the locations of Natal homes. These were located far away from the city. Some of these were from far off places like Kottayam and Hyderabad in the Southern States, Kolkata, Muzaffarpur featured in the list of cities where marital homes of the respondents were located. In the north, marital homes of respondents were located in Amritsar, Ludhinana, Panchkula and Dehradun. Within the National Capital Region, marital homes were located in Sonapat, Meerut, Hapur, Moradabad, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Badaun and Kotputli.

The problems associated with marital homes that are not located within the same city where the arbitration for Domestic Violence is being held, could be many. The time taken for serving notices for the family member to attend arbitration session at the crime women cell, the delays that get ensued because of the members of the marital family not arriving on the arbitration dates, and the entire process gets delayed and justice remains elusive for the women suffering from violence.

The next set of maps depicts the location of the families of respondents who had registered cases of Domestic Violence at the Women's Grievance Cell at Kolkata.

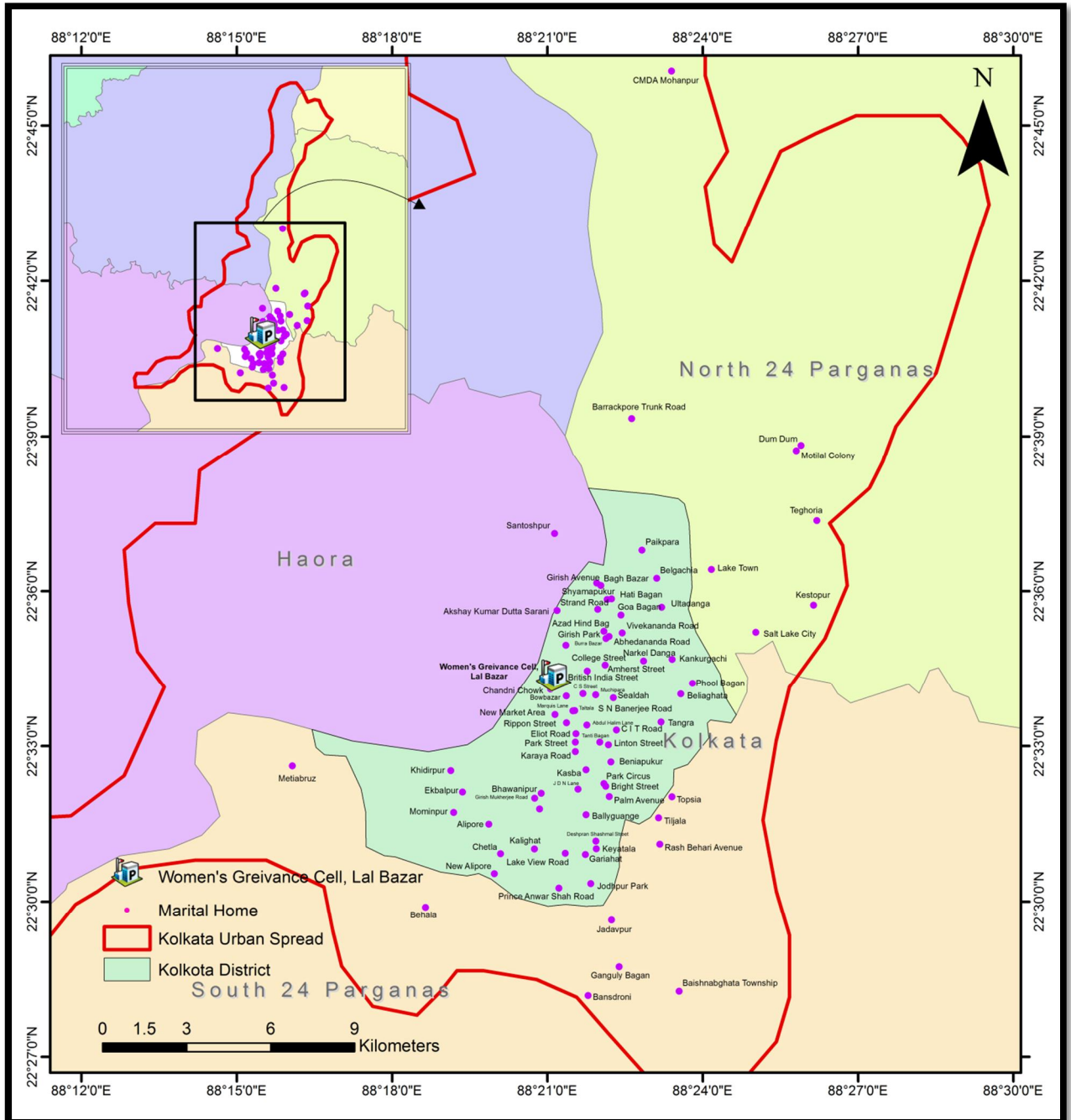
Map: 6.5. Location of Natal Homes of Respondents in Kolkata



Map 6.5 shows the location of Women's Grievance Cell in Lalbazar, which is in the central part of Kolkata. The natal homes of the women who had registered cases of Domestic Violence for this study appear to be spread across the length and the breadth of the city. For instance the natal homes were located in Dumdum, Teghoria in the North East, Salt Lake in the East,

Bansdroni, Baishnabghata in the South East, Metiaburuj in the West and Barrackpore in the North. Map 6.6 shows the location of marital homes of the respondents

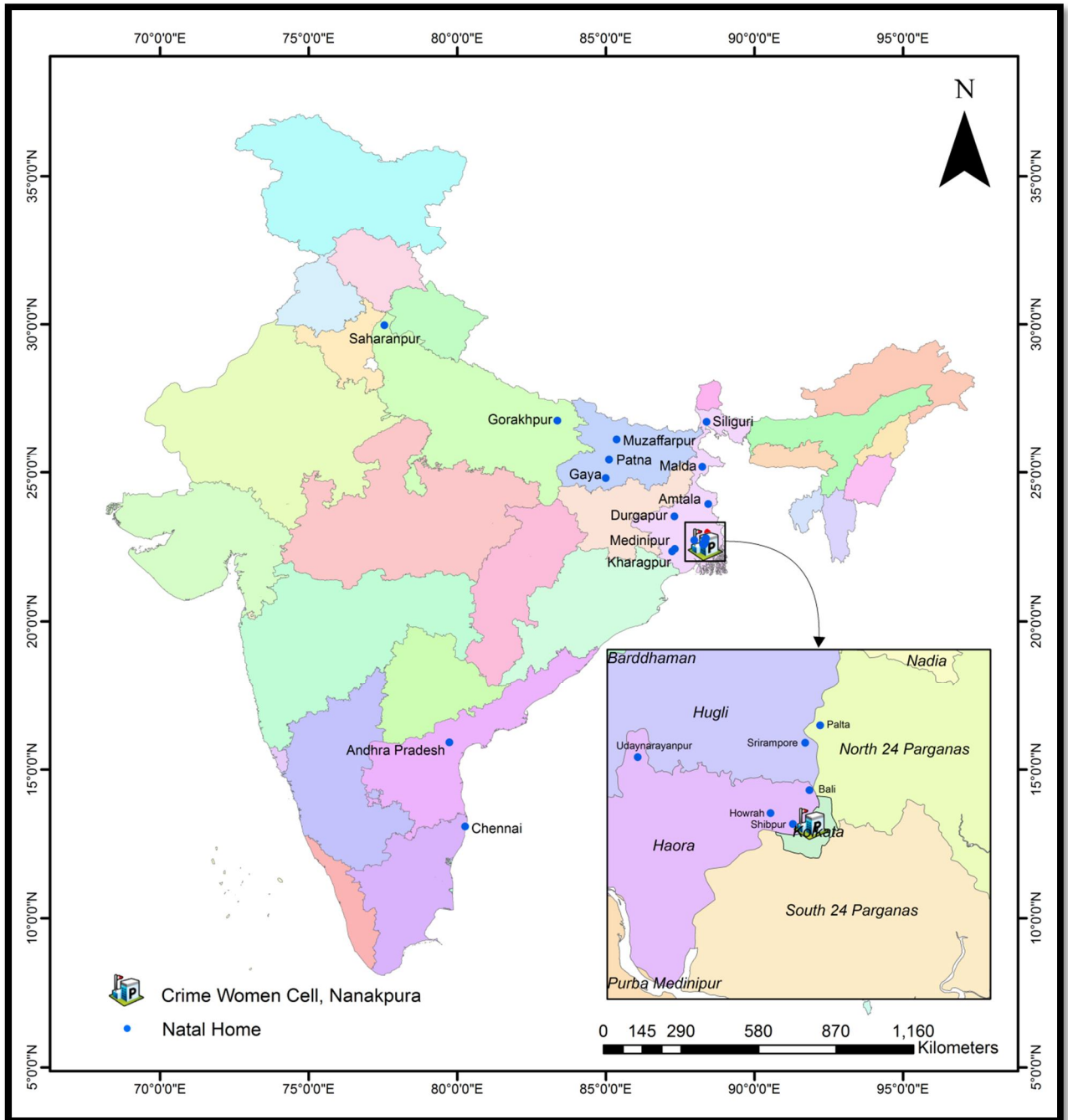
.Map: 6.6. Location of Marital Homes of Respondents in Kolkata



Map 6.7 shows the location of the marital homes of the respondents who had registered complaints of experiencing Domestic Violence in Kolkata. The locations of the marital homes

of respondents in Kolkata, similar to the location of the natal homes are diverse parts of the city and not just near the Grievance Cell. From Belgharia in the North, Dumdum in the North East, Garia and Raipur in South East, and Muchipara in South West. The map shows that women from all parts of the city access the Women's Greivance Cell at Lalbazaar. Map 6.7 plots natal homes of respondents which are located outside Delhi.

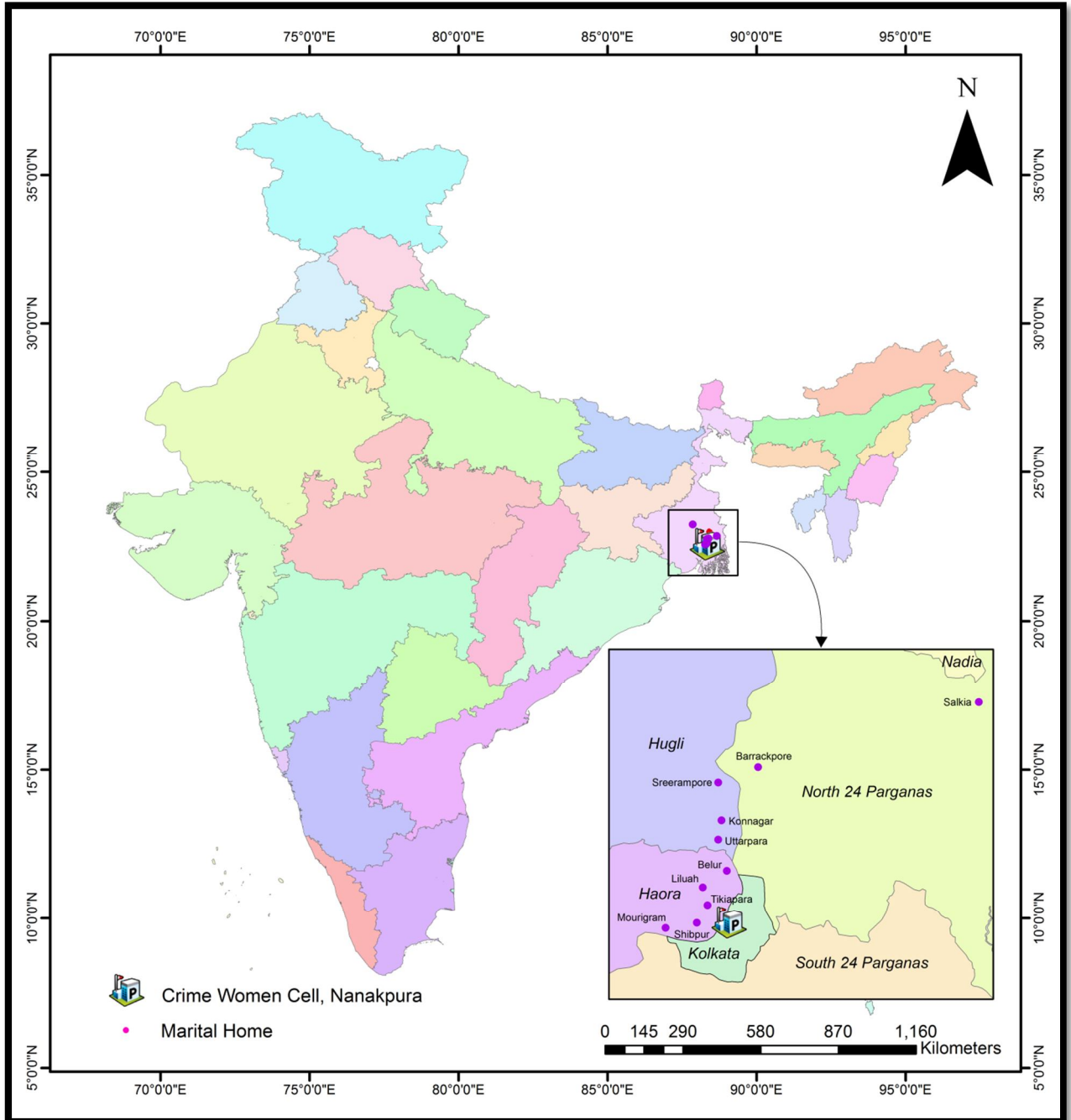
Map: 6.7. Location of Natal Homes of Respondents in Kolkata (Outside Kolkata)



Map 6.7 shows that the Natal Homes of those respondents which were located beyond the city limits of Kolkata. Within the state of West Bengal, natal homes of respondents were spread over Durgapur, Medinipur, Kharagpur, Malda and Siliguri. Beyond the state limits too, some of the respondent's natal homes were located as far as Chennai, Andhra Pradesh (city not

mentioned) , Saharanpur, Mirzapur, Patna and Gaya. Map 6.8 shows the location of marital homes located outside Kolkata.

Map: 6.8. Location of Marital Homes of Respondents in Kolkata (Outside Kolkata)



Map 6.8 shows the location of marital homes of respondents located beyond the city limit. Respondents documented their marital homes located at Saikia, Sreerampore, Konnagar, Uttarpara, Belur, Liluah, Mouri gram, and Tikiapara.

Location of the marital homes that are far away from the Women Grievance Cell leads to delays in the arbitration process discussed earlier.

On the basis of the maps and discussion it can be mentioned that availability of a Crime Against Women Cell is not the reason for complaining against violence in general and Domestic Violence in particular. However, proximity to the cells motivates the victim of violence to seek redressal more than those living in far off places. It could be largely because of the awareness it generates to the victims.

The cases of Domestic Violence were drawn from the complainants through various methods discussed in Chapter 3, but the role of documenting confessions before authority was one of the most important one used to at the cells. The following section discusses the ways by which confessions were recorded for this research.

Confessions as mode of documenting conflicts within household.

In Chapter 1, it was briefly mentioned how in the entire social production of crimes and its subsequent process of control of crime by various institutions by means of ‘punishments’, how individuals become the locus of “agency in society”. In this chapter, life stories of women who experienced Domestic Violence are being discussed. The response of those women towards the incidence of Domestic Violence and their changing perceptions towards family life as well as their interaction with the state has been documented. The ability of women to draw upon their ‘agency’ and emerge out of their ‘victimhood’ has been documented in this chapter.

It is important at this juncture to discuss the modalities of confessionary power to have a clear understanding of the circumstances under which the information used in this research has been collected.

All respondents were drawn from a pool of women who had made complainants against their husbands/ partners or in-laws (mother/father/sister/brother). Their complaints were of

multifarious types under the categories reported by women who had experienced physical, emotional or sexual abuse; either one form of abuse or a combination of abusive behaviour.

The women were summoned along with their natal family members who were supportive of their actions regarding registering the complaint at the Crime Women Cell or the Women's Grievance Cell. The respondents' husbands and his family members too were summoned which included the husband/ partner and the members of his family for what is termed as a 'Counselling Session'. The Counselling Session in reality is more of an informal court room where a Police Officer acts as a representative of the state power presiding over the two parties¹. Both parties resort to confessions to establish the 'truth' about their relationship.

Women who registered complaints: Every Voice Matters:

The study has attempted to document the kinds of violence women experience in metropolitan cities in India. Women in large urban centres are not monolithic beings, but belong to diverse economic, social and cultural locations. Each woman's experience of violence is unique to herself and her partner. It is not only difficult to generalize on the causes and nature of the incidences of violence, but unfair to search for commonalities in the violence that women experience. To understand how women's experiences of violence are unique to their being, 'Feminist Standpoint Epistemology' encourages collecting and collating voices of women from diverse socio- cultural and economic backgrounds to understand how circumstances leading to each woman's experience is different and how women's experiences across class and caste lines can be linked by a continuum of repression that is specific to gendered subjectivity of women². Women who experience violence from their intimate partners are not always related to their partners through marriage alone. The table below shows the variety of relationships that women have with men which could make them vulnerable to violence.

¹ Basu, Grover have earlier written about the nature of such informal court room in India and Brickell, and other countries other than India.

² Discussed in chapter 3

Table 6.1. Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status of Respondents				
Marital Status	Delhi		Kolkata	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Married	156	98.7	135	98.5
Cohabiting	0	0.0	1	0.7
Divorced	1	0.6	0	0.0
Separated	0	0.0	1	0.7
Widow	1	0.6	0	0.0
Total	158	100.0	137	100.0

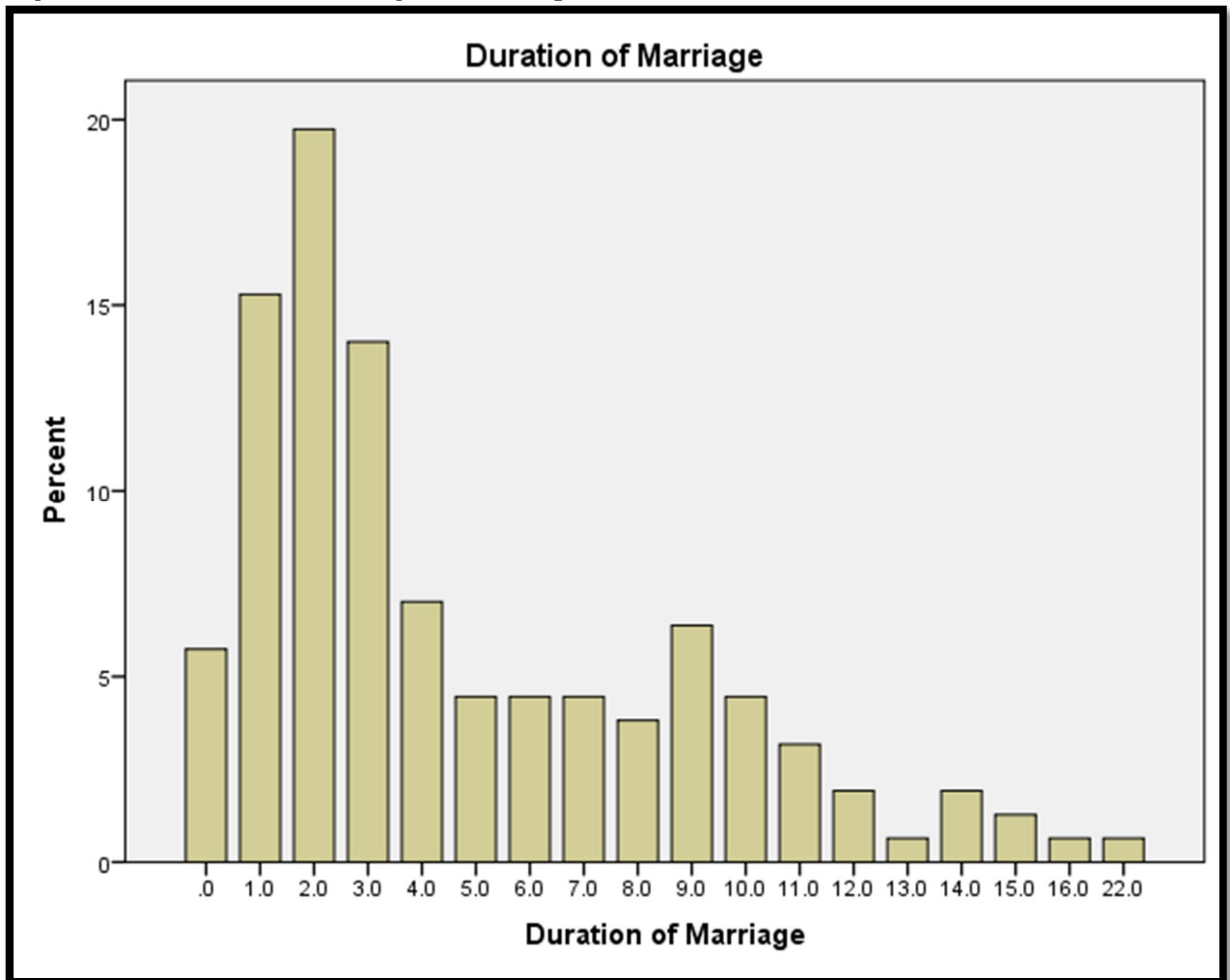
The Marital Status of the respondents who have registered themselves at The Crime Women Cell in Delhi and the Women’s Grievance Cell in Kolkata shows an overwhelming majority of married women. Rarely women separated from their husbands or divorced approach this agency for redressal of their grievances. This also indicated that women approach the Crime Cells to negotiate their difficulties with their intimate partners and in laws before moving their petitions at the courts of law. Even though the PWDVA 2005, opens up space for women in live in relationships or relationships of the nature of marriage, who are cohabiting with a male partner in any other form of domestic relationship to be able to seek protection of her rights through this new legal provision; only a very small proportion of complainants who are in live in relationship are making use of this legal option.

The length of a marriage is considered to be an indicator of stability in marriage; the following section looks into the length of marriage of the women who registered cases of Domestic Violence at Women Cells.

Duration of Marriage:

The duration of marriage is an important indicator of the nature of Domestic Violence that it can occur at any stage in one’s married life. In the legal realm, dowry deaths can be registered within a span of 7 years of marriage, but there is usually no guarantee when an incidence of Domestic Violence can spark off. The following graphs show the duration of marriage of the respondents in Delhi and Kolkata at the time of their registration of complaint at the Crime Cells.

Figure: 6.1: Duration of Marriage of the Respondents of Delhi.



The graph shows that the complainants of Domestic Violence in the city of Delhi, were quite diverse in terms of the length of the period of their marriage. In the graphs, respondents who had not completed even a year of marriage had resorted to the Crime Women Cell and to women who had completed twenty two years of married life. The maximum number of women had been married for six months to three years. This graph indicated that the chances of occurrence of Domestic Violence is high between six months to four years of marriage in Delhi.

Figure: 6.2. Duration of Marriage of the Respondents of Kolkata.

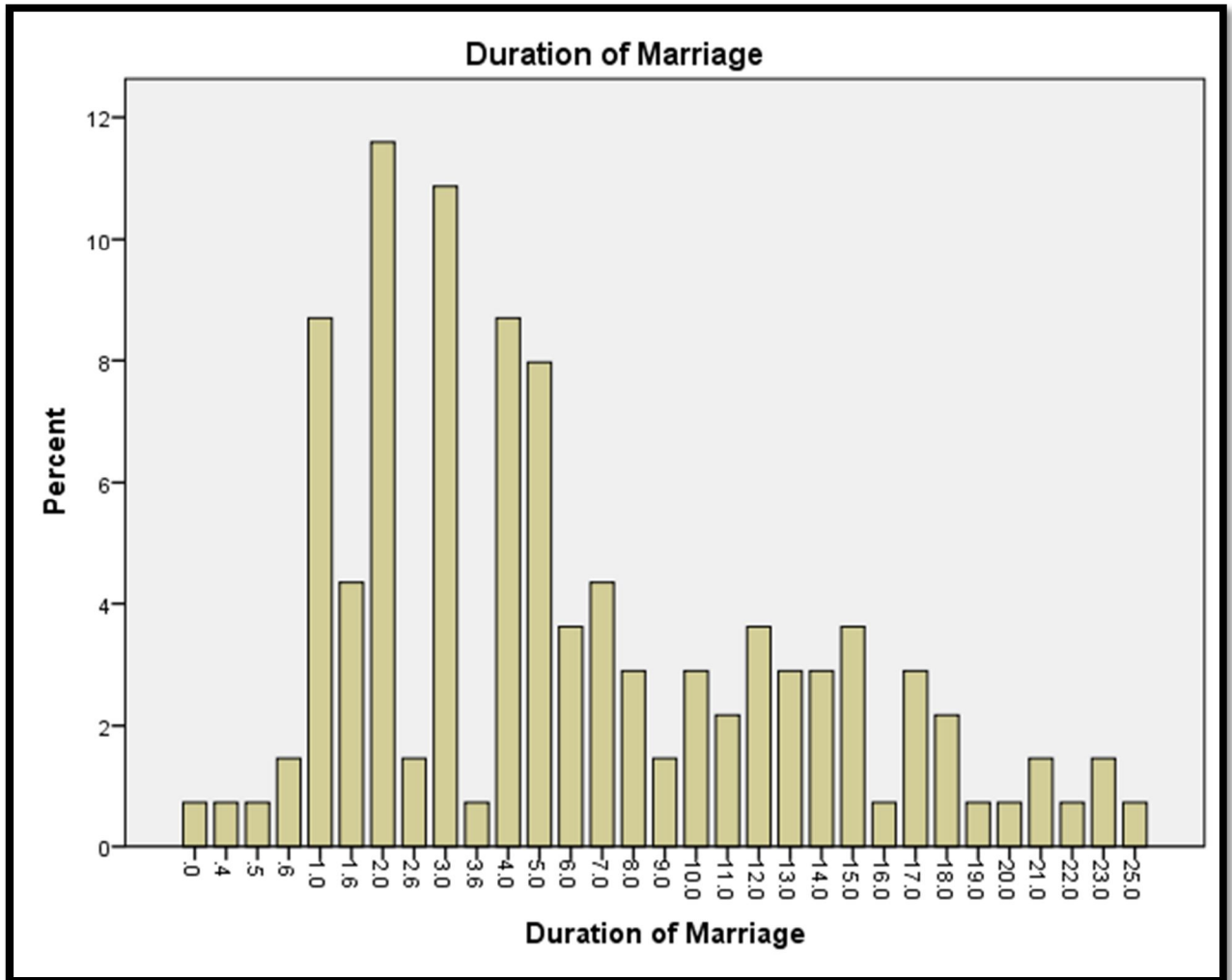


Figure 6.2 shows the duration of marriage of the complainants of Domestic Violence at the Women’s Grievance Cell at Kolkata. The graph shows that Domestic Violence may be experienced by women from the first few days of their married life and respondents documented experiencing Domestic Violence even after completing twenty five years of marriage.

In Kolkata, most of the complainants were married for one year to five years.

The outbreak of violence after a decade or more of duration of marriage in Delhi and Kolkata raises questions on the issue of a dowry death that could be registered within seven years of marriage. The time period conforms to the literary expression ‘seven year itch’ but Domestic Violence is not contained within the seven years deadline after marriage. The respondents of

Domestic Violence whose duration of marriages were longer than 5 years imply that the theories of Domestic Violence that originate in the western world, like the Leonore Walker's 'The Cycle Theory of Violence' and 'Psychosocial Theory of Learned Helplessness'; and E W Gondolf and E R Fisher's the Survivor Theory were applicable in the urban milieu too. This is because, Domestic Violence occurs in cyclical patters with phases of turbulence followed by phases of lull. It is during the phases of no violence, that women tend to believe that that their partners have changed, improved and that the violence may not recur. Only when the violence recurs and women realize that their husband's need external intervention to put an end to the Domestic Violence do women register cases of Domestic Violence even after half a decade of married life.

In India, marriages are organised either by families choosing the spouse for their children, or individuals on their own will choose partners who they desire to marry and spend their lives with. To understand whether women experience Domestic Violence when they choose their spouses independently, without the approval of their parents and in laws, or do women who conform to the wishes of their parents and accept the partners chosen by family and relatives are susceptible to violence. The table below shows the manner in which the respondents had chosen their spouses. If they had independently chosen their spouses or they had conformed to the choices made by their parents or elders of the family.

Table: 6.2. Type of Marriage

Marriage Type				
Marriage Type	Delhi		Kolkata	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Independently Chosen	31	19.6	36	26.1
Arranged by Family	127	80.4	102	73.9

The table above shows that majority of the respondents who had experienced Domestic Violence entered into marital relationships which were arranged by their family members. 80.4 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 73.9 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata had their marriages 'arranged' by their families which indicates that even when family members themselves choose the life partner of their children, yet they do not desist from being violent to them later, contrary to the belief that marrying according to the family's wishes ensures a peaceful married life. Violence and discord between independently chosen partners too show

that the compatibility that couples share before marriage wanes after marriage in some instances of independently chosen marriages.

It's not only the family members who help in choosing the partners, the family members often resort to other agents for choosing the bride of the groom for their children.

The following table lists the agents that connect two families or individuals (in the case of independently chosen marriages) for finding suitable brides and grooms.

Table: 6.3. Type of Marriage of Respondents by Agents (in percentage)

Agents	Delhi		Kolkata	
	Marriage Type		Marriage Type	
	Independently Chosen	Arranged	Independently Chosen	Arranged
Friends	35.5	1.6	30.6	3.0
Relatives	9.7	40.5	2.8	45.5
Workplace	25.8	0.0	36.1	0.0
Educational Place	9.7	0.0	11.1	0.0
Neighbours	12.9	2.4	13.9	0.0
Others	6.5	0.8	5.6	0.0
News Papers	0.0	4.0	0.0	15.8
Go Betweeners	0.0	50.8	0.0	35.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.3 lists the agents who helped in bringing two individuals or families together for a marital relationship is an important pointer towards the aspirational aspect of the two individuals or families from a marital bond.

The study explores the agents in both types of marital unions- marriages arranged by families and independently chosen marital partners.

Of the independently chosen marriages, in Delhi the agents were mostly friends or co-workers at workplace indicating the desire for the individuals to choose their life partners who possessed similar interests or similar work culture and would value their work and understand the work habits.

In Kolkata, similar pattern may be observed with the major agents being common, friends, workplace, educational institutions and neighbours. Choosing one's life partner from the same educational institution may indicate similar aspirations in career and life, while from the neighbourhood would mean familiarity of private life was given importance for choosing ones partners.

The agents of arranged marriages in both Delhi and Kolkata are predominantly the relatives; which is an indicator of preservation of religion, class and caste identities by families. The other important agent is the paid services that are offered by professional go-betweeners which once gain reiterate the preference for caste-class identities. In Kolkata Newspaper advertisements for seeking Brides and Grooms is popular while the respondents in Delhi showed lesser preference for it. Resorting to Newspaper advertisements for matrimonial advertisements indicate desire to move beyond the traditional agents like relatives and acquaintances for choosing one's partner. Whether such a choice is leading to dilution of endogamous preferences can be found out from analysis of personal case studies in the later part of the chapter.

Closely linked to resorting for help of external agents in choosing one's spouse is also the choice of the place where one's marriage is solemnized. The following table shows the place where the marriage of the respondent is solemnized.

Table: 6.4. Place where Marriage was Solemnised (Figures in Percentages)

Place where Marriage was Solemnised	Delhi	Kolkata
Marriage held at Court of Law	5.1	12.4
Marriage held at Religious Institution	15.2	22.5
Marriage held at Other Institutions	36.1	34.8
Marrage held at both Court and Religious Institution	13.3	3.6
Marriage held at Court and Other Institution	21.7	21.0
Marriage held at Religious Institution and Other Institution	4.4	3.6

The table above shows the place where marriage was solemnized for respondents. The choice of the place for solemnizing marriages reveals about the relative importance and legitimacy people bestow on religious institutions, social institutions and institutions created by the State. Traditionally, the event of marriage was a social event which took place in the presence of family, friends and relatives with religious rituals forming the essence of the occasion. Marriages held in courts was a later development with the provision thrown open by the state to legally formalize the marriage contract for future reference and involving the State in the private lives of the citizens. To those who believe in marriage as a sacred religious duty, marriage becomes an integral part of the life cycle of a religious subject and such a person

would resort to religious institutions for solemnizing their marriage. Yet another segment of the population would consider marriage as a legal contract and would resort to the court of law for registering marriage. Marriage is also a social occasion and calls for participation of relatives beyond the immediate family.

In the present times, the response towards the institutions of the State is becoming more acceptable, but most often the marriages are registered in courts simultaneously along with the social ceremonies which is a proof of the continuance of the impact of religious institutions over the lives of people. An overwhelming majority of the respondents of this study in Delhi as well as Kolkata show that marriage is treated as a social event.

The discussions on the profiles of the respondents of the present study would remain incomplete without documenting the current place of stay of the respondents. Women's place of stay at her marital home begins after her marriage. The marital home can cease to remain as a place of stay for a woman if she registers a case of Domestic Violence against her family members.

In the following section, place of stay of the complainants after registering complaints of Domestic Violence has been presented.

Table: 6.5 Post Violence place of stay of Respondents

Post Violence place of stay of Respondents				
	Delhi		Kolkata	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Independently	13	8.2	13	9.6
Natal Home	106	67.1	85	61.8
Marital Home	32	20.3	24	17.6
Relatives	7	4.4	15	11.0
Total	158	100.0	137	100.0

The registering of a complaint of Domestic Violence involves complaining against family members. Usually, in the Indian families, women share their household with their marital family members. It is often observed that while living with the husband and in laws, the women are unable to lodge complaints to the Police as the marital family members in reaction

become more violent towards her once she registers a complaint against them. Over and above, the matters of Domestic Violence have been a part of the private realm of women's lives where the State had been reluctant to intervene. Bringing one's family's matter of private realm into public realm by registering complaint with the police may make the women more vulnerable to further violence, for having committed an aberrant act. Women often move out of their marital homes before they are in the position to register complaints. With women's property ownership being dismally low, often women stay at their their natal homes from where they register complaints. Very few women have the ability to live independently or shift into a shelter home provided by the State while registering a Domestic Violence related complaint. Table 6.5 brings out the place of stay of women who had registered complaints of Domestic Violence. In Delhi as well as Kolkata, majority of the respondents, 67.1 per cent and 61.8 per cent of the women were staying at their natal homes while pursuing their cases. Natal home is the most preferred place of stay for women when faced with difficulties at their marital homes. 20.3 per cent women in Delhi and 17.6 per cent of women in Kolkata were continuing to live at their marital homes while pursuing their Domestic Violence cases. 4.4 per cent of the women in Delhi and 11 per cent of women in Kolkata were living with their relatives and very few women were living independently while their cases were pursued at the crime cells. Only 8.2 per cent of women in Delhi and 9.6 per cent of the women in Kolkata were living independently. Women who are economically independent were the ones who could afford such an arrangement. Not all women who were gainfully employed could live independently, as their children had to be taken care of while they worked. This is one more reason why women preferred to live in their natal homes as they could depend on their natal family for the safety and security of their children. None of the women interviewed were living in shelter homes which brings out the fact that this facility is not commonly available to women in either of the cities.

In the quest of documenting voices from all regions of the country, care was taken to choose the sample of women respondents, so that they may represent more linguistic backgrounds keeping in mind the tenets of Feminist Stand Point Epistemology as well as concepts if intersectionality.

Table 6.6. shows the linguistic background of the respondents in Delhi and Kolkata.

Table 6.6. Mother Tongue of the Respondents

Mother Tongue of the Respondents (Percentage Share)		
Language	Delhi	Kolkata
Hindi	50	10.5
Urdu	3.2	12.3
Haryanvi	4.4	0
Himachali	1.9	0
Multani	2.5	0
Malayalam	1.3	0
Kannada	0.6	0
Pahari	0.6	0
Bengali	2.5	63
Bhojpuri	1.3	5.8
Kashmiri	1.9	0
Marwari	1.9	1.4
Punjabi	24.1	0.7
Oriya	.6	0.7
Tamil	1.9	0.7
Bawri	0.6	0
English	0	0.7
Telugu	0	0.7
Gujarati	0	0.7

Conforming to the expectations made while designing this research, Delhi has a majority of Hindi speaking respondents, followed by Punjabi and Urdu speaking respectively. Apart from the dominant linguistic groups, representation of women from other regional languages like, Pahari, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Bawri among other were present.

In Kolkata, the majority of the respondents were Bengali speaking, followed by Hindi, Urdu, Marwari and Bhojpuri. Women speaking languages from the south Indian states were also a part of the sample offering it diversity and representation of smaller groups living in the city.

Apart from the linguistic background of the respondents, the religious background of the affiliations of the respondents were documented for analyzing the diversity of the respondents.

The religious background of the respondents who willingly declared their religious affinities have been presented in the table below.

Table 6.7. Religion of the Respondents

Religion of the Respondents (Percentage Share)		
Religion	Delhi	Kolkata
Hindu	80.4	70.3
Muslim	5.7	25.4
Christian	2.5	2.9
Sikh	10.1	0
Others	0.6	1.4

In Delhi and as well as Kolkata, majority of the respondents were Hindus (80.4 per cent in Delhi and 70.3 per cent in Kolkata). The second largest religious group is represented by Sikhs and Muslims in Delhi and Kolkata respectively. In Kolkata the share of the Muslim respondents were much higher than that of Delhi (5.7 per cent in Delhi and 25.4 per cent in Kolkata). In Delhi a fairly good representation of Sikh women was possible (10.10 per cent), and Christian women shared similar representation in both Delhi and Kolkata (2.5 per cent in Delhi and 2.9 per cent in Kolkata). The religious groups within the sample offer possibilities of analysing intersectionality within respondents of Domestic Violence.

Other than religious affiliations, in the Indian context, caste is an important marker of identity as well as a determinant of one's economic and social location in society. The table below shows representations of caste affiliations of respondents for the study. The data was collected from only those women who willingly shared their caste location.

Table: 6.8. Caste Group of the Respondents

Caste Group of the Respondents (Percentage Share)		
Caste Group	Delhi	Kolkata
Upper Caste	43.3	47.8
Not a part of the Savarna Jatis	35.7	22.5
Do not have Caste Category	21	29.7

The table above shows, that, majority of the respondents belonged to upper caste groups (43.3 per cent in Delhi and 47.8 per cent in Kolkata). 35.7 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 22.5 per cent of the respondents of Kolkata were not a part of

the Savarna Jatis. 21 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 29.7 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata did not have any caste background since they belonged to religions other than Hinduism and in some cases the respondents did not reveal their caste affiliations.

The sample has a fairly good representation of caste categories for analysis.

Given the religious, linguistic and caste background of the respondents, the class location of the respondents is also another important factor that needs to be studied to find out if class differences play any role in making women vulnerable to Domestic Violence. Along with the respondent's income, the role of the age of the respondent in determining the vulnerability of women to Domestic Violence has may offer another dimension to the way causes of Domestic Violence is understood.

The following section documents the age and incomes³ of the respondents who participated in the study.

³ Class is a much more complex social phenomenon, however, here, income categories have been taken to represent class of the respondent, though it id not the appropriate way of capturing the historical, socio-cultural and political complexities it ensembles.

Table : 6.9. Incomes and Age Distribution of the Respondents in Delhi.

Age group	Income in Rupees per month						Total
	Zero ⁴	2000-5000	5000-10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	50000 and Above	
Less than 25	58	1	5	0	2	0	66
25-30	38	3	5	7	8	1	62
30-35	9	3	1	3	3	0	19
35-40	3	0	1	0	0	1	5
Above 40	4	1	0	0	1	0	6
Total	112	8	12	10	14	2	158

Age group	Income in Rupees per month						Total
	Zero	2000-5000	5000-10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	50000 and Above	
Less than 25	51.8	12.5	41.7	0.0	14.3	0.0	41.8
25-30	33.9	37.5	41.7	70.0	57.1	50.0	39.2
30-35	8.0	37.5	8.3	30.0	21.4	0.0	12.0
35-40	2.7	0.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	50.0	3.2
Above 40	3.6	12.5	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Age group	Income in Rupees per month						Total
	Zero	2000-5000	5000-10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	50000 and Above	
Less than 25	87.9	1.5	7.6	0.0	3.0	0.0	100.0
25-30	61.3	4.8	8.1	11.3	12.9	1.6	100.0
30-35	47.4	15.8	5.3	15.8	15.8	0.0	100.0
35-40	60.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	100.0
Above 40	66.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	100.0
Total	70.9	5.1	7.6	6.3	8.9	1.3	100.0

Source: Primary Survey

Table 6.9 shows that 41.8 per cent of the women who had registered complaints against their husband and in laws for experiencing Domestic Violence, were less than 25 years of age. Women of the age group 25 to 30 years were the next large group comprising of 39.2 per cent of the sample. The percentage of women in age group above 30 to 35 declines. In case of employment and income levels of the respondents of Domestic Violence, 70.9 per cent of the respondents were unemployed. The percentages of women with high income were few among the respondents. A detailed analysis of the

⁴ Here Zero means that the respondent is totally dependent upon other members of the families (maternal/paternal) and does not have independent sources of livelihood.

age and income of the respondents in Delhi reveals that younger women who are unemployed have a higher risk of experiencing Domestic Violence.

To find out if a similar pattern exists in Kolkata, the following table shows income and age groups of the respondents from Kolkata is being presented.

Table 6.10. Income and Age distribution of Complainants in Kolkata

Age Group	Income in Rupees per month						Total
	Zero	2000-5000	5000-10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	50000 and Above	
Less than 25	46	3	0	2	0	0	51
25-30	32	3	2	3	0	0	40
30-35	18	3	3	0	2	0	26
35-40	4	2	0	2	3	0	11
Above 40	5	1	0	2	1	0	9
Total	105	12	5	9	6	0	137

Age Group	Income in Rupees per month						Total
	Zero	2000-5000	5000-10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	50000 and Above	
Less than 25	44.3	25.0	0.0	22.2	0.0	0	37.7
25-30	30.2	25.0	40.0	33.3	0.0	0	29.0
30-35	17.0	25.0	60.0	0.0	33.3	0	18.8
35-40	3.8	16.7	0.0	22.2	50.0	0	8.0
Above 40	4.7	8.3	0.0	22.2	16.7	0	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0	100.0

Age Group	Income in Rupees per month						Total
	Zero	2000-5000	5000-10000	10000-25000	25000-50000	50000 and Above	
Less than 25	90.4	5.8	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
25-30	80.0	7.5	5.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
30-35	69.2	11.5	11.5	0.0	7.7	0.0	100.0
35-40	36.4	18.2	0.0	18.2	27.3	0.0	100.0
Above 40	55.6	11.1	0.0	22.2	11.1	0.0	100.0
Total	76.8	8.7	3.6	6.5	4.3	0.0	100.0

Source: Primary Survey

Table 6.10 shows that in Kolkata, the condition of women is not significantly different in Delhi. In Kolkata, 37 per cent of the respondents were less than 25 years of age, 29 per cent of the respondents were between 25 to 30 years old. The percentage of respondents declined steadily with the rise in the age groups. In terms of income levels

of the respondents, similar to Delhi, in Kolkata too 76.8 per cent of the respondents were unemployed.

In metropolitan cities, marrying young can abet experiencing incidences of violence, and if women are gainfully employed, the chances of experiencing Domestic Violence stand reduced.

Marriages being one of the three most significant life events, and one where one can exercise one's choice, in most parts of the country. Marriages are finalized between partners after looking into various aspects of partner's life and background to ensure compatibility. The respondents were asked to list the reasons that were considered by them while choosing their partners. Table 6.10 below presents the most significant reasons revealed by respondents for choosing their partners.

Table: 6.11.A. Respondents Reason for Choosing to Marry her Spouse

Choice	Delhi	Kolkata
Caste Endogamy	41.4	44.0
Class Endogamy	42	44.0
For Recovery of Debts	0	1.0
Educational Qualifications	4.0	10
Family's Insistence	28	35.0
Were at the Age for Marriage	4.4	2.0
Compatibility with Partner	6.3	6.5
Appearance of the Partner	1.0	1.0
Loving Nature of the Partner	4.0	9.0
To Offer Support to the Partner	4.0	4.0

Table 6.11.A. shows that most women chose their partners on the basis of caste and class thus preferring endogamy. Respondents often spoke about caste and class in the same vein, which indicates that caste identity, still determined the class identity, as well

as the continued eminence caste holds on the lives of urban women. Marriage in urban India, like in the rural hinterland is a process that consolidates caste and class formations. The next important reason for choosing the partner was insistence on the part of the family members to which the respondents relented to. This was true in both the cities i.e., Delhi and Kolkata. On the hind sight it appears that most of the women were un- prepared to enter into a marital relationship, or it could also be possible that after struggling with the marital relationships and enduring violence they felt that they were pushed into marriage by their family members. The insistence of the family members to get their daughters married can be read for the response where respondents say that they were at 'the marriageable age' so they were left with no option but to marry the partners chosen by their family members. Women who had independently chosen their partners, mentioned compatibility and loving nature as reasons for choosing their partners which appears ironical to them at the stage where they look for respite from Domestic Violence unleashed by the same partner. Only one respondent from Kolkata documented 'recovery from debt as the cause for choosing her husband. Women's lack of autonomy in deciding the time of marriage and the reason to choose their partners may also be an outcome of their educational attainments. In the table below, an attempt has been made to show how the reason for choosing one's marital partner varies with the educational levels of the respondents.

Table – 6.11. B. Educational Levels of the Respondents and reason for Marring her Spouse

Choice/ Educational Levels	Educational Qualifications of Respondents											
	Delhi						Kolkata					
	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Caste Endogamy	2	4	14	15.4	6	41.4	3	10	13	12	5	44
Class Endogamy	2	4	14	15	6	42	3	10	13	12	5	44
For Recovery of Debts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Educational Qualifications	0	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	2
Family's Insistence	5	6	10	6	1	28	3	15	8	7	1	35
Were at the Age for Marriage	1.4	1	1	1	1	4.4	0	1	0	1	1	2
Compatibility with Partner	1	0	1	3	1	6.3	0	1	2	3	0	6.5
Appearance of the Partner	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Loving Nature of the Partner	0	1	3	0	0	4	1	1	4	1	2	9
To Offer Support to the Partner	0	1	3	0	0	4	0	1	1	1	0	4

(The Educational Levels: 1- Illiterate, 2- Primary, 3 – Secondary, 4- Graduate, 5 – Post Graduate)
*Figures represent percentage of respondents.

The table 6.11.B. shows that, it is the highly educated respondents, who were graduates and post graduates had mentioned class and caste as the main reason for choosing their spouse. This was observed in both the cities. Insistence for marrying on the part of the family members was found among well educated as well as less educated women. Marriage as an event appears to still remain as a major responsibility of the parents which needs to be conducted within a time frame which in turn depends on the convenience of the family members.

Educational qualification as the primary reason for choosing one's spouse was observed only among respondents who were educated till graduation level and above. Appearance of the prospective groom was also another reason listed by educated women for choosing their spouse in both Delhi and Kolkata. The table shows that educational qualifications do not significantly alter the reasons for choosing their spouse in both Delhi and Kolkata.

The event of marriage is followed by a period when the bride moves into her marital home following the rules of patrilocality. It is a crucial period for a married woman, since, it is at this period that she comes to know whether her marital home is willing to welcome her. The positive attitude of the natal family and the marital family towards the new couple in the initial days cement their familial ties for the future. The table below shows the attitudes of the natal family and the marital family of the respondents. The category of no response signifies the responses of the respondents whose marriage were arranged by family members where it was assumed that the

respondent would receive positive response from her marital family. The positive and negative attitude were recorded for women who had chosen their spouses independently.

Table – 6.12. Family Members’ Attitude towards Respondents (Figures in Percentages)

Attitude	Delhi				Kolkata			
	Natal Home		Marital Home		Natal Home		Marital Home	
	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
No Response	126	79.7	126	79.7	102	73.9	102	73.9
Positive	19	12.0	9	5.7	18	13.0	9	6.5
Negative	9	5.7	15	9.5	16	11.6	22	15.9
Indifferent	4	2.5	5	3.2	2	1.4	3	2.2
Unaware	0.00	0.0	3	1.9		0.0	2	1.4
Total	158	100.0	158	100.0	138	100.0	138	100.0

Table 6.12 shows, that only 12 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and Kolkata were supported by their natal families. Only 5.7 per cent of respondents in Delhi and 6.5 in Kolkata were made to feel welcome by their marital families and supported the respondent’s decision in choosing their spouse in Kolkata. In Delhi, 5.7 per cent of the natal families and 9.5 per cent of the marital families were not supportive of the marriage while in Kolkata. Their per centages were 11.6 and 15.9 per cent respectively in Kolkata. From the above table it may also be inferred that the natal families are more forthcoming in showing positive attitude towards independently chosen couples, while their marital homes were more rigid in accepting independently chosen spouses.

The Event of Marriage: Reconstructed through memories of the respondents.

Marriage is often termed as the twin of patriarchy. It is through marriage that most of the norms of patriarchal order get perpetuated. Apart from beginnings of a virilocal life for women, the preparations for marriage cast a lopsided pressure over the bride’s family. This practice cuts across material and spiritual matters that are invoked during the event of a marriage . The event of marriage ceremony is one of the most important rituals though the event is preceded as well as succeeded by various other events that mark a marriage. Expenditure for a marriage is usually greater for a bride’s family in comparison to a groom’s family. The burden of expenditure casts such a worrying spell on the bride’s family, that many

a times the parents of a bride begin saving for the marriage years of decades before the marriage takes place.

In the instance when a marriage fails to go on in an uneventful manner, the material spent on the marriage is often calculated by the bride and her family members for the items to be returned. The groom and his family contest those claims made by the bride's family casting aspersions of creating inflated and fake lists of gifts and costs incurred during the marriage.

Researchers working on Domestic Violence and Marriage claim that collecting information on the expenditure incurred on marriage or the amount of dowry transferred from the groom's family to the bride's family are a few of the most difficult tasks of research. The accuracy levels are also compromised as the respondents draw information from their memory as well as the value of the material goods given and taken on marriage depreciate with time leading to difficulties in ascertain the value.

The section below attempts to document the magnitude of expenditure incurred during a marriage ceremony by the bride's family of the respondents who were willing to share the information. The percentage values do not add up to 100 per cent since not all respondents shared this information.

Table: 6.13. Total Expenditure on Marriage

Total Expenditure on Marriage Amount (in rupees) approximately	Percentage of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata
Nil	8.9	16
25000	2.5	0
50000	5.5	16
100000	11.4	16
125000	1.3	0
150000	1.3	0
200000	0	11.7
250000	0	1
300000	0	4
500000	13.3	5
800000	2	0
1000000	9.5	0
2000000	0	1
2500000	2	0
5000000	0.6	0

The table above shows the range of amount of expenditure in Rupees incurred on marriages in Delhi and Kolkata. The amount of expenditure ranged from 25000 rupees to 5000000 rupees in Delhi and 50000 rupees to 2000000 rupees in Kolkata.

The respondents were requested to share the details of the marriage expenditure. The components of expenditure on marriage apart from celebrations on the day of marriage were, celebrations, cash, jewellery, furniture, durables, land, house and stocks, etc., . Most of the respondents were unable to furnish the details of the expenditure made on celebrations, but could give details of the monetary value of jewellery that was given as a part of 'stridhan' during marriage. In Delhi, the value of jewellery presented to brides varies from 20,000 to 5,00,000 lakhs of rupees, whereas 10,000 to 1,00,000 rupees in Kolkata. A very small percentage of respondents mentioned gifting vehicles which ranged from scooters to cars worth 8,00,00 rupees in Delhi and Kolkata. Apart from the durables and consumer goods, no respondent mentioned receiving land as gift during marriage. Only one respondent from Kolkata mentioned receiving 1,50,000 rupees as a part payment for buying a house from her parents.

The concept of gifting immovable property to daughters in marriage is still uncommon in these metropolitan cities. Lack of Property rights increase women's vulnerability in the family. Many scholars (Basu, 1999 and Agarwal, 1994) have linked women's powerlessness to their absence of property rights; yet the law of culture reigns supreme and none of the respondents recorded having received property as gifts in marriage from her parents or family members. After the event of the marriage, brides shift their residence from natal home to marital home.

The discussions on the expenditure incurred on marriage and women's choices or their lack of it in choosing their spouses, are not treated as violence. Drawing from Butola (2013) the practices could well be treated as epistemic violence a woman undergoes from getting married to an unknown person simply because she has reached the age which is considered "marriageable" by her parents, her inability to lay claims on the property, of her natal home as well as marital family and most significantly, leaving ones familiar 'home' and made responsible to create a new home for herself at the marital home. Though the above practices are not considered as violence by any of the respondents, the events bear testimony to her alienation from her family in the name of tradition. The next section of the chapter the types of violence which were identified and recognized by the respondents and were seeking redressal against such acts.

Type of Violence:

Different kinds of abuse experienced by the respondents were categorized into three broad categories based on the CEDAW which recognizes three types of abuses that may be considered as Domestic Violence –Mental Abuse, Physical Abuse and Sexual Abuse. The rational for grouping the individual types of violence into three broad groups have been earlier discussed in chapter 3.

The table below is being presented to show various types of violence the respondents recorded at the Women's cells in Delhi and Kolkata

Table 6.14. Types of Violence

Mental Abuse	Neglect, Humiliation, Insult, Verbal Abuse, Confinement, Threats
Physical Abuse	Push, Slap, Kick, Starvation
Sexual Abuse	Marital Rape, Forced Abortion, Sexual Exploitation by other family members

The list above showcases the various techniques of violence adopted by family member to control women.

It is here that the debate on the modernisation of patriarchal power discussed in chapter 2 can be analysed in detail. The debate began with Bartky (1988) contends that modern form of patriarchy contributes in turning women into 'docile bodies' by surrounding them with a space of imagination, and women strive to fit into the ideal schema. Westlund (1999) contends that Domestic Violence is a signifier of both pre-modern and modern form of power. All tangible means of power that visibly harms the body as well as the invisible forms that subjugate women's agency and thwart autonomy. This form of power exercise that transcends both pre modern forms of power and incorporates all aspects of modern forms of power too is crucial to the understanding of Domestic Violence. The analysis of how power works and creates subjects is a very complex process. It is difficult for the respondents of Domestic Violence to recognise those techniques of power that act over them and turn them into docile subjects. Yet it is possible for the respondents to pinpoint how they resist the continuation of violence and how counter resistances are built to challenge the violence and oppression that occur within the household. With the help of quantitative and qualitative methods the chapter tries to explore how violence is used in the household to maintain positions of power and how such power equations can be dismantled.

Since, Domestic Violence as a technique of power continues to remain pre-modern in form, it is evident from the table above that violence like push, slap, kick, starvation, confinement, marital rape forced abortions are all corporeal and brutal in nature.

These forms of violence are used for punishing and disciplining women by a host of agents at the marital home. The ones who inflict violence could be the husband, father in law, mother in law and also her brothers and sisters in law. The following table depicts the persons who inflict violence to married women.

Table: 6.14.A. Types of Violence Experienced by Respondents.

Type of Violence	Delhi	Kolkata
Physical Abuse perpetrated by Husband	96.8	87.7
Emotional Abuse perpetrated by Husband	42.0	70.1
Sexual Abuse perpetrated by Husband	16.6	32.6
Physical Abuse perpetrated by Mother/ Father in Law	52.0	44.2
Emotional Abuse perpetrated by Mother/ Father in Law	7.6	29.0
Sexual Abuse perpetrated by Mother/ Father in Law	3.2	2.2
Physical Abuse perpetrated by Brother/ Sister in Law	16.5	25.0
Emotional Abuse perpetrated Brother/ Sister in Law	5.7	28.4
Sexual Abuse perpetrated Brother/ Sister in Law	1.9	0.0

The table 6.14.A. above documents the responses of the respondents regarding the members of the family who were responsible for the violence she had experienced. The most significant person in the ‘team’ which often gets together and work in unison using various strategies to discipline women is the husband of the respondent.

96.8 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 87.7 per cent in Kolkata recorded being physically abused by their husbands. 42 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 70 per cent in Kolkata recorded Emotional abuse and 16.6 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 32.6 per cent in Kolkata recorded instances of sexual abuse perpetrated by their husbands.

In Kolkata the perception for what accounts for Emotional Abuse is much higher than that of Delhi, It appears that the respondents in Delhi do not perceive emotional abuse strongly as 96.8 per cent of the respondents in Delhi recorded experiencing physical violence but only 42.0 per cent of the respondents recorded experiencing Emotional Violence. Physical violence is most commonly preceded by a period of emotional abuse, so lesser women in Delhi recording emotional violence indicates that women do not consider emotional abuse as a form of violence worth complaining about; and that the existence of emotional abuse has been normalised deeply within women's psyche, that emotional violence is a part of everyday conflicts that make up a householder's life. The perceptions regarding emotional abuse is once more found to be repeated when the respondents recorded their experience of violence perpetrated by their parents in law.

52 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 44.2 per cent in Kolkata reported experiencing physical abuse perpetrated by father and mother in law, but only 7.6 per cent of respondents of Delhi and 29 per cent in Kolkata mentioned emotional abuse as a form of violence inflicted by their mother and father in law. 16.6 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 36.6 per cent of respondents from Kolkata reported sexual abuse by their husbands.

Though it is a difficult task for women to talk about sexual abuse or sexual repression, in Delhi as well as Kolkata, women reported experiencing sexual abuse by husbands and also father in law.

In Delhi, Respondents reported sexual abuse by other family members, like the brother in law. Family member's being predatory in nature, can be a strong destabilizing factor which can make a woman's life at her natal home, fraught with fear and uncertainty.

The list of perpetrators show that all the members of the husband's family feel that they have the right to reprimand, hurl insults and even physically assault a family member, who they feel needs to be disciplined.

To know more about the impact of the age of a woman, her educational qualifications or her income and if those attributes act as a deterrent to her husband and her in laws to unleash violence may be studied by analyzing the type of violence women experience violence in

relation to their age, income and educational achievements. The following table shows the influence of age on the type of Domestic Violence women experience in Delhi and Kolkata.

**Table: 6.15. Age of Respondent and the Type of Violence Experienced.
(Figures in Percentages)**

Delhi									
Age	Violence perpetrated by Husband			Violence perpetrated by Parents In Law			Violence perpetrated by Brother/Sister in Law		
	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual
less than 25	40.1	14.6	5.7	21	5	1.2	8.2	4.4	1.9
26 -30	36.9	21	8.9	22.7	2.5	1.2	7.6	1.2	0
31-35	12.1	5	1.9	3.8	0	0.6	0	0	0
36-40	3.1	0	0	0.6	0	0	0	0	0
41-45	3.8	1.2	0	0.6	0	0	0.6	0	0
Above 45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	96.1	42	16.5	49	7.6	3.1	16.5	5.7	1.3
Kolkata									
Age	Violence perpetrated by Husband			Violence perpetrated by Parents In Law			Violence perpetrated by Brother/Sister in Law		
	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual
less than 25	33.3	25.3	13	23.9	14.4	1.4	10.8	5	0
26 -30	23.1	16.6	11.5	10.1	7.2	0.7	7.9	2.8	0
31-35	18.1	15.9	5.7	7.2	5.7	0	5	4.3	0
36-40	7.2	6.5	1.4	7.2	1.4	0	0.7	0	0
41-45	3.6	2.8	0.7	2.1	0	0	0.7	0.7	0
Above 45	2.1	2.1	0.7	0.7	0	0	0	0	0
Total	87.6	6.9	32.6	44.2	28.8	2.1	25.3	13	0

Table: 6.15 shows that young brides are more susceptible to physical, emotional and sexual abuse by not only her husband but even the family members. More than three fourths of the respondents in Delhi and more than half in Kolkata who were physically abused by their husbands were less than 30 years old. Marrying at a young age can become a reason for being naive and unable to resist violence at marital home.

As the age of the respondents goes up, in both the cities, one observes that percentage of women reporting all types of violence recorded decline. Like rising age, a steady source of

income is also a means of empowering women. A steady source of income not only contributed to the household income, and in many cases, the family members bank on the income of the wife/ daughter-in-law. Moreover, a steady income also helps in enhancing autonomy and agency of a woman. The following table shows the type of Domestic Violence experienced by the respondents in relation to their income.

Table: 6.16. Income of the Respondent and the Type of Violence Experienced.

Delhi									
Income (Rupees)	Violence perpetrated by Husband			Violence perpetrated by Parents In Law			Violence perpetrated by Brother/Sister in Law		
	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual
500-2000	71.9	31.2	11.4	38.8	7.6	2.5	12.7	5.7	1.9
2001-5000	7.6	3.1	1.2	3.1	0	0.6	1.2	0	0
5001-10000	6.3	2.5	1.2	1.9	0	0	1.2	0	0
10001-25000	8.2	3.8	2.5	3.8	0	0	0.6	0	0
above 25000	1.2	1.2	0	1.2	0	0	0	0	0
Total	95.5	42	16.5	49	7.6	3.1	16.5	5.7	1.9
Kolkata									
Income (Rupees)	Violence perpetrated by Husband			Violence perpetrated by Parents In Law			Violence perpetrated by Brother/Sister in Law		
	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Sexual
500-2000	74.6	58.6	29.7	38.4	27.5	1.4	23.1	13.7	0
2001-5000	2.8	2.8	2.1	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0	0
5001-10000	6.5	5.1	0.7	4.3	0.7	0	1.4	0	0
10001-25000	3.6	2.8	0	0.7	0	0	0	0	0
above 25000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	87.6	69.5	32.6	44.2	28.9	2.1	25.3	13.7	0

Table 6.16 shows that in Delhi as well as Kolkata, the women who had earned the lowest level of income were made up the majority of the respondents who reported incidences of physical, emotional and sexual violence. This observation was true for violence perpetrated by husbands of respondents, parents in law as well as the other family members of the respondents' marital family. Fewer women with higher levels of income reported physical violence from their

husband's as well as in laws. It may be inferred from the table that as women's income rise, they become less susceptible to physical, emotional and sexual violence perpetrated by her husband as well as in laws and other members of the marital family.

Acts of violence are ramifications of the conflicts that destabilize marital relationships. To study about the types of Domestic Violence women experience and not know about the causes that lead to such behaviour would lead to incomplete understanding of the subject. The following section discusses those underlying issues that ignite conflict in marital relationships.

Causes of Discord:The respondents recorded various reasons for the cause of discord with her partner. Those responses have been analysed and grouped on the basis of the factors that underlie such reactions. The causes of discord have been grouped into four categories, and the rationale behind grouping them has been discussed earlier in Chapter

Table 6.17. Causes of Discord reported by Respondents

Dowry Related	Dowry, Demand, Misappropriation of Stridhan.
Male Dominance Related	Desertion, Aspiration for Male Child, Disrespect towards in laws, Irresponsibility towards children's upbringing, Neglect of Domestic Chores, Sexual Abuse by Father in Law or Brother in Law, Undisclosed marriage, Over burdening with Work.
Financial Constraints Related	Separation of Husband and Wife due to Job related Constraints, Property Dispute, Unemployment, Poor Income, Demand for Wife's Income.
Psychological, Personal, Medical, Social and Cultural Related	Maladjustment, Extra marital Relationship, Pre Marital Sexual Relationships, Medical Unfitness, Alcoholism, Childlessness, Suspicion, Drug Addiction, Misrepresentation of Wealth and Status, Psychological Disorder, Parent's Instigation.

The four categories show that multifarious causes of discord work independently as well as in unison that ignite Domestic Violence. The multi-causal origin of the causes of discord among family members conforms to the ecological model of Domestic Violence propounded by B E Carlson (1984). The cause of discord stems from levels of influence that acts at the individual level, family level, socio-cultural level and finally the socio structural level.

The causes of discord brew between individuals and among family members ramify into violence that is often used as means to get control over resources and assert power over the imagined weaker subject. Unleashing violence becomes easier when marriages are independently chosen, and the rules of endogamy are not adhered to. The family members feel justified to set the wrong right by disciplining the subject.

Based on the rules of endogamy and exogamy the respondents were categorised into endogamous and exogamous groups of couples on the basis of linguistic background, religious background and the caste groups of the respondents.

In chapter 2, the differences in kinship patterns and practices related to marriages in Northern parts of India with the Southern counterparts were discussed in details. Kandiyoti (2011), Uberoi (2000), Karve (1993), Dumont (1993), Raju (2011) and Datta (2011) have theorised the differences in expected gender roles diverse regions of the country. These theories form the basis of studying how linguistically exogamous couples may encounter conflict even in modern urban milieu of metropolitan cities and can create differences in the family finding a reason to blame the lack of cohesion within the household.

A few case studies are being presented in this section to aid in describing the range of violence women experience for which they resort to intervention by the state based on the causes of discord in their marital relationship.

Alcoholism as a Cause of Discord.

D_105 is married for three years. She had an arranged marriage and she lives with her in-laws. They hailed from Haryana. D_015 experiences severe physical abuse by her husband, he abuses her under the influence of alcohol. He is currently at a rehabilitation centre getting treatment to give up alcohol abuse. Her husband works intermittently in private jobs and earns moderately. She wants to live with her in laws as they are old and need her support. After he gets de addicted she would observe him, if he goes back to his old ways, then she would file for divorce. She has doubts as most of her neighbours are alcoholics.

Marital Rape as a Cause of Discord

D_043 is 26 years old. She is married for two years and separated for eleven months. Currently she is staying at her natal home. She has a degree in Masters of Business Administration, and works as a Project Associate at a Business Process Outsourcing Unit in Delhi.

She had independently chosen her husband, but her parents though initially objected to the marriage, later they supported her decision. Two days into the marriage, D_043 was subjected to emotional, physical and sexual abuse. She considers her mistake in choosing a partner in haste as she was immature then, and wanted to marry someone who could even “die for her” not realizing that her husband’s pre marital behaviour was a result for his lust for her and not love. D_043’s difficulties started from her husband being extremely suspicious of her, and physically assaults her then weeps, repents for his behaviour, then sexually assaults her followed by another round of weeping and begging for forgiveness. This cyclical pattern of her husband’s behaviour has almost become a routine problem. On her honeymoon trip she was sexually assaulted by her husband and was also thrown off the car. This incident was registered with the police and her husband had to spend that night at the police lockup. Her husband’s behavioural issues are not only related to his private life, but his erratic behaviour has also cost him two jobs. Her in laws support her husband’s behaviour, and D_043 was also advised by her mother in law to learn how to keep her husband happy so that her married life becomes easier. D_043, feels that there is no hope for her to expect any positive change in her husband, as his violent behaviour is more of a psychological disorder than any other thing. D_043 wishes to seek divorce from the marriage and live a life of her own. D_043’s husband on the contrary pleads to reform himself and wishes to continue to live with her.

Childlessness as a Cause of Discord

D_031 is 32 years of age. She is a computer engineer by profession and married for nine years. Her husband is a shopkeeper in Ashok Vihar, Delhi. D_031 claims that her husband suffers from inability to bear children, medically termed as impotence, but he refuses to admit this basic fact. D_031 has been making efforts to help her husband by offering him to get treated medically, but her husband refuses to co-operate with her efforts. D_031 has been empathetic

to her husband by hiding about his medical condition from her friends and family members. At the arbitration session, D_031's husband was summoned where the issue of their childlessness was discussed. Her husband flatly refused to accept any medical consultation as according to him, he and D_031 were unhappy themselves and were in no moral position to bear a child and subject the child to an unhappy life where the parents do not get along.

In the case of D_016, who is 36 years of age and married for six years, is unable to bear a child and she and her husband are keen to have a child. Doctors have indicated to D_016 that the problems related to infertility lies with her husband, but her husband refuses to admit it and is also unwilling to undergo any kind of treatment for it. For the past one year, her husband has deserted her and has begun living with a new companion with the hopes of bearing a child. D_016 wants her husband to leave his companion and live with her.

K_094 is 23 years old and married for three years. She is separated for one year and currently lives at her natal home. Their's was an independently chosen marriage against the wishes of their parents and relatives. Since her husband was earning well through a government job, they eloped and got themselves married at a Kali temple. Even though her husband had not shown any interest towards dowry and gifts before marriage, but after the marriage he began cribbing for having lost out on dowry and gifts. Since they are unable to bear children, her husband has turned more violent over the years. K_094 had complained to the local police station, but the violence resurfaced within a month of the intervention, so she has approached the crime cell to and applied for maintenance from her husband and live on her own.

Extra marital Relationships as a Cause of Discord

K_109 is 20 years old. She is married for two years, separated for one year had completed middle school and has been engaged in a household industry where she was involved in embroidering garments. K_109 had begun embroidering to earn a living before marriage and earned a monthly income between Rupees 5000 and 8,000 she continued doing it to supplement her husband's income. K_109's marriage was arranged by her family and her father took a loan of Rupees 1,80,000 to organize the marriage and celebration, yet right from the beginning none from her marital family treated her well. She was made to stay in a shanty next to the cowshed in the home at Belur (suburb of Kolkata). K_109 was not allowed to go to her natal

home even when she fell ill and was not provided any medical treatment or medicines. K_109 suspects that her husband has illicit relationship with his sister in law (elder brother's wife) and K_109's co-sister and is elder to her. It is for this reason, that K_109, was asked to live in a shanty next to the cow shed so that she would be kept away from the main household. K_109's husband presses clothes for a living and he has been as a joint entrepreneurship with his elder brother, so he does not get a share of the joint income of his and his brother which is shared by the entire household. One year after her marriage, K_109 fell down in the cowshed and was hospitalised. It was then that her parents were informed about her condition and instructed to take care of her. K_109's husband did not visit her to the hospital. K_109 was brought back to her natal home by her parents after she recovered. Since then, neither her husband nor her family members have been in touch with her. K_109 feels that if she could earn well, and was financially stronger, she could have convinced her husband to begin living in a separate household, away from the family members. During the arbitration session her husband was made aware of the difficulties K_109 was experiencing because of his shared household with his brother and co sister. He refused to have his separate household, as he according to him, their business of pressing clothes would collapse if they split their work. K_109 was given the option of living in the same conditions if she wished to live with her husband.

K_116 is 40 years old. She is married for twelve years, but now separated from her husband for two years. Currently she is staying at her natal home. K_116 had completed her graduation before marriage and pursued masters' degree in Fine Arts after her marriage and successfully completed. K_116 teaches Fine Arts in a school and is a professional painter. She met her husband at his workplace, where she had gone in connection with her paintings. Her husband had a Ph.D. in Mathematics and is employed as a Senior General Manager at a Public Sector Undertaking. She independently chose to marry despite opposition from both the families. K_116 claims that after her marriage she slowly became aware of her husband's multiple extramarital affairs with his co-workers, friends and domestic helps. K_116's mother-in-law was aware of her son's illicit relationships but never offered any solace or help. Within three months of her marriage, K_116 conceived her first child and become aware of her husband's illicit relationships. When her daughter was nine months old, K_116 began to live independently and her husband contributes Rupees 5000 every month for their daughter's education. K_116 wants a legal separation after twelve years of marriage as her daughter is

growing up and is slowly becoming aware of her father's behaviour. K_116's brother and sister in law do not support her decision since it was her husband who had helped her brother get a job.

K_116 also mentions that she is tired of the slow progress of her 'case' at the Women's Grievance Cell, and the cell is unable to help her as her problems stem from her husband's extramarital affairs. The cell had the power to simply summon and counsel her husband and the follow up actions are not within the mandate of the cell.

K_117 is 32 years old. She is a Graduate but not employed. She has been married for 13 years. Her marriage was arranged by her family members who live in Andhra Pradesh and after marriage she migrated to Kolkata. K_117 has two daughters aged 10 and 8. Her husband is also from Andhra Pradesh, and her husband and her father in law owned a shop in Burrabazar and both worked at the shop. K_117's husband is 35 years old, also a graduate, has been involved in numerous extra marital relationships. K_117 has been supported by her in laws, and though her in laws tried to counsel her husband, he never listened to anyone. For the past one year, apart from his extramarital relationships, he has also been involved in illegal business activities with another person who has bad reputation of being unscrupulous. Along with it, her husband has also begun living with a lady from the same locality, who is a two times divorcee. A complaint was lodged at the Women's Grievance Cell by K_117 at the insistence of her father-in-law, who has assured her that he would take her and her daughter's responsibility, and that they could continue to live at her marital home. Since K_117's husband's link with spurious business activities can put the entire family's financial condition also under uncertainty. K_117 agrees to follow her father in law's advice for the sake of her daughter's future.

K_118 is 34 years old. She is a Post Graduate (completed graduation before marriage) had independently chosen her husband. She had met her husband at her workplace and married despite knowing the fact that her in laws did not support the marriage. She is a teacher at the middle level in a Government school. She has been married for twelve years but separated for two years. She has a single male child who is seven years old. Her husband is also a Graduate and works at a Private sector enterprise. He keeps bad company and is very abusive. He has never been responsible for their son's education or other needs. K_118 was forced to take a

transfer and shift out of Kolkata to keep her son away from his father's abusive behaviour. Now K_118 is back with a transfer to Kolkata and since she had never been welcome at her marital home, she settled at her natal home for the past two and a half years.

Her husband visits her natal home and physically abuses her. She has lodged a complaint for her safety and would file a divorce case soon, but before that she wishes to recover her expensive stridhan.

K_100 is 26 years old. She is a Post Graduate, but not employed. She is married for six years and separated for four years. Currently she is living at her natal home. Her marriage was 'arranged' by her family members. Her husband, 30 years old is a civil engineer posted in Jamnagar (Gujarat). Soon after marriage, her husband left for Jamnagar, while K_100 continued to live with her in laws. After six months of marriage, K_100's parents pleaded with her in-laws to allow her to stay with her husband at Jamnagar. At Jamnagar, K_100 was abused mentally and physically and she was made to starve and her husband would not stock the kitchen. He often didn't return home at nights and made K_100 feel that her husband was involved in extramarital relationships. K_100 was also threatened of dire consequences if she didn't voluntarily return to Kolkata. As K_100 had no one to fall back on she returned to Kolkata. When she narrated her experience at Jamnagar to her in laws, they too didn't offer her any solace rather made her rather her accusations angered her in laws. Since then K_100 has been living with her parents. She wants her stridhan through the help of the women's grievance cell as she feels it's futile to hope to live with her husband.

D_050 is 32 years old. She is married for sixteen years, and is separated from her husband for the past one year. She works as a nurse in All India Institute of Medical Sciences, and had been working as a nurse in Kerala before her marriage. D_050 met her husband through friends, and since both were from Kottayam in Kerala and Roman Catholics she independently chose to marry her husband, who is 36 years of age. D_050, persevered and got a job in AIIMS, New Delhi and migrated to Delhi from Kerala. Her husband who was engaged in a small scale business in Kerala, left his business and followed her to Delhi to begin the same business in the new city. Fifteen years have passed and he neither began his work nor agreed to start a family. D_050 worked hard and saved and was able to buy an apartment in Delhi, and one year back, her husband took possession of the apartment and tried to stop her access to the apartment.

D_050 had to resort to help from the local Police Station to gain entry to her house. After the showdown with the Police station, her husband stopping living with her and D_050 has come to know that he lives with another woman and both of them have fled to Kerala. Recently, D_50 has come to know that, her husband is planning to flee to Yemen which would make it impossible to for her or the Police in Delhi to trace and locate him. D_050 alleges that her husband has run away with her expensive jewellery and other valuables that he stole from their home. She would file case for divorce after she gets back the valuables. The crime cell is not able to trace her husband even after forwarding the complaint to the nearest Police Station of his place of stay in Kerala.

Desertion by husband as a Cause of Discord

D_049 is 28 years old. She has a degree in law. She has been married for nine years but has been separated for eight and a half years. She works as an assistant to an advocate at the Tis Hazari court in Delhi.

D_049, feels that she was a burden on her parents before marriage and her parents in the process of offloading their burden in a hurry, did not make a thorough enquiry about her husband's lifestyle who lives in Moscow, Russia and is employed at a garment exporting unit. Initially, it was agreed that D_049 would continue to stay in Delhi with her in-laws and after six months, and after that relocate to Moscow to live with her husband. But months turned into years but her visa application process was not initiated by her husband. When D_049 enquired her husband and in-laws about her relocation to Moscow, they all convinced her that her husband himself was planning to return to India, so there was no point in D_049 to travel to Moscow. Her husband has not returned since then. In the earlier years, her husband would make yearly trips to India, but for the last three he has not made any trips to India. D_049 on hindsight remembers that during her husband's previous trips to India he would sexually abuse her, and was emotionally tormented when her husband would show more interest in her cousins and friends. She is now of the opinion that her husband is involved in extramarital affairs in Moscow and that could be the reason why D_049 has been abandoned. By virtue of being a legal professional, she is aware of the fact that her the laws are powerless in bringing her husband back to India, but she wishes to lodge a complaint to keep in record her trauma and harassment.

In the light of the various cases of discord, the following section attempts to analyse the occurrence of the causes of discord mentioned by the respondents in the light of their marriage type ; i.e., endogamous marriages or exogamous marriages.

Cause of Discord and among Endogamous and Exogamous couples experiencing Domestic Violence

Couples in endogamous marriages are expected to experience lesser degrees of hostility from their respective in-laws families since, those couples would meet the expectations of the in-laws, as they would be conversant with the norms and the customs that are prevalent in the marital families.

In this study, the couples who followed the rules of endogamy on the basis of mother tongue, religion and caste have been selected for comparing the similarities and differences in the causes of discord reported by couples whose marriages do not adhere to the rules of endogamy and could be termed as exogamous marriages in terms of mother tongue, religion and caste affiliations.

Cause of Discord and Violence among Exogamous and Endogamous marriages on the basis of Mother Tongue.

In chapter 3, it has been discussed how mother tongue becomes the signifier of the linguistic region an individual belongs to.

The following table shows the causes of discord recorded by endogamous and exogamous couples on the basis of their mother tongue in Delhi.

Table 6.18.A. Causes of Discord among Exogamous and Endogamous Couples on the basis of Mother Tongue, Delhi

Cause of Discord	No/Yes	Number			Percentage		
		Exogamy	Endogamy	Total	Exogamous	Endogamous	Total
Dowry (Husband)	No	15	77	92	16.3	83.7	100.0
	Yes	6	58	64	9.4	90.6	100.0
	Total	21	135	156	13.5	86.5	100.0
Male Domination (Husband)	No	10	97	107	9.3	90.7	100.0
	Yes	11	39	50	22.0	78.0	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0
Financial (Husband)	No	16	93	109	14.7	85.3	100.0
	Yes	5	40	45	11.1	88.9	100.0
	Total	21	133	154	13.6	86.4	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Husband)	No	4	30	34	11.8	88.2	100.0
	Yes	16	95	111	14.4	85.6	100.0
	Total	20	125	145	13.8	86.2	100.0
Dowry (Wife)	No	21	135	156	13.5	86.5	100.0
	Yes	0	1	1	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0
Domination (Wife)	No	18	121	139	12.9	87.1	100.0
	Yes	3	15	18	16.7	83.3	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0
Financial (Wife)	No	21	131	152	13.8	86.2	100.0
	Yes	0	5	5	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Wife)	No						
	Yes						
	Total						
Dowry (Family Member)	No	21	122	143	14.7	85.3	100.0
	Yes	0	13	13	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	135	156	13.5	86.5	100.0
Male Domination (Family Member)	No	21	133	154	13.6	86.4	100.0
	Yes	0	3	3	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0
Financial (Family Member)	No	21	130	151	13.9	86.1	100.0
	Yes	0	6	6	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Family Member)	No	21	130	151	13.9	86.1	100.0
	Yes	0	6	6	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	136	157	13.4	86.6	100.0

Table 6.18A above shows that 29 per cent (6/21) of the respondents whose husband belonged to other linguistic group recorded dowry demand as a cause of discord compared to 42.9

(58/135) respondents whose spouse belonged to the same linguistic group. 52 per cent (11/21) of the exogamous couples reported male dominance as a cause of discord while only 29 (39/136) per cent of the endogamous couples reported the same. 23 per cent of the exogamous couples and 30 per cent of the endogamous couples reported financial constraints as the cause of discord while 14 per cent of the exogamous couples and same per cent of the endogamous couples attributed psychological, medical or social factors as causes for their conflict. Women in linguistically exogamous relations are more sensitive to issues of male domination compared to endogamous couples. Linguistically exogamous couples did not have much expectations from their family members being supportive to their marriage, so they did not mention family member's role in causing marital discord, but respondents in endogamous relationships attribute the role of in laws in causing marital discord.

A few case studies are being presented below of linguistically exogamous couples followed by linguistically endogamous couples to understand how family members resort to violence to respond to specific discords among family members.

Causes of Discord among Endogamous Couples (Delhi)

Three cases of linguistically endogamous couples are being presented below:

D_010, is 28 years old, works as a maid servant. She hails from Uttar Pradesh and belongs to the scheduled caste category. She is married to a 30 year old Christian from Kerala who works at a computer assembly unit in Delhi. For the last five months she has been living separately. They knew each other as they were neighbours and their acquaintance culminated into marriage.

After fourteen years of marriage, her husband has befriended another woman. She is also from Kerala, and for the past five months her husband has been living with the new partner. Earlier the lady's residence was known to D_010 but currently both her husband and the lady are untraceable. She has been coming to the Crime Women Cell, for getting help from the police to counsel her husband to return to her household. But since he is not traceable by the police, she is closing the case as for her to apply for leave to attend to the counselling dates entails loss of salary, and over and above, she has to spend on the bus fare to travel to the Crime Women Cell. She has lost hopes of living with her husband and would now work and earn a living for

her children's education. This particular case study of linguistic exogamy where one partner retraces his path to find another partner of the same linguistic group can cause severe emotional distress to the other partner.

In another case study, D_022, who is 26 years old. She is a practicing doctor with MBBS and DMRD degrees from Uttar Pradesh, has been married for one and a half years, but separated for the past three months. She met her husband at a medical college where they both studied. Her husband is also 26 years old, a medical doctor, hails from Punjab, She suffered from emotional and physical abuse and was also denied the joys of motherhood by her husband, other than appropriation of her income as her husband is unemployed and is preparing for DNB examination. D_022, felt that despite having known her husband before marriage and sharing their professional careers, his deep bond with brother and sisters came in the way of cementing their marital bond. She also feels if she had the opportunity to live in a nuclear household away from the interference of her husband's siblings, she might have been able to have a better relationship with her husband. D_022 was harassed for not getting sufficient dowry from her parents, and she also lost her job at several hospitals for not being able to reach her place of work on time as the entire household responsibilities were on her. Her in laws kept visiting from Punjab ever since she and her husband took up a house on rent in Delhi. She also suffered from slip-disc and was forced to pay rupees 96,000 which they incurred for her reception party and that amount was spent on their sister in law's admission cost for Management Studies. She contends that her in laws are concerned about their own daughter's education and well being but turned a blind eye to her professional growth. Within a year of marriage her husband also started abusing her as well as getting physically violent too. She has no hope that there might be any improvement in the situation as her mother in law was physically abused by her father in law and intergenerational transmission of violence has made violence as a normal outcome of conflict for her husband. She wishes to move on with her life, make a formal complaint at the Crime Women Cell before she applied for divorce proceedings. The respondents does not list linguistic endogamy as a cause of discord.

Another respondent, D_028, who is 24 years old, educated till high school and married for 3 years. She is currently separated and living with her sister in Delhi. D_028 is Bengali upper caste Hindu, and she chose her husband independently who hails from Uttarakhand. Her

husband is 26 years old Brahmin and works as a property dealer. They were neighbours before marriage. Though it was an independently chosen marriage, both the families have shown positive attitude towards the couple at the time of marriage. D_028, had a happy life till she conceived her child, as around the same time her husband befriended another woman. Though he earns very well, he spends a large portion of his income on his friend. She has approached the Crime Women Cell to counsel her husband to refrain from visiting his new acquaintance and not waste money on her. Only on that condition would she agree return to her marital home. At the arbitration session, her husband said that since he is a property dealer, he is working out the possibilities of selling her property and building a new apartment on the land owned by the lady. His meetings with her are purely based on business motives as he also helps the lady in organizing finances for her. He also made a commitment that, if his business activities cause stress at home, he is willing to fore go his chances for making big profits through this deal. When asked if their origin from different linguistic regions was ever a cause of problems, both husband and wife said language and region never caused any difference between them.

The case of D_041, 40 years old, a Christian woman from Tamil Nadu, has been forced to seek redressal at the Crime Women cell for the second time in her marriage. During the previous arbitration, her husband made promises at the Crime Women Cell but did not fulfil any. D_041 has been married for ten years and has been separated from her husband for the past one month and is living at her natal home. Her husband, is 43 years old. He has his roots in Delhi and is also a Christian. They met at the church and then later got married. She has been experiencing physical and mental abuse since her first child was born as her husband has turned into an alcoholic. If she cannot force her husband to pay for their bare minimum monthly expenditure, then on those months there isn't enough to eat at their home. Her two sons' aged 9 years and 6 years are very intelligent and they do not wish to live with their father as they have witnessed their father' violent behaviour under the effect of alcohol. She has taken shelter at her sister's home but she doesn't want to become a burden on her and her family. She would try and move out to a cheaper rented accommodation and find a job to support herself. She also said that her husband has grown up watching his father physically and verbally abuse his mother. This is also the reason why her mother in law doesn't feel the gravity of the pain D_041 goes through. Her mother in law feels that D_041 over reacts to the Domestic Violence. It appears that her

husband too, believes that beating one's wife is an accepted norm. During the arbitration session, her husband requested for more time to reform himself as he was eager to live with his sons. He also understands why his wife is unwilling to let him live with the children as they get traumatized by his violent behaviour. He says that he tries to lessen his drinking, but he himself feels that he is unable to control his drinking habit. D_041, doesn't not want to give her husband another chance, she wants the Crime Women Cell should help her so that her husband at least pays for their sons' education.

Three case studies of linguistically exogamous couples have been selected and their case studies show that only in the case of D_010, even though the cause of discord did not germinate from linguistic difference, but her husband's finding a partner from his linguistic group was reason enough to lose faith in linguistically exogamous marriages. The rest of the case studies show that linguistic exogamy per se does not lead to marital discord in urban spaces. In contrast to linguistically exogamous couples, linguistically endogamous couples who live in a separate linguistic region may have specific forms of feelings of alienation. A case study of such a couple is presented below for analysis.

Causes of Discord among Endogamous couples on the basis of Mother Tongue in who are living in a different linguistic region (Delhi)

D_004 is 41 years old. She is married for four years but has been living separately with her relatives in for the past two years. D_004 is a graduate in Computer Sciences and is employed at a well known diagnostic centre while her husband, is 44 years old and has a government job. Both husband and wife are from Himachal Pradesh, and they had an arranged marriage. She had a happy married life till her daughter was born. After that her husband began to neglect her and their child. He also appears to be too close to her co-sister and also very attached to his nephew. D_004 ruminates that it is also possible that her husband too desired to have a male child, and is unhappy with the girl child. D_004 moved out for her marital home and began living with a relative. Since he has been working all along, she has been able to sustain her and her daughter's needs. Her parents live in Himachal Pradesh and so she doesn't have their support in raising her child. Her expectation from Crime Women Cell is to help her get maintenance for her daughter and eventually apply for divorce. Being in a linguistically diverse

region, yet living in a joint family may have not affected their marital relationship. It is the family dispute that caused her to stay away from her husband.

In the following section, linguistically exogamous couples living in Kolkata would be studied. The following table shows the differences in the occurrences of causes of discord between linguistically endogamous and exogamous couples in Kolkata.

Table 6.18.B. Cause of Discord among Exogamous and Endogamous Couples on the basis of Mother Tongue, Kolkata

Cause of Discord	No/Yes	Exogamous	Endogamous	Total	Percentage		
					Exogamous	Endogamous	Total
Dowry (Husband)	No	9	53	62	14.5	85.5	100.0
	Yes	5	71	76	6.6	93.4	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Male Domination (Husband)	No	8	92	100	8.0	92.0	100.0
	Yes	6	32	38	15.8	84.2	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Financial (Husband)	No	13	101	114	11.4	88.6	100.0
	Yes	1	23	24	4.2	95.8	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Husband)	No	4	37	41	9.8	90.2	100.0
	Yes	10	87	97	10.3	89.7	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Dowry (Wife)	No	14	121	135	10.4	89.6	100.0
	Yes	0	3	3	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Male Domination (Wife)	No	13	102	115	11.3	88.7	100.0
	Yes	1	22	23	4.3	95.7	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Financial (Wife)	No	14	117	131	10.7	89.3	100.0
	Yes	0	7	7	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Dowry (Family Member)	No	11	75	86	12.8	87.2	100.0
	Yes	3	47	50	6.0	94.0	100.0
	Total	14	122	136	10.3	89.7	100.0
Male Domination (Family Member)	No	14	115	129	10.9	89.1	100.0
	Yes	0	9	9	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Financial (Family Member)	No	13	119	132	9.8	90.2	100.0
	Yes	1	5	6	16.7	83.3	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Family Member)	No	13	99	112	11.6	88.4	100.0
	Yes	1	25	26	3.8	96.2	100.0
	Total	14	124	138	10.1	89.9	100.0

Table 6.18. shows that demand for Dowry by husband as a cause of discord is less common among linguistically exogamous couples (35 per cent {5/14}) compared to the endogamous couples (57 per cent {71/124}) in Kolkata. Respondents in linguistically exogamous marriages experienced higher rates of causes of discord related to male domination (42 per cent {6/14})

compared to linguistically endogamous couples (25 per cent{32/124}in Kolkata. Financial constraints were less common in linguistically exogamous couples (7 per cent{1/14}) compared to linguistically endogamous couples (18.5 per cent {23/124}). Psychological, medical and social causes of discord were reported in same proportion by both the groups.

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Mother Tongue. (Kolkata)

Case studies of the nature of discord and violence among linguistically exogamous couples is being presented below.

The case of K_001, is 23 years of age. She is married for the past two years and is separated for the past one month. K_001 is educated till secondary level and is not employed. She is a Christian, and her parents hail from Bihar while her husband 27, is also a practicing Roman Catholic. He is from Tamil Nadu. K_001's mother in law is employed at a four star hotel in Kolkata, and her husband is an employee of Kolkata Police. She has a one year and three months old daughter. She met her husband at the church and with the consent of both their families their marriage was solemnized. Her in laws insisted on a lavish reception party in accordance with their social status and her mother in law gave K_001's parents a loan of rupees 1 lakh and fifty thousand for the reception arrangements. Her parents returned the amount in due course of time. After her marriage she went to live with her in laws and found that her husband and his family lived in severe financial stress. Her husband was not employed with the Kolkata Police, but in a battalion which was ancillary to the police and had a very meagre salary. K_001 recounted that because of the church link, they had not checked the veracity of the claims made by her in laws about their income and financial condition. She conceived a baby after a month of her marriage, and her mother in law gave her pineapples to eat so that the child would get aborted since her mother in law felt that it was too early for them to go the family way. She also discovered that her husband had not completed high school as the family had claimed and studied only till Eighth standard. She wanted to live in a separate household with her husband, as her mother in law controlled her movement, her food habit, her spending in the jointly run household. K_001, approached the local Mahila Samiti, who helped her register the case at the Women's Grievance Cell. In K_001's words, different linguistic backgrounds were not a problem as their religious backgrounds were same and she

was accepted well in the family. It was their financial constraints and her own need for autonomy that led to the differences.

In the case of K_007, a 28 year old Bengali Hindu from Kayastha caste group, educated till high school. She is married to a 40 year old photo- studio owner who too had a high school leaving certificate, also a Kayastha by caste but had migrated from Uttar Pradesh. Her husband's family speaks in Hindi at home but were conversant in Bangla by virtue of living in West Bengal for the past 40 years. K_007 met her husband through common friends, and her mother in law sent a proposal for their marriage to her parents. K_007 agreed to get married since she found that all the family members were loving and caring and were welcoming her into the family; even though her own brothers' did not whole heartedly approve of the match. Despite not approving the match, her brother did their best in terms of giving gifts and jewellery in dowry. After two weeks of her marriage reception, her husband got drunk and behaved in an erratic manner. With time, as more and more friends and relatives started visiting their home, K_007 came to know that her husband had many other women in his life, and was also forging extra marital relationships with a few of those women. K_007 then decided to file a Police Complaint at Kossipore Police Station and ever since she did that, her marital family members have all turned against her including her younger brother in law who physically abused her. She was also threatened to be turned into a victim of immoral trafficking for registering a complaint at the police station. K_007, fled away from her marital home and sought refuge at her brother's home. She hopes that complaining at the Women Grievance Cell would ensure her safety, as well as help her in seeking divorce through mutual consent at the court of law. In K_007's words, the linguistic difference was not the issue that plagued her relationship with her husband, it was his alcoholism and womanising that was the reason for her complaint.

Cause of Discord among Endogamous Couples on the basis of Mother Tongue but living in a different linguistic region (Kolkata)

A couple who were in linguistically endogamous marriage, yet located in a completely different linguistic milieu is being presented below.

K_019, is 27 years old, She holds a Masters in Business Administration and is married for four years but is currently separated and living at natal home for the past one year. Her marriage was arranged by parents following, linguistic, class, caste endogamy with another family from Rajasthan, settled in Kolkata. Her husband is 31 years old. He is a graduate and owns a petrol filling station jointly with his family members, but has started his own business related to computers. Her parents gifted rupees 15 lakhs to her husband on the day of engagement and for her marriage, jewellery, clothes and durables worth lakhs of rupees were sent as gifts. Within two months of her marriage, she was asked to extract more money from her parents for expanding her husband's business related to computers and apart from that she began experiencing humiliation for her dowry items being of poor quality. She was often physically assaulted by her husband and her in laws and was treated like a slave in the household to the extent that she was made to starve. The matter went out of hands on a day when her husband broke open the bathroom door and clicked inappropriate photos of her and threatened her of dire consequences if she did not ask her parents to give more money for the business. She complained to her mother in law, who didn't support her. When there was no way left, she requested her father and grandfather to visit her and amicably settle the dispute. When her family members arrived, they were asked to take K_019 back to her natal home. So, for the past one year, she has been living in her natal home, and neither husband nor in-laws have tried to contact her. She even tried visiting her marital home on religious festivals but she was not welcomed rather asked to sign on divorce papers. K_019 realises that her marriage would not last, so she has approached the Women's Grievance Cell to help her get back her Stridhan so that she may seek divorce later.

In another instance of endogamous couples living in another linguistic region is the case of K_068. K_068 is a 30 years old Tamil woman. She is a graduate and works as a receptionist in a four star hotel in Kolkata. Her husband is 35 years of age works as a scientist at the Birla Planetarium. He also hails from Tamil Nadu and both are Brahmins by caste. The marriage was arranged by the family members four years ago, and both husband and wife were divorcees. Two months after the marriage was held in Tamil Nadu, K_068 migrated to Kolkata to live with her husband. From the beginning of her conjugal life she found that her husband behaved 'abnormally' in the nights, to the extent that she often doubted whether she was being sexually abused. When she tried hinting it to her mother-in-law, she dismissed it saying, that since his

previous wife did not allow him to consummate the marriage, perhaps he behaved that way, but soon things would settle down. Soon her husband's abnormal behaviour began occurring in the day time also, and he also consumed 'Baygon Spray' thrice and her mother in law once again attributed this act to too much of stress at work. During her pregnancy too, he stamped on her stomach with no fear of causing harm to the unborn child. Her daughter is two years old and is traumatised by her father's behaviour. K_068 approached the Women Grievance Cell to get her husband counselled to lead a violence free life and find a way to cure his 'abnormal' behaviour. If the arbitration sessions at the Women's Grievance Cell lead to positive results, then she would continue to stay with her husband, but if the process fails she would leave her husband for a better life for her daughter.

The case studies show the cause of discord arising from dowry demand or due to psychological disorders of either of the partners. The problems of marital disharmony were not caused by linguistic exogamy in Kolkata.

Following the study on linguistically exogamous couples, marital discord can arise among couples belonging to diver religious faiths. The difference in the customary laws, the life style, religious rituals, food habits, etc, may turn into causes of discord among inter faith couples. Detailed discussions on the existence of customary laws based on religious faith vis a vis marriage has been discussed in Chapter 1 of the study. (Chhacchi, Khan, Navlakka, Sangari, Malik, Memon, Sarkar, Chakravarti, Butalia, Hasan (1998), Pathak and Rajan (1989) and AGENS (2018) have written in detail, the impact of plural legal systems on women's marital lives. The plurality of legal realms that form by State laws and customary laws working in conjunction, is bound to create conflicts in the everyday legal and social intercourse of interfaith couples. The next section of the chapter looks into the impact of exogamous marriages based on religion in metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata.

Causes of Discord among Endogamous and Exogamous Couples on the basis of Religion

The following table shows comparative causes of discord among religion based endogamous and exogamous couples in Delhi.

Table – 6.19A. Cause of Discord among Exogamous and Endogamous Couples on the basis of Religion, Delhi

Cause of Discord	No/Yes	Number			Percentage		
		Exogamy	Endogamy	Total	Exogamous	Endogamous	Total
Dowry (Husband)	No	7	86	93	7.5	92.5	100.0
	Yes	3	61	64	4.7	95.3	100.0
	Total	10	147	157	6.4	93.6	100.0
Male Domination (Husband)	No	5	103	108	4.6	95.4	100.0
	Yes	5	45	50	10.0	90.0	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0
Financial (Husband)	No	6	103	109	5.5	94.5	100.0
	Yes	4	42	46	8.7	91.3	100.0
	Total	10	145	155	6.5	93.5	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Husband)	No	3	32	35	8.6	91.4	100.0
	Yes	6	105	111	5.4	94.6	100.0
	Total	9	137	146	6.2	93.8	100.0
Dowry (Wife)	No	10	147	157	6.4	93.6	100.0
	Yes	0	1	1	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0
Male Domination (Wife)	No	8	132	140	5.7	94.3	100.0
	Yes	2	16	18	11.1	88.9	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0
Financial (Wife)	No	10	143	153	6.5	93.5	100.0
	Yes	0	5	5	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0
Dowry (Family Member)	No	10	134	144	6.9	93.1	100.0
	Yes	0	13	13	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	10	147	157	6.4	93.6	100.0
Male Domination (Family Member)	No	10	145	155	6.5	93.5	100.0
	Yes	0	3	3	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0
Financial (Family Member)	No	10	142	152	6.6	93.4	100.0
	Yes	0	6	6	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Family Member)	No	10	142	152	6.6	93.4	100.0
	Yes	0	6	6	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	10	148	158	6.3	93.7	100.0

The table 6.19A shows that in Delhi, 6.4 per cent of the respondents were married to spouses from a different religion than their own. The religion based exogamous couples reported lesser proportion of complaints regarding dowry demand (30 per cent {3/10}) whereas, the endogamous couples recorded higher rates (41 per cent {61/147}). The conflicts related to issues of male domination was higher among the religion based exogamous couples (50 per cent {5/10}) compared to endogamous couples (30 per cent {45/148}). Financial constraints were a bigger issue among the endogamous couples 40 per cent{4/10}) than the endogamous couples (28 per cent {42/145}) probably because the exogamous couples often do not have parental support to take care of their financial needs.

20 per cent (2/10) of the husbands of exogamous marriages mentioned that the cause of discord stemmed from their wife being domineering, while 10 per cent of the couples who were in endogamous marriages. The respondents of religion based exogamous marriages did not mention their family members to have abetted the reasons for strife between the couple, but the endogamous couples did put the blame on the in laws for dowry demand, and domineering behaviour of other male members of the family to be the cause of discord.

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Religion (Delhi)

The case studies presented below elucidate the discord that occurs in the marital lives of couples whose spouses belong to other religions.

D_014 is a 23 years old Punjabi Hindu Arora girl, only child of well to do parents from Delhi, married a 27 year old Sikh, who is a property dealer with unstable income. Her father in law is a prosperous businessman in Amritsar. D_014, has completed her graduation in fashion designing and met her husband through common friends. Their independently chosen marriage was not registered at any court of law, but was a social event attended only by D_014's family and friends. D_014 claims that her in laws are still unaware of their son's marriage, and she is being forced to continue to live with her parents. Her husband often travels to Amritsar to spend time with his parents. D_014's desire to start a separate household of her own never became a reality, consequently her marriage turned into a chimera. With every successive visit to Amritsar, her husband began behaving erratically as even his parents are also pressurizing him to get married to another girl of his parent's choice. D_014 now realises that it is pointless

to hope to have a happy married life with her husband as he lacks the guts to disclose about their marriage to his family. According to her their different religious backgrounds did become a hindrance for getting acceptance from her in laws, but at the same time, she also feels it's the individual's will that can make a difference, like in the manner she had convinced her parents, but her husband is not even making an effort to do so. D_014 wishes to register a case at the Crime Women Cell to recognize her social marriage and later appeal for divorce. During the arbitration process, her husband pleaded for more time to begin leading a married life and disclose about his marriage to his parents. He wanted his property dealing business to earn good profits for him to be independent as he is still dependent on his father for funding his business. D_014 on the other hand has made up her mind to end her relationship with her husband and is not willing to wait for her husband's business to grow. D_014 does not mention that the differences in their religious identities came in the way of her acceptance by her marital family, but over and above, she lists her husband's lack of will to confront his parents regarding their marriage is the primary cause of their broken relationship.

In the case of D_110, a 40 year old Upper Caste Hindu woman from Orissa, married for the last four years but currently separated from her husband for the past one year. She is a post graduate in Art History and lives independently. This is her second marriage. She met her second husband at her workplace. He is a 32 years old Kashmiri Muslim artisan. D_110 was an influential consultant with the Ministry of Textiles under the Government of India at that time, and she helped him gain contracts from the Ministry with her contacts. Around the same time D_110 was also suffering from Breast Cancer, and her husband took care of her health and they got married and he has been a pillar of support to her during her time of crisis. One year ago he left for Kashmir, never to return. It appears to her that her husband intends to disown her. She did not have a registered marriage, but she is appealing at the court with photographs and other proof of the marriage and claims that if he doesn't accept the existence of this marriage she would resort to legal recourse and would charge him of raping her with the assurance of marriage which is a criminal offence. All she wanted from the Crime Women Cell is to help her get acceptance of the marriage from her husband, after which she would anyway file a divorce suit as she is no more willing to live with him. The Crime Women Cell sent summons to her husband's home at Kashmir and are waiting for his response. The cases reveal that different religious background of couples may come in the way of leading a compatible

marital life. Even couples adhering to religious endogamy complain about religious laws being imposed on their lives and the role of the State law being obliterated. The following case is an example for religious law turning into a cause of conflict among married women and the members of her marital family.

Discord in marriages were found not only among couples who married across religious backgrounds, couples who conformed to religion based endogamy too shared their differences which have been documented below.

Cause of Discord among Endogamous Couples on the basis of Religion (Delhi)

Couples who were married to spouses belonging to the same religious faith too registered complaints of Domestic Violence. D_013, is a 23 years old Muslim woman who is married for three years has been pronounced Triple Talaq. Currently she is living in her natal home. She has an eight month old daughter. Her husband is 27 years old and who works as a peddler on the streets selling low priced plastic goods. D_013 was tortured by her in-laws right from the beginning of her marriage, and was asked by her in-laws to leave the joint family set up her husband was living. Her in-laws wanted them to leave the joint family set up since her husband was not earning a steady income and both had become a burden on her in-laws. Financial constraints in the household caused her husband to vent out his frustrations by being violent and physically and sexually abusing D_013. Unable to bear the stressful situation, coupled with her pregnancy, her husband pronounced Tripple Talaq which left D_013 with no option but to go back to her natal home at Moradabad. At Moradabad, the local religious bodies began harassing D_013's parents and elder brothers as she was sent back by her husband and in laws after the Tripple Talaq was pronounced on her. It became difficult for her to be a witness to her parents and brothers being hounded for no fault for theirs. She was then advised to file a case of Domestic Violence at the Crime Women Cell in Delhi and try to contact her husband. Later she would file for a maintenance suit at the court as she has a small child to bring up.

Like the couples in Delhi, in Kolkata too, couples from inter faith/ religious marriages registered cases of Domestic Violence. The following table shows the cause of discord among religion based endogamous and exogamous couples in Kolkata.

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Religion (Kolkata)

The table below shows the responses of couples in endogamous and exogamous marriages on the basis of religion

Table – 6.19B. Cause of Discord among Exogamous and Endogamous Couples on the basis of Religion in Kolkata

Cause of Discord	No/Yes	Exogamous	Endogamous	Total	Percentage		
					Exogamous	Endogamous	Total
Dowry (Husband)	No	3	58	61	4.9	95.1	100.0
	Yes	3	73	76	3.9	96.1	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Male Domination (Husband)	No	2	98	100	2.0	98.0	100.0
	Yes	4	33	37	10.8	89.2	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Financial (Husband)	No	5	108	113	4.4	95.6	100.0
	Yes	1	23	24	4.2	95.8	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Husband)	No	2	39	41	4.9	95.1	100.0
	Yes	4	92	96	4.2	95.8	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Dowry (Wife)	No	6	128	134	4.5	95.5	100.0
	Yes	0	3	3	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Male Domination (Wife)	No	5	109	114	4.4	95.6	100.0
	Yes	1	22	23	4.3	95.7	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Financial (Wife)	No	6	124	130	4.6	95.4	100.0
	Yes	0	7	7	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Wife)	No						
	Yes						
	Total						
Dowry (Family Member)	No	5	80	85	5.9	94.1	100.0
	Yes	1	49	50	2.0	98.0	100.0
	Total	6	129	135	4.4	95.6	100.0
Male Domination (Family Member)	No	6	122	128	4.7	95.3	100.0
	Yes	0	9	9	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Financial (Family Member)	No	6	125	131	4.6	95.4	100.0
	Yes	0	6	6	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Family Member)	No	6	105	111	5.4	94.6	100.0
	Yes	0	26	26	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	6	131	137	4.4	95.6	100.0

Table 6.19B shows, that, only 4.4 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata were married to persons of other religious faiths. The analysis shows that, demand for dowry as a cause of discord was recorded by 50 per cent (3/6) exogamous respondents while 56 per cent (73/131) endogamous respondents. Male Domination as a cause of conflict was experienced more by exogamous couples (66 per cent {4/6}) compared to endogamous couples (25 per cent {33/131}). Financial constraints as a cause of discord were reported by both exogamous (16 per cent {1/6}) couples and endogamous couples (17.5 per cent {23/131}). Psychological, Social and Medical reasons for discord were reported by both endogamous and exogamous couples. 16 per cent of the husbands of the endogamous couples as well as exogamous couples blamed the respondent's domineering behaviour as a cause of discord. Respondents who were in endogamous marriages, recorded instances of financial constraint, domineering behaviour of the other male members of the family and their psychological and social disorders as a cause of their marital discord while only a few of the respondents in exogamous marriages recorded demand for dowry as a cause of discord.

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Religion (Kolkata)

Case studies of couples in Kolkata who belong to different religious groups have been presented below to understand how causes of discord lead up to Domestic Violence and if the discord stems from the couples following different religions.

K_002, a 27 years old Bengali Christian, educated till high school, married for five years but for the last three months she has been separated from her husband and in-laws and is living with her sister in Kolkata. K_002 met her 28 year old husband who is a practising Muslim, through his sister. She converted to Islam, got married in Kolkata and then travelled to Murshidabad, where her husband's family lived. Upon reaching her marital home she was ill-treated and not welcomed. Her mother in law refused to accept a daughter in law from 'bejaat – kajaat' meaning who was not a Muslim but from some other community. She was targeted for being born a Christian and accused of smoking, drinking and having multiple male friends which she had none. She was also repeatedly threatened of the possibility of her in laws getting her husband remarried as it was allowed by the Islamic law. Despite living in routine torture

and abuse, K_002 bore a child who is now three and a half years old. The marriage was organised by her sister in law (husband's sister), and she was the person who in K_002's words "laid the trap" for her to convert to Islam and get married, but at the time of crisis her sister-in-law would never take a stand against her parents (K_002's in-laws). Tired of violence at home and no support from anyone in the family, K_002 returned to Kolkata to join a Montessori training course hoping to become financially independent after acquiring a professional diploma. After completion of the montessori course, when K_002 went back to Murshidabad, she found out that true to the threats given by her in-laws, her husband had remarried, and this time to another Muslim woman according to his parents' wishes. Her in laws accused her of deserting her husband and also doubted that she might have eloped with some other man and hence had no place in her marital home. K_002, having lost all hopes of rebuilding her married life, sought help from the Women's Grievance Cell to help her husband pay for her child's education. She has not planned anything for her future as her prime concern at present is raise her child and make education available to him.

In another case of inter religious marriage, K_093, is a 28 years old Muslim woman. She completed high school is married for five years and has been living at the natal home during the entire duration of her married life. Her husband is 27 years old. He worked as a mason in her neighbourhood. She took pity on his hardships and poverty and also at the same time found him dependable and caring, so she got herself converted to Hinduism and was married at a local temple. Her marriage was a simple ceremony attended by her family, but the event was kept as a secret from her husband's family. She has been waiting for years for her husband's business and income to improve so that she could move out of her natal home and begin living with her husband. During the last one year her husband's visits to her started getting infrequent and then he abruptly stopped meeting her and even communicating with her. Not knowing where to trace her husband, she went to his parent's home who refused to believe her story about her marriage and also claimed that their son (her husband) has been absconding and offered no solace to her. K 093, has approached the Womens' Grievance Cell with the hope of tracing the whereabouts' of her husband and to legally register her marriage and also begin living with her husband.

In the two case studies of exogamous couples based on religion discussed, the case of K_002 is a clear instance of religious laws reigning supreme over and above the State laws while the case of K_093 does not record any indication of religious practices being the reason of conflict between the partners.

To understand if respondents who were married to spouses from the same religious background, are accepted and supported by their marital homes may be read from case studies presented below.

Cause of Discord among Endogamous Couples on the basis of Religion (Kolkata)

In this section, couples who were married to partners belonging to the same religion they followed discussed the causes of discord that led to their experiencing Domestic Violence.

K_073 is a 23 years old Muslim woman. She is married for two years but separated for one year and currently lives at her natal home. She has been home schooled and is not employed. Her husband is 26 years old. He works as a tailor and lives in a joint family at Amherst Street in Kolkata. The men in her marital home work as tailors and carry out their tailoring business jointly, which means that the income from their business is not split among the family members. Though the marriage was arranged by the family members of both the partners, her in laws in K_073's own words "cheated" K_073 and her family about their financial status. After marriage when K_073 began living at her marital home, she discovered to her dismay that her in-laws were very poor. When she communicated her displeasure about the misrepresentation of their wealth and status, and asked her family to intervene, her in laws reacted by asking her parents to take her back to her natal home. Her parents were also told that if K_073 required more money for her living, her parents should fund her. Her in-laws were not interested in a bride who only looked at the financial status of her marital family, and that they could get their son married once again if they pleased on the basis of Islamic law. K_073 has appealed to the Women's Grievance Cell to intervene and break the deadlock between her family and her husband's family, as now K_073 is willing to adapt to the poor financial conditions of her marital home and she wants to save her marriage before her husband would be forced to remarry. The threat of remarriage of her husband has forced K_073 to make compromises on her aspirations of a better life.

In another case study, K_076, is a 25 years old Hindu Kayastha Bengali woman. She is a graduate but not employed and had been living in the United Kingdom where her husband's sister lived. It was her husband's sister who had arranged the marriage. Her family was duped into believing that her husband and his family were financially well off and well settled in Kolkata. Her husband is 28 years of age, with a Post Graduate Diploma in Business Administration and runs his own business. Her husband also belonged to the same linguistic, religious and caste group of K_076. Within one month of the marriage, her husband and in laws began pressurizing K_076 to ask her father to settle her husband in the United Kingdom by financing a business proposal and eventually help him acquire British Citizenship. K_076 was in a state of shock to come to know about the ulterior motives tried to reach out to her relatives in Kolkata but her in-laws controlled her movements as well as the phone calls that she would make and it became very difficult to get support from her relatives. She then found an opportunity to escape from her marital home and reached one of her relatives' home, from where she informed her parents and asked them to help her. K_076's mother travelled from United Kingdom and arrived at India to register a case with the local police station. The local Police Station advised them to approach the Women's Grievance Cell, and to try and get back her Stridhan and report a case of cheating and torture for acquiring foreign citizenship in exchange of marriage. K_076, wants her husband and in laws to be punished for their deeds, but does not want to go back to her marital home. She decided to move a divorce proceeding once she got back her Stridhan.

In the cases studies based on religion as the basis of exogamy show existence of plural legal spaces operating within families and the legal plurality does hold the power to destabilize the tenets of equality in marital relationships. In other cases, it is the individual's will, their psychological, social or medical disorders that affected the marital life more than their religious differences. Such instances get reaffirmed through the case studies on religion based endogamous marriages. Apart from one's religion, one's caste is another important factor that is reproduced through endogamous marriages. The next section analyses the causes of discord arising among couples who conformed to caste endogamy and those who married from other caste groups. Gender and caste are intertwined in their formations and has been the subject of research of Indian feminist scholarship. Theorisations on Gender and Caste propounded by Rege (2013), Geetha (2006) and Chakravarty (2006) has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

It is from those ideas, the study of caste based endogamous and exogamous marriages in metropolitan cities has been based. In the following section, the differences in the cause of discord recorded by caste based endogamous and exogamous groups are being presented

Causes of Discord among Endogamous and Exogamous Couples on the basis of caste
The table below shows the responses of endogamous and exogamous couples on the basis of caste.

Table 6.20 A. Cause of Discord among Exogamous and Endogamous Couples on the basis of Caste, Delhi

Cause of Discord	No/Yes	Number			Percentage		
		Exogamy	Endogamy	Total	Exogamous	Endogamous	Total
Dowry (Husband)	No	17	75	92	18.5	81.5	100.0
	Yes	14	50	64	21.9	78.1	100.0
	Total	31	125	156	19.9	80.1	100.0
Male Domination (Husband)	No	22	86	108	20.4	79.6	100.0
	Yes	9	40	49	18.4	81.6	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Financial (Husband)	No	19	89	108	17.6	82.4	100.0
	Yes	12	34	46	26.1	73.9	100.0
	Total	31	123	154	20.1	79.9	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Husband)	No	8	27	35	22.9	77.1	100.0
	Yes	20	90	110	18.2	81.8	100.0
	Total	28	117	145	19.3	80.7	100.0
Dowry (Wife)	No	31	125	156	19.9	80.1	100.0
	Yes	0	1	1	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Domination (Wife)	No	26	113	139	18.7	81.3	100.0
	Yes	5	13	18	27.8	72.2	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Financial (Wife)	No	30	122	152	19.7	80.3	100.0
	Yes	1	4	5	20.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Wife)	No	24	102	126	19.0	81.0	100.0
	Yes	7	24	31	22.6	77.4	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Dowry (Family Member)	No	25	118	143	17.5	82.5	100.0
	Yes	5	8	13	38.5	61.5	100.0
	Total	30	126	156	19.2	80.8	100.0
Male Domination (Family Member)	No	31	123	154	20.1	79.9	100.0
	Yes	0	3	3	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Financial (Family Member)	No	30	121	151	19.9	80.1	100.0
	Yes	1	5	6	16.7	83.3	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Family Member)	No	30	121	151	19.9	80.1	100.0
	Yes	1	5	6	16.7	83.3	100.0
	Total	31	126	157	19.7	80.3	100.0

Table 6.20.A shows that 19.90 per cent of the respondents who had registered cases of Domestic Violence in Delhi, had married to persons of other caste groups. Detailed analysis of the table shows that 45 per cents of the exogamous couples (14/31) and 40 per cent (50/125) of the endogamous couples recorded demand for dowry by husband as a major cause of discord. 29 per cent of the exogamous couples and 31 per cent of the endogamous couples reported male dominance as a cause of discord. Exogamous couples experienced more financial constraints (38 per cent) than the endogamous couples (27 per cent). 71 per cent of the exogamous couples and 77 per cent of the endogamous couples attributed their husband's psychological social and medical problems that caused discord. 16 per cent of the spouses of the respondents of exogamous marriages and 10.3 per cent of the endogamous marriages pointed out to the domineering behaviour of their wives as the cause of discord. 16.6 per cent of the respondents in exogamous marriages recorded demand for dowry by family members to be a cause of discord while much lesser percentage (6.3 per cent) of respondents in endogamous marriages recorded similar dowry demands by family members.

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Caste (Delhi)

Experiences of respondents who married outside their caste group at the marital homes have been documented in the case studies presented below.

D_058, 24 years old graduate in Web Designing, is married for the past two years but has been living separately for the past one month. She chose her husband independently, as they were working in the same company. Both of them were from Haryana, though, D_058 belonged to an upper caste group (Arora) and her husband from the lower rung of caste hierarchy (Jatav). Her parents opposed the marriage on the ground of caste exogamy, but she consumed petrol and tried to commit suicide after which her parents relented and allowed her to marry the person of her choice. After the first month of her marriage, she was not allowed to meet her parents or visit her natal home. She was beaten up by her husband and even on the first Karwa Chauth day, and in a fit of rage he stabbed her for which she was compelled to call the police and register a formal complaint. A medico legal case was registered too. Even though they lived in a house with her in-laws, they had a separate kitchen. Her husband always had food cooked by his mother and also went to sleep in that part of the house which where her husband's parents slept. She also discovered that her husband is an alcoholic, and could be easily instigated by her mother-in-law and he also turned violent when ever his mother

complained about her. Her miseries continued when she conceived for the very first time, she was forced to abort the foetus on the pretext that her sister-in-law's marriage was about to take place and she was required to work hard for the family festivities. After she conceived for the second time, her husband began to doubt her chastity too, for which she thought of protesting by leaving him and moving back to her parent's house. Ever since, her husband has not made any contact or visited her or her child. She wants to go back to her marital home and live with her husband and in-laws.

In another case of caste endogamy, D_158 is 26 years old. She is married for the last six months and currently living independently for past one month. D_158 had completed high school and has been working in a private firm to support her family. It was after her elder sister's marriage, that her natal family got into a debt due to the heavy expenditure incurred for the marriage ceremony. D_158 was also working and helping in relaying the debts. It was at the office from where her family got the loan did she meet her husband. Seeing her diligence in helping her family, her husband wanted to marry her, and after she disclosed the matter to her family, everyone approved of the match even though she belonged to a lower caste group and her husband was from an upper caste group. Her husband also decided to have a simple marriage ceremony so that least expenditure would be incurred. Two months into the marriage, she came to know that he was already married and has two children. Her in-laws refused to believe her that she was his second wife. When she conceived her baby, her husband gave her some medicines off the counter and that led to her losing the child. She wants a legal status of a wife and wants to go back to her husband and live together with him. In the case discussed above, the caste background of the couple doesn't seem to lead to any cause of discord; it's their misrepresentation of facts and hiding of personal information that caused trauma and violence to the complainant.

The following section documents the experiences of respondents of Domestic Violence who have married outside their caste groups in Kolkata.

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Caste (Kolkata)

The table below shows the causes of discord among Endogamous and Exogamous couples on the basis of their caste in Kolkata.

Table 6.20B. Cause of Discord among Exogamous and Endogamous Couples on the basis of Caste, Kolkata

Cause of Discord	No/Yes	Number			Percentage		
		Exogamy	Endogamy	Total	Exogamous	Endogamous	Total
Dowry (Husband)	No	6	56	62	9.7	90.3	100.0
	Yes	15	61	76	19.7	80.3	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Male Domination (Husband)	No	13	87	100	13.0	87.0	100.0
	Yes	8	30	38	21.1	78.9	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Financial (Husband)	No	18	96	114	15.8	84.2	100.0
	Yes	3	21	24	12.5	87.5	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Husband)	No	4	37	41	9.8	90.2	100.0
	Yes	17	80	97	17.5	82.5	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Dowry (Wife)	No	20	115	135	14.8	85.2	100.0
	Yes	1	2	3	33.3	66.7	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Domination (Wife)	No	20	95	115	17.4	82.6	100.0
	Yes	1	22	23	4.3	95.7	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Financial (Wife)	No	21	110	131	16.0	84.0	100.0
	Yes	0	7	7	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Wife)	No	19	99	118	16.1	83.9	100.0
	Yes	2	18	20	10.0	90.0	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Dowry (Family Member)	No	11	75	86	12.8	87.2	100.0
	Yes	9	41	50	18.0	82.0	100.0
	Total	20	116	136	14.7	85.3	100.0
Male Domination (Family Member)	No	20	109	129	15.5	84.5	100.0
	Yes	1	8	9	11.1	88.9	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Financial (Family Member)	No	21	111	132	15.9	84.1	100.0
	Yes	0	6	6	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0
Psychological/ Medical/ Social (Family Member)	No	15	97	112	13.4	86.6	100.0
	Yes	6	20	26	23.1	76.9	100.0
	Total	21	117	138	15.2	84.8	100.0

Table 6.20B shows the causes of discord experienced by respondents of Domestic Violence in Kolkata, who had married persons from other caste groups. 15.2 per cent of the respondents had married outside their caste groups. The table shows, 71 per cent of the exogamous respondents (15/21) recorded dowry demand by husband as a major cause of discord, while 52 per cent (61/117) endogamous couples cited dowry demand as a major cause of discord. Male domination emerges as the major cause of discord among exogamous couples (8/21) as compared to endogamous couples (30/117).

Cause of Discord among Exogamous Couples on the basis of Caste (Kolkata)

The section below documents the case studies of the experiences of Domestic Violence of respondents who married to persons from other caste groups.

K_101 is 23 years old, Bengali Hindu woman from scheduled caste group and unemployed though she had completed high school level education. She chose her husband independently at her educational institution. Her husband, who is 25 years old, is still in the process of completing his post graduation degree, belonged to an upper caste Bengali Hindu family. She has been married for five years but for the past three years she has been living separately at her natal home. After marriage, K_101 often felt unwanted and neglected in the marital home, though no one made any direct comments about her caste group, she was made to feel inferior. Within a year of her marriage, she conceived her child, and since her husband's graduation examination was approaching, she was sent back to her natal home. After her child was born, she realised that her husband and his parents were not keen on her return to the marital home. She has been patiently waiting for her husband to complete his education and earn a living so that they might be able to live together. For the past three months, she has not been able to communicate with her husband and her in laws claim that her husband has left their home and that they have no information regarding his location which was difficult for her to believe. Once K_101 registered a complaint at the Women's Grievance Cell, her in laws were summoned and during the arbitration process, too her in laws continued to express their ignorance about their son's whereabouts. On the contrary, at the arbitration K101's in laws accused her of trapping their son for his wealth and that she is responsible for ruining their son's career because of forcing him with early marriage and childbirth. Women's Grievance

Cell advised K_101 to register a First Information Report at the Missing Person's Squad, and only after her husband gets traced could the case proceed.

In another instance, K_138, is 30 years old Bengali upper caste Hindu woman. She is married for fifteen years but separated for the past six months and was living at her natal home. Her husband, is 34 years old. He completed high school. but belonged to the scheduled caste group. K_38 and her husband met through common friends, and despite their caste differences she was accepted well in her marital home and she lived in a joint family structure with her husband and in laws. There was no problem with her marital life except for the fact that her husband is a alcoholic, but after two and a half years of marriage after her son was born her husband became physically abusive too. A year ago, her husband declared to having extramarital relationships which led to daily fights and bickering and her son started living in fear and stress. K_138, got her son admitted to the Rama Krishna Mission boarding school, which is residential in nature and left for her natal home hoping that her husband would change in her and her son's absence. K_138 has no complaints against her in laws, as her father in law who is a retired government employee is funding her son's education. K_138 in her complaint at the Women's Grievance Cell, mentioned that she is now afraid to live with her husband, and wants to live away from him; but, she wants Women's Grievance Cell to help her recover her Stridhan and also help her register a case so that she may try to get alimony and seek divorce.

The two case studies reveal that in one of the cases the respondents did experience neglect and humiliation for being born in a lower caste group, while the other case study shows, that caste never came in the way of sharing cordial relationship with her in laws. In the previous case study, financial dependence of the respondent's husband on his parents made matters worse, while the in latter case study extramarital relationship of her husband cases marital discord and she continued to share cordial relationship with her in laws.

Couples who adhere to caste endogamy too registered cases of Domestic Violence in Kolkata. The following case study shows discord arising in case based endogamous marriage. The following section documents causes of discord among couples belonging to same caste groups.

Cause of Discord among Endogamous Couples on the basis of Caste (Kolkata)

The following case studies of women illustrate the causes of discord women experience in marriages that are endogamous in terms of caste affiliations.

K_008 is 29 years old Bengali Brahmin. She completed high school education before marriage and is now a Post Graduate. She has been married for ten years but has been separated for the last two years and is currently living at her natal home and has at present taken up a job as a school teacher. She chose her husband independently, as they were in the same school and there was no opposition from the families as her husband was also a Bengali Brahmin by caste. It was an endogamous marriage. Her husband is 34 years old and works as a sales executive in a multinational corporation. When they got married ten years ago, they lacked privacy in her marital home as many family members lived in a small house. K_008 continued studying and also earning money by offering private tuitions to escape from the household drudgery and hoping for a better life in the future. With her motivation and support, her husband also began earning well but to her dismay, when her husband found a plum job three years ago, he also befriended a lady colleague at the new place of work, and began spending large proportion of his income on his new companion. When K_008 confronted her husband, and hoped that her in-laws would come to her support and restrain her husband from going astray, her in laws remained nonchalant. Her in laws reactions made her realize that she has no support from any quarter and it was difficult for her to continue to live at her marital home with dignity, so, she shifted back to her natal home and began working in a school to support herself and her daughter's needs. K_008, wants to go back to her husband and lead a dignified life as she doesn't want her daughter to grow up with a single parent. At the same time she wants the Women's Grievance Cell to counsel her husband and urge him to not be infidel as she doesn't want her daughter to witness the emotional torture she undergoes.

The caste based endogamous case discussed above brings out an important aspect of marriage in urban India, that women in independently chosen marriages rarely receive whole hearted support from their marital families even if they conform to caste based endogamy.

The linguistic, religious, caste based endogamous marriages in the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata bring to fore, that the ideals of womanhood and the imagined attributes of a 'good

women' in the roles she performs as 'daughter-in-law', 'wife', 'sister-in-law' vary among regions, religions and even caste groups. Even within the homogenous groups, the individual family members' ideals of family life and expectations vary. Linguistic religious and caste endogamy do provide for the initial basis for cohesion in urban marriages, but in the final analysis, an individual's financial, social and psychological behaviour patterns determine how marriages perform in the long run in urban metropolitan regions.

In urban India, an individual's education and occupation are two most important aspects that determine one's social location and financial condition which offer material basis for livelihood and sustenance. In the previous sections, that dealt with caste based, religion based and language based endogamous marriages, it was observed that financial constraints had the power to de stabilise otherwise conflict-free marriages.

The case studies presented in this section juxtaposes endogamous and exogamous marriages on the basis of the partner's mother tongue, religion and caste. Myriad issues came to light when the endogamous couples and the exogamous couple's causes of discord were analysed giving special focus to their differences in terms of the mother tongue, religion and caste. In case of exogamous couples who did not share their mother tongue, issues of extramarital relationships of the husband, the husband appropriating wife's income, wife being denied motherhood in Delhi , while in Kolkata, similar cases of misrepresentation of husband's income and extramarital relationships caused differences. The causes of discord did not emanate from the differences in their mother tongue. For religion based exogamous couples in Delhi as well as Kolkata, the causes of discord stemmed from cheating, hiding their marriage from family and society and extramarital relationships. Women did mention being shamed for their religion and and were unable to practice certain religious rituals in their marital homes. Inability to practice one's religion did appear as a cause of discord among exogamous couples even though financial constraints were more pressing problems encountered by them. Ironically, endogamous couples on the basis o religion also mentioned issues related to personal laws linked to religious practices as a source of discord between them.

In Delhi and Kolkata, exogamous marriages on the lines of caste mentioned causes like mental imbalance of the partner, desertion by husband, financial constraint and alcoholism as the primary reasons for discord, yet almost all the respondents mentioned being humiliated about

their caste location as family members made it a point to assert their upper caste privileges. The endogamous couples in terms of caste lines mentioned interference of the extended family members as the main cause of discord.

The analysis reveals the kind of issues that exogamous couples encounter after marriage and in some cases, their differences in terms of caste, mother tongue and religion cause conflict even though those aspects did not appear to deter them from marrying across the lines of endogamy.

In the following section, the educational and occupational backgrounds of the respondents of Domestic Violence would be studied along with the educational and occupational backgrounds' of their spouses to look into the causes of discord that arise from specific educational or occupational backgrounds.

Educational and employment status of the individuals experiencing Domestic Violence

Education, especially for women is expected to widen the world view of women and situate them in a position where they can contest actions that are detrimental to their wellbeing and dignity. Not only does education instil dignity within a person, education also helps women to build a sense of self and allow them to seek justice at instances where her self-respect and dignity is diminished. The study tries to delve into the educational levels of the complainants of Domestic Violence to understand whether the type of violence alters with the levels of educational accomplishments of the respondents. The study also tries to find out if there is a change in the perpetrators of violence with change in the levels of education of the complainants of Domestic Violence.

The following table shows the type of violence that women at various levels of education experience in Delhi and Kolkata.

Table 6.21. Respondent's Educational Level and Type of Violence Experienced

Respondents Educational Level and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband								
Level of Education	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	17	10	2	8	3	5	18	10
Primary	19	40	2	32	2	16	20	41
Secondary	46	37	7	23	7	18	48	38
Graduate	51	33	45	28	11	17	53	37
Post Graduate	15	10	10	5	3	5	17	12
Respondents Educational Level and Type of Violence perpetrated Parents in Law								
Level of Education	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	10	9	2	5	2	3	18	10
Primary	13	25	2	6	0	0	20	41
Secondary	24	15	7	12	2	0	48	38
Graduate	26	6	1	12	1	0	53	37
Post Graduate	8	5	0	5	0	0	17	12
Respondents Educational Level and Type of Violence perpetrated by Family Members of Husband								
Level of Education	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	2	2	1	2	1	0	18	10
Primary	6	11	3	10	1	0	20	41
Secondary	8	12	5	4	1	0	48	38
Graduate	5	7	0	2	0	0	53	37
Post Graduate	5	2	0	0	0	0	17	12

Table 6.21 shows that in Delhi, higher proportion of women experience physical violence perpetrated by her husband, if they never received any formal education, (17 out of 18 respondents) the proportion declines as the level of education rises to secondary level (20 out of 48 respondents) and at post graduate level too the rate remains low (8 out of 17 respondents). Similar pattern is observed for emotional as well as sexual violence though women with higher levels of education are expected to identify emotional violence better and also resist better, but the table shows that even among women who had completed their post graduation, they seem to see through emotional abuse but report only physical abuse. The respondents in Kolkata too present a similar pattern of experience of violence among women with different levels of education. All women in Kolkata (10 of 10 respondents) who were not formally educated

complained of physical violence perpetrated by husband, but fewer (28 out of 37 respondents) who had completed graduation, mentioned emotional abuse by their spouse. Half of the women who were not formally educated complained of sexual abuse (5 out of 10 respondents) by their husbands. As the educational levels of the respondents in Kolkata rose, the complaints of sexual violence by husband became lesser. Sexual violence inflicted by father in law or other male family members also declines with rise in the level of education of the respondents.

Since, a respondent's education level plays an important role in the type and susceptibility to violent behaviour by her husband and in-laws, the level of education of her husband too as an extension of the same logic should show difference in the type of violence his partner experiences from him and his family members. The following table lists the level of the respondent's husband's educational level and the type of violence his wife experiences.

Table 6.22. Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Type of Violence Experienced by the Respondents

Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband								
Level of Education	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	10	25	6	19	1	8	12	28
Primary	44	22	20	21	7	9	46	25
Secondary	27	23	12	20	5	10	28	29
Graduate	65	42	24	32	10	14	66	47
Post Graduate	5	8	4	4	2	4	5	9
Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Type of Violence perpetrated by Parents in Law								
Level of Education	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	4	13	1	9	0	0	12	28
Primary	24	9	7	6	2	2	46	25
Secondary	16	15	2	10	2	1	28	29
Graduate	33	20	1	13	1	0	66	47
Post Graduate	4	3	0	2	0	0	5	9
Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Type of Violence perpetrated by Family Members of Husband								
Level of Education	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	1	8	5	2	2	0	12	28
Primary	9	6	2	1	0	0	46	25
Secondary	5	9	2	10	1	0	28	29
Graduate	9	9	0	2	0	0	66	47
Post Graduate	1	2	0	3	0	0	5	9

Table 6.22 shows that among respondents in Delhi there appears no difference in the level of physical violence afflicted by her husband when seen in the light of her husband's educational qualification. Of the men who had no formal education, 10 out of 12 had caused physical violence. 44 of 46 with primary education, 27 of 28 with secondary education; 65 out of 66 of graduates and 5 out of 5 post graduates inflicted physical violence on their wives. In Kolkata too 25 of 28 with no formal education, 22 out of 25, 23 of 29 with secondary education, 42 of 47 with graduate degrees and 8 of 9 with post graduate degrees physically assaulted their wives. In case of emotional abuse perpetrated by husbands of the respondents, the reporting almost becomes half when compared to the rate of physical abuse. This appears as an anomaly,

since, physical abuse is almost always preceded by emotional abuse. Due to normalisation of verbal conflicts as a part of relationships, women do not tend to report it. The level of physical abuse afflicted by mother and father in law is less in cases where the respondent's husband is not formally educated in Delhi, and more where the husband's education levels are higher. In Kolkata, the difference is not as well pronounced. In case of emotional violence afflicted by mother or father in law, the respondents recorded lower rates than the amount of physical abuse they experienced showing that emotional abuse is not taken as seriously as physical abuse by respondents. There were incidents of sexual harassment in both the cities of Delhi and Kolkata. One respondent in Delhi whose husband was a graduate also reported sexual abuse by her father-in-law. The quantum of violence afflicted by other family members did not show any specific relationship with the respondent's husband's education levels.

Apart from the type of violence experienced by the respondents, the cause of discord that leads to violence may change with her levels of education. The following table lists the causes of discord in relation with the educational levels of the respondents.

Table: 6.23. Respondent's Educational Level and Cause of Discord

Respondent's Educational Level and Cause of Discord Initiated by Husband										
Level of Education	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	De lhi	Kol kata	Del hi	Kolk ata	Delhi	Kolkat a	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	6	5	6	2	4	0	14	9	18	10
Primary	10	28	9	13	7	4	13	30	21	41
Secondary	16	17	15	12	14	8	32	19	48	38
Graduate	28	21	14	9	17	8	39	29	53	37
Post Graduate	4	5	5	2	4	4	13	10	17	12
Respondent's Educational Level and Cause of Discord Initiated by Respondent (As Reported by Husband)										
Level of Education	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	De lhi	Kol kata	Del hi	Kolk ata	Delhi	Kolk ata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	3	18	10
Primary	0	0	4	6	0	1	5	4	21	41
Secondary	0	0	4	7	1	1	10	5	48	38
Graduate	0	0	7	4	4	3	12	6	53	37
Post Graduate	0	0	2	4	0	2	3	2	17	12
Respondent's Educational Level and Cause of Discord Initiated by Husband's Family Members										
Level of Education	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	De lhi	Kol kata	Del hi	Kolk ata	Delhi	Kolk ata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	18	10
Primary	37	17	0	4	2	0	1	8	21	41
Secondary	26	15	2	1	2	5	0	6	48	38
Graduate	30	9	1	3	1	1	5	8	53	37
Post Graduate	9	5	0	1	1	0	0	3	17	12

Table 6.23 shows the causes of discord that leads up to breaking out of violence between couples and among the members of the marital family in relation to the levels of educational attainments of the respondent. This exercise has been undertaken with the surmise that educated women cannot be forced into accepting unreasonable demands of dowry, nor would they accede to practices of male dominance rather assert their rights for financial autonomy.

The table shows that with rising levels of education of the respondents, their resistance to demands of dowry by their husbands' increases. This is observed in both the metropolitan cities. Higher levels of education of the respondent were also related to resistance of male dominant behaviour particularly of her husband. Higher levels of education also made women more aware about the medico-social and psychological disorders of their spouses.

The table shows that in Delhi, 33 per cent of the women with no formal education listed dowry demand as a cause of discord, along with 52 per cent of graduates and 23 per cent of the post graduates. In Kolkata, 50 per cent of the respondents with no formal education and 56 per cent of the graduates and 41 per cent of the post graduates complained about demands of dowry made by their husband's. In Kolkata educational levels of the respondents do not make much difference for husbands' to pressurise their wives for getting more dowry. But in Delhi, women with graduation degrees were more harassed with demands of dowry by their husbands. 33 per cent with respondents' in Delhi with no formal education while 27 per cent of the graduates and 50 per cent of the Post Graduates listed issues of male dominance by their husband as a cause of discord. In Kolkata, 20 per cent of the non literates, 24 per cent of graduates and 16 per cent of post graduates reported issues of male dominance as the cause of marital discord. In Delhi, higher levels of education among the respondents increases women's resistance to dominant behaviour of their husbands, while in Kolkata, education shows no difference in women's reactions to male dominant behaviour. Financial constraints were causes of discord among 22 per cent of the respondents in Delhi who were not formally educated, 32 per cent of the graduates and 23 per cent of the post graduates. While in Kolkata, none of the respondents with no formal education, 21 per cent of the graduates and 78 per cent of the post graduates recorded discord arising from financial constraints. Psychological, social and medical problems of their husbands' were the major cause of discord of women (more than 70 per cent) from all levels of education and in both metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata.

The husbands' of the respondents were also asked about the causes of discord that may have been initiated by the respondents and it was observed that psychological, social and medical problems on the part of the respondents were responsible for the reason for discord between partners.

The in-laws of the respondents also contributed to discord arising within their marital relationship, and respondents of Delhi and Kolkata attributed to demand for dowry as the major cause of discord was fuelled by demands from in laws, and the experience of respondents' were same irrespective of their levels of education.

To find out if the educational level of the spouse makes any difference to the causes of discord that fuel Domestic Violence, in the following section, the causes of discord reported by the respondents have been presented in relation to the educational levels attained by the spouses of the respondents. The following table presents the causes of discord along with the spouses' educational level.

Table: 6.24. Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Cause of Discord

Husband's Educational Level and Cause of Discord Initiated by Husband										
Level of Education	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	3	20	3	7	3	3	7	19	12	27
Primary	19	11	13	9	16	3	32	17	46	25
Secondary	15	14	14	7	10	4	20	18	28	29
Graduate	24	26	18	13	16	12	48	35	66	48
Post Graduate	3	5	1	2	1	2	4	8	5	9
Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Cause of Discord Initiated by Respondent (As Reported by Husband)										
Level of Education	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	0	0	0	4	0	3	1	3	12	27
Primary	0	0	7	6	1	0	9	3	46	25
Secondary	0	0	3	2	0	1	6	5	28	29
Graduate	0	0	7	7	4	3	14	7	66	48
Post Graduate	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	2	5	9
Respondent's Husband's Educational Level and Cause of Discord Initiated by Husband's Family Members										
Level of Education	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	0	18	0	2	0	1	0	4	12	27
Primary	4	8	1	2	3	0	1	3	46	25
Secondary	2	4	0	1	0	3	0	8	28	29
Graduate	6	18	1	3	2	2	5	10	66	48
Post Graduate	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	5	9

Table 6.24 shows that 25 per cent of the respondents from Delhi and 75 from Kolkata whose husbands' did not receive any formal education listed dowry demand as a cause of discord while 36 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 54 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata whose husbands' were graduates also complained of dowry demand. 60 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 55 in Kolkata, whose husbands' had post graduation degrees complained of dowry demand made by their husbands. In Kolkata, rise in husband's education

recorded a lowering of dowry demand, whereas in Delhi, the higher the educational level of the respondent's husband, more were the chances of demand for dowry. Male Dominance as a cause of discord was found to be prevalent in equal proportion among all educational levels of education of the husbands' of the in Delhi as well Kolkata (varying between 22 to 27 per cent of the respondents). Financial constraints as a reason for conflict were also similar among all educational levels of the husbands' of the respondents (ranging between 20 to 26 per cent of the respondents). Psychological, Social and Medical causes of discord are causes that plagued most of the domestic relationships and the proportion of complaints rise with rise in the level of education of the husbands' of the respondents. In Delhi, 58 per cent of the respondents whose husband' had received no formal education, 72 per cent of the respondents whose husbands' were graduates and 80 per cent of the respondents whose husbands were post graduates listed incidences of psychological, social and medical causes of discord. In Kolkata too, 70 per cent of the respondents whose husbands received no formal education, 73 per cent of the respondents whose husbands' were graduates and 88 per cent of the respondents whose were post graduates experienced marital conflicts arising out of psychological, social and medical causes.

The husbands' of the respondents also accused the respondents of domineering behaviour, and also causing financial stress by demanding more money and also psychological, medical and social behaviour across all educational levels attained by the husbands of the respondents.

The family members of the respondents' husbands' are also complicit in the creation of discord, and demand for dowry is a significant reason for it. The table 6.26 reveals that the proportion for family members causing marital discord between the respondents and her husband decreases with the rise in the level of her husband's education.

Education in itself may not materially change the level of wellbeing of a family, but the level of education does create opportunities of employment and thereby, lead to rise in family incomes. For women, having an independent income is closely related to her empowered being as well as the route to autonomy. Even though, many women who are educated to be gainfully employed may not be a part of the workforce. In the following section, the types of Domestic Violence women experience, is analysed in relation to her employment status. The respondents' employment also has a strong bearing on the nature of relationship the couple

share as financial constraints can become a major source of conflict as well as demand for dowry by the respondents husband or his family members. Since demand for dowry stems from the need to acquire more wealth or achieve a higher level of income apart from traditional understanding of dowry being a right of the groom's family.

Table 6.25. Respondents' Occupation and Type of Violence Experienced

Respondents Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband								
Occupation Of Respondent	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	36	18	13	15	8	20	36	21
Unorganised Sector	15	10	10	11	3	7	15	15
Not Employed	100	92	43	70	14	18	105	102
Respondents Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Parents in Law								
Occupation Of Respondent	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	15	8	0	2	0	1	36	21
Unorganised Sector	8	2	0	4	1	0	15	15
Not Employed	58	50	11	34	4	2	105	102
Respondents Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband's Family Members								
Occupation Of Respondent	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	5	3	0	1	0	0	36	21
Unorganised Sector	2	1	0	1	0	0	15	15
Not Employed	18	31	9	16	3	0	105	102

Table 6.25 shows the type of violence respondents of Domestic Violence experienced based on their occupational status in the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata. The occupational categories have been grouped into organised and unorganised sectors based on the nature of employment the respondents. The rationale behind grouping is to show the levels of job security, or the permanence of the employment and the possibility of having a steady source of income. It is assumed that the nature of employment is permanent along with steady flow of income in the organised sector whereas the unorganised sector being volatile in nature, the security of having a steady flow of income may be less. The anxieties associated with income and employment has a direct bearing on marital relationships, especially during the initial

period of marriage. This section attempts to establish links between the type of violence and the nature of employment of the respondents.

Table 6.25 shows that in Delhi, of the respondents who were employed in the organised sector, 100 per cent of them experienced physical violence, 36 per cent experienced emotional violence and 22 per cent experienced sexual violence. In Kolkata, 86 per cent of them experienced physical violence, 71 per cent experienced emotional violence and 95 per cent experienced sexual violence.

Of the respondents employed in the unorganised sector in Delhi, 100 per cent of the respondents experienced physical violence, 66 per cent experienced emotional abuse and 20 per cent of the respondents experienced sexual violence. In Kolkata, 66 per cent of the respondents working in the unorganised sector experienced physical violence, 73 per cent experienced emotional violence and 46 per cent of the respondents experienced sexual violence.

The respondents in Delhi, who were not employed, of them, 95 per cent experienced physical violence, 40 per cent experienced emotional violence and 19 per cent experienced sexual violence. Of the unemployed respondents in Kolkata, 90 per cent experienced physical violence, 71 per cent experienced emotional violence and 45 per cent of the respondents experienced sexual violence.

In Delhi and Kolkata, of the respondents employed in the organised sector, almost half of them experienced physical violence afflicted by parents in law, almost none of them reported emotional violence and sexual violence. For the respondents employed at the unorganised sector, about one fourth of them experienced physical violence afflicted by the in laws, and none complained about emotional and sexual violence afflicted by the parents in law. The respondents who were unemployed, around fifty per cent of them complained about physical violence, and a few complained about being sexually harassed by their father in law.

The nature of employment of the respondent does not seem to influence the quantum and type of violence perpetrated by the respondents husband, but being employed reduces the chances of being physically and emotionally abused by the mother or father in law or the other family members of the husband.

In the following section, the type of violence women experience is being presented along with the nature of employment of the husband of the respondent.

Table 6.26. Respondent's Husband's Occupation and Types of Violence

Respondent's Husband's Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband								
Husband's Occupation	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	66	41	25	30	11	15	67	49
Unorganised Sector	73	67	34	58	14	28	77	76
Not Employed	13	13	7	8	1	2	13	13
Husband's Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Parents in Law								
Husband's Occupation	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	36	20	3	12	3	0	67	49
Unorganised Sector	35	36	7	26	1	2	77	76
Not Employed	6	5	2	1	1	1	13	13
Husband's Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband's Family Members								
Husband's Occupation	Physical Violence		Emotional Violence		Sexual Violence		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	12	10	5	3	2	0	67	49
Unorganised Sector	11	23	3	16	1	0	77	76
Not Employed	2	2	1	0	0	0	13	13

Table 6.26 shows that 100 per cent of the respondents' husbands who were unemployed afflicted physical violence on the respondents in both the cities. The theory of violence propounded by Arendt (1970) stating that acts of violence comes to fore in the absence of power; can be related to this situation. Lack of financial power, among the unemployed married men, whets them to use violence to compensate their loss of financial power. They also reported to have caused higher rates of emotional violence compared to the employed husbands, but lesser rates of sexual violence.

Of the respondents whose husbands' were employed in the organised sector in Delhi, 98 per cent had inflicted physical violence, 37 per cent emotional violence and 16 per cent sexual violence. In Kolkata, 84 per cent reported physical violence, 61 per cent emotional violence and 22 per cent indulges in sexual violence. Of the respondents whose husband's worked in

unorganised sector, in Delhi, 94 per cent reported physical violence, 44 per cent emotional violence and 18 per cent sexual violence. In Kolkata, 88 per cent of the respondents reported physical violence, 76 per cent emotional violence and 37 per cent sexual violence.

There was no significant difference in the rates of Domestic Violence afflicted by mothers and fathers in law of the respondents', irrespective of their husband working in the organised or unorganised sector, but the in laws were least violent to the respondents where the husband of the respondent was unemployed. This was true for the rest of the family members.

The table also shows how unemployment of the respondent's husband increases the risk of Domestic Violence.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the acts of violence are ramifications of the underlying causes, which have been grouped in this study as causes of discord. The following section studies the causes of discord the respondents experience in the light of their occupational status.

Table: 6.27 Respondent's Occupation and Cause of Discord

Respondents Occupation and Cause of Discord Initiated by Husband										
Occupation Of Respondent	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	16	9	12	8	9	8	27	17	36	21
Unorganised Sector	2	5	10	6	8	3	12	12	15	15
Not Employed	46	62	28	24	29	13	72	68	105	102
Respondents Occupation and Cause of Discord Initiated by Wife (As Reported by Husband)										
Occupation Of Respondent	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	0	0	3	7	1	1	5	5	36	21
Unorganised Sector	0	0	3	1	0	0	2	2	15	15
Not Employed	0	0	12	15	4	6	24	13	105	102
Respondents Occupation and Type of Violence perpetrated by Husband's Family Members										
Occupation Of Respondent	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	1	3	1	0	1	1	0	2	36	21
Unorganised Sector	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	15	15
Not Employed	2	3	3	8	5	4	6	23	105	102

Table 6.27 shows that of the respondents who were employed in the organised sector, 41 per cent in Delhi and 42 per cent in Kolkata experienced dowry demand by their husbands. The number of respondents reporting, male dominance, financial constraints as causes of discord by working women was lesser irrespective of their sector of employment when compared to women who were unemployed. The table above clearly demarcates the unreasonable expectations family members impose on unemployed women.

The table also shows that not only employed women are accused of domineering behaviour by their husbands; women who are not employed were also accused of trying to be domineering by their husbands.

The Respondents Husband's occupational status is also closely linked with the type of discord that operates within the couples. The following table lists causes of discord in relation to the occupational roles of the husband of the respondents.

Table:6.28. Respondent's Husband's Occupation and Causes of Discord

Respondent's Husband's Occupation and Cause of Discord Initiated by Husband										
Husband's Occupation	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	28	24	22	14	16	7	48	35	67	49
Unorganised Sector	29	44	23	18	20	10	54	54	77	76
Not Employed	7	8	5	6	10	7	9	8	13	13
Respondent's Husband's Occupation and Cause of Discord Initiated by Wife (As Reported by Husband)										
Husband's Occupation	Dowry Demand		Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	0	0	6	8	4	3	10	9	67	49
Unorganised Sector	0	0	11	14	1	3	18	11	77	76
Not Employed	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	13	13
Respondent's Husband's Occupation and Cause of Discord perpetrated by Husband's Family Members										
Husband's Occupation	Dowry Demand		Male Dominance		Financial Pressure		Psychological, Social, Medical, Personal Reasons		Number of Respondents	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	8	13	2	2	2	3	4	9	67	49
Unorganised Sector	4	33	1	6	3	3	2	16	77	76
Not Employed	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	13	13

Table 6.28 shows the occurrence of causes of discord among respondents of Domestic Violence in Delhi and Kolkata in relation to the occupational roles of the husbands' of the respondents.

Of the respondents whose husbands were employed in the organised sector in Delhi, 41 per cent recorded demand for dowry, 32 per cent indulged in dominant behaviour, 24 per cent had financial constraints and 72 per cent were allegedly suffering from psychological, social and medical problems. In Kolkata, too, 48 per cent the husbands' of the respondents' who worked in organised sector, demanded dowry, 29 per cent were domineering, 14 per cent had financial constraints and 72 per cent were suffering from psychological, social and medical problems. Among the husbands' of the respondents who were employed in the unorganised sector too, the proportion of causes of discord reported by the respondents were similar to the ones employed at the organised sector. It was the unemployed husband's who recorded higher rates of dowry demand, 53 per cent in Delhi and 61 per cent in Kolkata. 76 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 53 per cent of the respondents of Kolkata recorded financial constraints as the cause of discord, which is a corollary to the unemployed status of their husbands. Though unemployed, yet the husbands of the respondents did not mention dominance of the respondents as a cause of discord, rather, they mentioned psychological, social and medical causes as the cause of discord. A small portion of the in laws of the respondents whose husbands were employed demanded dowry.

Educational attainments of the respondents of Domestic Violence not only was the means to earn a livelihood and resist violent behaviour, educational attainments also empower women to take decisions to live independently whenever the fear of violence and harm loom over her marital home. The table below depicts the place of stay of the respondents in Delhi and Kolkata, after they had registered cases of Domestic Violence against their husband's and in laws.

Table 6.29. Educational Level of Respondents and their place of Stay after Registering Complaint

Educational Level of Respondents and their place of Stay after Registering Complaint (Percentage)								
Level of Education	Independently		Natal Home		Marital Home		Relatives	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Illiterate	1	1	8	3	3	1	1	1
Primary	1	3	8	20	3	3	1	5
Secondary	3	1	17	16	10	7	1	3
Graduate	2	3	27	17	3	6	2	1
Post Graduate	3	1	7	6	1	1	0	1
Total	8	9	67	62	20	18	4	11

Table 6.29 shows, that the preferred place of stay after registering a case of Domestic Violence for respondents of the study was their natal home. 67 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 62 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata were living at their natal home at the time of interview. A large number (27 per cent of the respondents in Delhi, and 17 per cent of the respondents of Kolkata) were graduates, yet they were dependent on their natal homes for shelter. The absence of shelter homes in the cities, coupled with the legal provision of ‘right to residence’ not being exercised, even educated women prefer to live at their natal home at the time of crisis. Since the chance occurrence of violence at the marital home is high, only those women (20 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 18 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata) who had no means of living independently or whose natal homes were located far away continued to stay at the marital home.

8 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 9 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata lived independently, and those respondents belonged to a variety of educational levels, from secondary to post graduation degrees. The women who has resources (income) to live independently as well us bring up the children on their won could live independently.

The next section links the occupational status of the repondents and their place of stay during the arbitration process.

Table 6.30 Occupation of Respondents and their place of Stay after Registering Complaint

Occupation of Respondents and their place of Stay after Registering Complaint (Per centage)								
Occupation	Independently		Natal Home		Marital Home		Relatives	
	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata	Delhi	Kolkata
Organised Sector	4	3	16	8	2	1	1	1
Unorganised Sector	4	4	4	5	5	3	1	0
Unemployed	2	3	47	49	15	14	3	10
Total	8	9	67	62	20	18	4	11

Table 6.30 shows that, respondents who had registered complaints of Domestic Violence, preferred to stay at their natal homes, as staying at their marital homes become fraught with threats. Even respondents who were gainfully employed, 20 per cent of the respondents of Delhi and 13 per cent in Kolkata preferred to live at their natal homes. Those respondents who were living independently, some of them were employed, (8 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 7 per cent in Kolkata) but 2 per cent respondents in Delhi and 3 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata were unemployed, but were living on their own, as they had either been abandoned by their husbands or being financially supported by relatives. From the table it can be inferred how women's living alone in the city is a difficult proposition, not only because of monetary reasons, but also for the concerns of safety and their need for support to raise their children.

The following section depicts the respondents' ruminations on the time in their lives when their marriage was not fraught with problems, and what could have been done that might have helped in improving the relationship of between her and her husband.

Table 6.31 Respondent's view of aspects which could improve her Marital Relationship

Respondent's view of aspects which could improve her Marital Relationship	Delhi	Kolkata
Separate Household	42.4	45.3
More time for oneself	5.7	8.7
Had her husband spent more time with her	72.2	64.5
Division of Ancestral Property	2.5	8.7
Financial Independence of the respondent	1.3	3.6
Had the marriage taken place later	2.5	1.4
Had the marriage taken place earlier	0.6	0
Had the interference of the in laws been less	2.5	2.2

Table 6.31 shows that respondents' on their hind sight look back at the incidences of Domestic Violence and their journey to the crime women cells for intervention. The respondents list down aspects that also reveal the agential capacities of the respondents. An overwhelming percentage of the respondents (72.5 per cent in Delhi and 64.5 per cent in Kolkata) claimed that if they had more time with their husbands, they could have had a better marital life, indicating, external factors, like influence of the husband's family members that hindered her bonding with her husband. The next significant aspect that respondent's (42.4 per cent in Delhi and 45.3 per cent in Kolkata) listed a separate household as the panacea of their marital discord. At the root of their imagined remedy lie aspects of resource sharing that is the basis of a joint family set up. The desire to live in a nuclear household can be seen reflecting from this remedy too. 2.5 per cent of the respondents from Delhi and 8.7 per cent from Kolkata, also listed separation of ancestral property as a remedy to their marital discord, which once again stems from the desire to have a separate household. Fewer respondents (1.3 per cent in Delhi and 3.1 per cent in Kolkata) have addressed issues of financial independence of respondents and an empowering and agency creating aspects which could improve their marital relationships. The other aspect that points at changes in societal level is where respondents point out at early marriage as a cause of women's vulnerability. Women respondents (2.5 per cent in Delhi and 1.4 per cent in Kolkata) felt that had they been married later, their level of maturity would have been greater and they would have been able to negotiate with the

challenges in a better manner. Other aspects revealed by the respondents were, early marriage, reduced interference of their in laws, had more time for her ownself.

The respondents of Domestic Violence were asked about their future plans after the end of the arbitration process at the crime cells. The respondents discuss two separate sets of plans for sustaining their own lives and their children. The following table lists the strategies planned the respondents.

Table 6.32. Respondent’s Strategy for the future for Generating Financial Resources for Herself

Respondent’s Strategy for the future for Generating Financial Resources for Herself	Delhi	Kolkata
Begin new enterprise Independently	13.3	15.1
Begin new financial venture with support from Husband	32.3	32.9
Rebuild the broken Marital Relationship	56.3	47.4
Rebuild good relationship with In laws	0.8	0.0
Respondent’s Future Strategy for bringing up her Children	Delhi	Kolkata
Independently	5.1	4.3
With support from Husband	55.1	41.4
With support from Natal Home	23.4	16.9
With support from Marital Home	0.6	2

Table 6.32 shows that, the respondents have planned multi pronged strategies for sustaining themselves after the registering complaints at the crime cells. Majority of the women (56.3 per cent in Delhi and 47.4 per cent in Kolkata) wished to revive their relationship with their husbands and restart their marital journey. There were respondents who did not wish to live with their husband’s in the future (32.3 per cent in Delhi and 32.9 per cent in Kolkata) but ask for financial assistance from their husband and live on their own. Only a small proportion of the respondents (13.3 per cent in Delhi and 15.1 per cent in Kolkata) did not want any assistance from their husbands’ and in-laws’. They were planning to lead their life independently.

The plans that respondents made for the future of their children, were divided between whose help they would seek in order to bring them up. Majority of the respondents (55.1 per cent in Delhi and 41.4 per cent in Kolkata) planned to bring up the children with the financial help of

their husband. 23 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 16.9 per cent of the respondents in Kolkata wanted their natal family's support to raise their children. A very small percentage of respondents (0.6 per cent in Delhi and 2 per cent in Kolkata) were looking for the support of their marital families to raise their children and finally only 5.1 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 4.3 per cent in Kolkata planned to bring their children independently.

Judges of Normality- Arbitration at Women Cells in Metropolitan Cities

“The judges of normality are present everywhere. We are in the society of the teacher judge, the doctor judge, the educator judge, the social worker judge; it is on them that the universal reign of the normative is based...”¹

The previous section of the chapter brings out women’s negotiation with the state laws that offer relief and protection for women against Domestic Violence. The state functions through various agents like, the courts, the police, the counsellor, the medical practitioners, the educator and also the non state actors like the non-governmental organisations, etc,. In chapter 2, a detailed discussion on the judges of normality has shown that the individuals, who don the role of the preservers of the laws of the state, are not above the biases that stem from their own judgements. In the case of domestic violence, the all encompassing influence of Patriarchy looms large on the individuals who dispense justice to women. Not only, are those individual’s ideas steeped in patriarchal values, but they also carry along with them their own understanding and knowledge about other echelons of society, like, religion, caste, linguistic groups. Often, the individuals’ tend to judge instances of domestic violence through the lens of their own perceptions. Though the Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA,2005), challenges the ‘normative’ of the intra familial disciplining of women, which is why the quantum of anxiety towards this legal process has created misinformation and negative opinion/propaganda regarding the law among people in general and particularly the law keepers who too are not completely immune to such sweeping emotions that affect one and all.

The Police officers who act as arbitrators of cases of Domestic Violence, though are well trained in the feminist or egalitarian ideals the law upholds, yet, being a witness to the arbitration sessions, exposes instances where the arbitrators who offer counselling services that do not strictly adhere to the rule book, but the advices that they offer stem from their own world view and ideals of manhood and woman hood. These ideals which homogenises the image of a woman on the one hand also excludes her from that group on the other, vary regionally. The variable ideals of womanhood in their regional setting

¹ Foucault M (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books, New York. pp. 304.

been discussed in detail in Chapter 1. In this chapter, cases from the arbitration sessions at the crime women cells in Delhi and Kolkata have been documented, that bear testimony to the existence and the presence of the 'judges of normality' that asserts itself on the judgements pronounced in those institutions.

The process of the arbitration in cases of Domestic Violence in the women cells located in Delhi and Kolkata entails in totality the art of comparing individual cases with the overall 'normal' behaviour between married couples. Aberration in the behaviour of the couples is documented during the arbitration process, and the quantum of aberration is measured from the 'minimum threshold of cordial conjugal behaviour'. It is this normal that the disputing couples must move towards to fit into the acceptable behaviour zone.

The technique applied for deciphering the 'gap' between the 'normal' and the 'pathological' conjugal relationships follows the route of 'examination'. The Women Cells too follow the same procedure of examining the 'case'

Examination entails a detailed procedure of observing the subject. In the case of women cells, the process of arbitration begins with filing of an application by the complainants. On the basis of the written complaint, the complainant discusses the causes of discord that are plaguing her marital relationship. The complainant is also asked to name the persons' who have caused violence and persons' who needed to be called for arbitration so that the arbitrators may find a way to 'resolve' the discord that had arisen between the complainant and the members of her natal family. This process of examination is not free of the 'normalising gaze' of the arbitrators, since it is during this time, the arbitrators' gauge the level of distress the complainant is suffering from. The arbitrator's understanding of the depth of distress the complainant is enduring does become an arousing point for the 'case' to be dealt with personalised thrust to try and ensure that the complainant's in-laws comply to the legal expectations of the arbitration process. During the course of the arbitration, examination also extends to validation of the claims of violence made by the complainant. During this process, the arbitrator deploys power to ensure that the 'truth' regarding the veracity of the complaint is established. This is done by making both the parties (the complainant and her husband and in-laws) respond to the allegations levelled by the complainant, and the arbitrator takes a note of the allegations

hurled by both the parties at each other and through cross examination, verifies the veracity of the claims of the two parties. Every detail that can be measured is examined for establishing truth. For example, the amount of Stridhan that is presented to the bride by her natal family is verified by means of cash memos and bills that support their claims. For the quantity of jewellery, wedding photographs are used to prove the claims. This examination process converts the 'economy of visibility' that is associated with examining bodies (cases) into an 'exercise of power', this is palpable at instances where arbitrators visit the complainants marital homes in instances for the 'recovery of her stridhan.' The state power enters private spaces to search, confiscate and decimate the authority of the family within it.

The process of examination also brings about 'individuality' into the task of documentation of the cases. In both the women cells of Delhi and Kolkata, the physical presence of the hard bound files with red laces tightly preserving the documents together in 'file rooms' turn into an 'archive' in itself. The individual or the 'case' is moulded to turn it into a 'describable' and an 'analysable' form. The changed form of the case makes it easy for the state to calculate the gap in the behaviour of the 'aberrant couple' from the 'normal couples'. Through the process of documentary techniques an individual is transformed into a 'case' and by excluding, repressing and masking an individual to produce 'reality'.

The police officers posted at the women cells in Delhi and Kolkata are the extension of the judges of normality by virtue of being the 'judging arbitrators'. In the following section, the interaction of the arbitrators with the complainants of incidences of domestic violence and her husband and in-laws is being presented to document the influence of the arbitrator's social location and perceptions on the arbitration process.

At the initial stage of the research, before being part of the arbitration session, discussions with the police officers who conduct the arbitration process, revealed that they often offer suggestions to the complainants of domestic violence that if they wish to settle back at their marital homes along with their husbands, they could refrain from filing any criminal complaint against the complainant's husband or his family members. They suggest that the complainants could continue with the civil procedure of counselling and arbitration.

The arbitrators are themselves of the opinion, that a criminal complaint usually causes irreparable damage to the relationship between a complainant and her marital family which makes it all the more difficult for the complainant to return to her marital home where people turn more hostile for having ‘dragged them’ to the police.

Apart from their own understanding of the reactions and results that various laws elicit in the minds of the subjects, the arbitrators in both Delhi and Kolkata innately aim to ‘save marriages’. The fast track service they offer to try and reach a conclusion of the arbitration process within three months, many of the arbitrators take pride in revealing figures of women’s marital lives being restored “*ghar bach gaya*” meaning the family was saved from falling apart. Similarly in Kolkata, the arbitrator commented “*bor bodmash theeki, kintu meyeta ekla thabei ba ki korey?; khabe ki?*” meaning that it’s true that the complainant’s husband is notorious, but how would the complainant live on her own? How would she provide for herself?

There are times when the arbitrators are rendered helpless where the complainant appears for the arbitration dates, but her husband and in laws refuse to be a part of the arbitration and declare that they wish to follow the legal procedure to seek divorce.

Often the arbitrators’ own biases towards complainants from specific regional or religious groups become apparent, though that does not affect the level of fairness that each arbitrator follows. An arbitrator from Haryana, commented about a well educated Punjabi complainant who was violently abused and was seeking her ‘stridhan’ from her husband and in laws who were equally powerful and completely rigid about not co operating with the arbitration process; that “*Punjabi ladki hain...ab divorce ho jayega, aur ek do saal baad phir shaadi ho jayegi*” meaning, that she is a Punjabi, despite all the pains and struggles she is undertaking, she will soon remarry once her divorce proceedings come through. For another arbitrator in Delhi, who himself hailed from Uttarakhand, commented on complainant from Uttarakhand and settled in Delhi “*hamare yahan ki ladkiya toh gau hoti hain*” meaning girls from his region are innocent by nature”.

In Kolkata, in a few cases of arbitration of Muslim couples, the arbitrators are seen to feel helpless as the Islamic law exerts a more powerful influence on the lives of the complainants. One of the arbitrators retorted about a complainant trying her best to make use of the state law to restore her rights at the marital home, “*jotoi chesta koruk, oder nijeder ain i ora maanbe*” meaning however much she may try, finally her in laws would follow their own law” with a sense of dejection.

In another instance in Kolkata, where a Bengali woman was unable to find acceptance among her non Bengali in laws, the arbitrator commented that “*Bangali meyer Obangali poribare maniye newa khub mushkil*” meaning that it is really difficult for a Bengali girl to adjust in a Non Bengali household.

Though the arbitrators work in perfectly patriarchal set ups in police stations, the effect of regular courses of gender sensitisation and the need to promote gender just laws have significantly altered the mindsets of the arbitrators. They are empathetic and sensitive to the pain and trauma women experience at marital homes.

It was observed that as long as the arbitrators were convinced that the women were tortured by their husbands’ and in laws, they would also be helpful and show empathy. In the course of the arbitration, if the counsellors get an inkling that the complainants are trying to harass their’ marital family members with false accusations, the attitude of the male arbitrators change from empathy to indifference. Yet there is perceptible change in attitude of the arbitrators who have shed their learned values of a patriarchal family rules, and it gets reflected in their interventions at the arbitration sessions. In a case where the complainant was deserted for not being able to bear a child, the arbitrator tells the husband of the complainant, “*tumhari biwi hain...gaay bhains nahi hain, ki baccha nahi ho raha hain toh chhor doge?*” meaning, she is you wife and not cattle that if she cannot bear a child you could simply desert her. In another instance, where the complainant was deserted and being accused of being mentally unstable, and that the complainant’s parents had hidden the fact before the marriage, the arbitrator on duty is quick to ask; “had she been mentally unstable, how did she become pregnant then? Was she then forced to become pregnant?”

In Kolkata, during one of the arbitration sessions, where the father and mother-in-law of a complainant began hurling accusations on the complainant that it was the daughter-in-law who was responsible for creating rifts within her husband and in laws, the arbitrator advises the mother in law saying “*Rannaghore bashon koshon eo thoka thuki laage, aar amra toh manush*” even inanimate utensils kept together in the kitchen tend to touch each other and create sounds, so it’s natural for family members too to have tiffs. This also meant that all incidences of conflict in the family are not required to be placed in the scrutiny of the public eye as their daughter in law had done by complaining to the Women’s Grievance Cell. One can try and resolve differences at the family level.

Lack of supportive legal provisions that can make the enforcement of the PWDVA, 2005 more effective is often an issue that the arbitrators lament about. In Delhi, where one person had deserted his wife and was working in Kuwait, and did not visit India for four years, the arbitrators tried calling the parents of the husband to establish a link with him but failed. The arbitrators explained that since there is no legal provision for extradition of Indian citizens accused of domestic violence; the arbitrators were helpless in offering relief to the complainant.

The discussion on the arbitrators’ ideas of the constructed ‘normal’ like surveillance also becomes another arm of the state power.

Constant production of normalisation process is not only confined to individuals who are in the position to dispense the law and order for the State. Each individual in the family imbibe the values that constitute normal conjugal life from their family and society. The following section is an exploration of the contestation of the conflicting ideas of the normal and abnormal that lead up to conflict and violence in marriages.

Dialectics of Normality and Abnormality of Domestic Violence in Metropolitan India

This study illustrated that there are numerous aspects of family life that are constructed as normal and any aberration on the part of the spouses to conform to those constructed norms qualify their behaviour as abnormal. Few aspects of such norms of family life is being discussed below.

Normalizing Violence: Non Observance of family norms is retaliated with punitive action.

In Chapter 2 it was discussed that the disciplinary power has the ability to penalise non observance of laid down norms be it constituted by any institution of the State or one's family. Certain actions of subjects which do not measure to the rule or that action which departs from it is considered 'abnormal' behaviour. Non conformity on the part of a woman to the rules of the marital home is considered as a punishable act. Women who see through the overarching process of normalisation of her subordinate status in family resort to resistance to the normative behaviour pattern, and such "normlessness" is not accepted easily by family and society making women susceptible to punitive justice system. The Justice system too with its' agenda of disciplining becomes another instrument of repression and disciplining agent.

Analysis of patterns of violence experienced by ever married women, in various states of India², reiterate the fact that a complex combination of various socio cultural factors play their roles in determining violent behaviour among men in a specific region. The influence of patriarchy, kinship and their influence on family structure play a vital role in normalising the behaviour of the men and women in society. Women's agency play another important role in recognizing what constitutes as violence. It is the woman's social location which determines how she contests such violent behaviour and what steps she would take up to ameliorate her situation.

Searching for the 'Abnormal' within Intimate Partner Relationships.

The term 'normal' has in the present times, become a necessary lens to view modern life. In Chapter 2, the debate on normalising everyday violence embedded in conjugal relationships has been discussed, where it was documented that by giving pre-eminence to certain gruesome acts of violence against women (Kannabiran, 2005). Through categorising specific incidents as a spectacle of violence, the routinely committed violence against women in the family which is entrenched in the institution of family itself is forgotten. (Menon, 2004, 2012). Normal, thus may sound 'innocuous' but is powerful enough to turn vicious by rendering what is not normal as pathological or defiant, thereby need intervention to fit into the normal (Calgilhem,1989). Though,

² Discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of the study

scholars have expressed their concerns with the difficulties of analyzing 'normal' objectively, the idea of 'normal' has settled deeply within the everyday practices (Cryle and Stephens, 2017). In this section of the chapter, an attempt has been made to delineate those fault lines along which spousal relationships get exposed to scrutiny regarding their location within the zone of 'normal' or transgresses into the territory of the 'abnormal' with the help of the life histories of women who registered complaints of domestic violence at the Women Cells in the two metropolitan cities. Issues that are germane to the creation and perpetuation of structural violence and subsequent conflagration of violent forms of violence against women in India have been used as lenses to analyse the conflicts arising in ideas of 'normal practices' in marital relationships and thereby question the construction of the 'normal'.

One of the several ways by which 'marriages' perpetuate patriarchal order is by families arranging the marriages of their children whereby the caste, class, religion and linguistic background gets preserved. Arranged marriages or marriages where one's partner is chosen by one's parents and guardians are considered to be the normal way to enter into a marital relationship. This is so because marriages are organised within endogamous lines of religion, caste, and class. Individuals who chose their partner's independently, are looked upon as persons with little control over their sexuality and irreverent to the elder's choice. Unions formed from independently chosen marriages tend to attract fewer sympathies from family members and acquaintances in case maladjustment occurs between the partners. This attitude is perhaps a result of expecting marriages such as these are liable to have a turbulent nature since both the partners have the tendency to be norm less. The attitude of the in-laws toward the bride is in cent per cent of the cases negative in case of independently chosen marriages, making it even more difficult for the new bride to adapt to the marital household.

Case of K_140, from Kolkata who had independently chosen her husband, and decided to marry him points towards the delineation of the 'abnormal' on the basis of her desire to exercise her choice in choosing her spouse. She left her job before the marriage to take care of the household in a better manner. She was not welcomed by her husband's family, so K-140 and her husband lived in a separate household and she had no means of communication with her husband's family. At the time of courtship, she saw in her

husband a very caring and a responsible person but within months into the marriage, she discovered that though he earned a modest salary, yet he was indulging in an extravagant lifestyle. She also learnt that he takes money from his brother who was a Non Resident Indian, and spends it on other women. While she was pregnant, he often stayed away from her at the pretext of living with his parents, and since she had no communication with her in laws, she was unaware for a long time that he was in reality spending that time with other women. At the Women's Grievance Cell, she now seeks divorce from her husband and also claims for maintenance for her child, so that she may lead a life of dignity and get re-employed. Though independently chosen marriages are becoming more common in the urban areas, yet, the issue of non acceptance by the bride's own parents and in-laws is still very common. Often violent retributive actions are also taken against such erring couples, but even when families do not resist the marriage to take place, in which they do not have a choice, often extended families remain nonchalant about the marital discords of the couple, and refrain from making efforts to offer help to the bride or intervene to sort out differences with her husband, as she is expected to suffer for her choice.

The tradition of hypergamy (*Anuloma*) or 'marrying-up' was followed in India which ensures women of lower status could marry men of higher status but the reverse process of Hypogamy(*Pratiloma*) was a taboo. Though this tradition was followed in the context of caste groups, yet, this tradition inherently views the bride as subordinate being coupled with traditions where almost always the bride has a lower educational or employment status so that her subordination in terms of intellectual capabilities and her power to make financial decisions in the household; or be in a position to contribute in a more significant way to the household expenditure as compared to her husband is stifled. This is easily maintained by keeping a certain desired age gap between the groom and the bride, where the groom being the older one, reaches a certain level of education and economic capability while the bride would be in the process of gaining it. Whenever the bride happens to be more qualified in terms of education, family status or earns more, conflicts arise to restore the balance of power in favour of the males through various techniques or torture and pressure tactics.

Most often, the progress of the bride's education and job aspiration is cut short because of marriage and undertaking responsibilities associated with marriage.

Respondents of arranged marriages almost always have lesser educational qualifications and are usually not gainfully employed or have less paid jobs compared to their husbands. A reversal of this norm is often a cause of beginning of domestic violence. D_061's experience is a pointer towards it.

D_061 is 22 years old, waits with her 27 days old daughter in hand for her husband and in laws to take her back to her marital home. Her husband and in laws had abandoned her for the past five months since D_061, then pregnant stepped out of her marital home and visited her parent without escort and permission as she was irked by constant dowry demand by her in laws. Educated till Middle School, can speak and write fluently, quite a rare achievement for a girl belonging to *Gujjar* (gypsy) family who eke out their living by buying and selling old clothes. Her husband and in laws never came to take her back and this prompted her to lodge a complaint at women cell. Her action has led to severe ire within her closely knit community, which is dominated by *caste panchayats*, ordered to stop D_061's family's "*hukka-paani*" – meaning ostracization from the community, and the husband and in-laws would at no cost take a girl like D_061 back to their house who could transgress the community's codes. D_061 wants to go back since she knows her parents occupation depend on their link with their community members; she agrees to apologize for her act. Normalisation plays a strong role in legitimizing cultural practices. The *caste panchayat* wields stronger control on the community as compared to the legal provisions offered by the state; making way for the illegal provision to become legal and the legal provisions are reduced to illegal since people follow the dictates of those shadow institution more since those institutions interact with the community in more intricate ways by being a part of all ceremonies related to life cycle and thereby exerting a greater control on the community.

In another instance of the bride being far more educated than her husband is the case of D_075 is 28 years old, and is a top business school graduate from New Delhi, and like many other girls of her age, gave up her career related aspirations to get married to the heir of an elite business class family in the same city. What she discovered after marriage was that her husband was not keen on work, was a drop out from college, and is an

alcoholic who uses his family's wealth to lead an extravagant life. She was brutalized in the most inhuman manner every single night in a fit of drunkenness, and often she was treated by the family physician of her marital family, so the incidences of violence remained as a private affair. It was on one night that they were driving back and her husband physically abused her in such a manner that she had to call the police and was taken to a hospital. The hospital staff then lodged police complains as it turned out to be a medico-legal case. D_075 went back to her marital home after recuperating at her parent's home for the sake of her child. Soon after her return, in another bout of rage, her husband hit her with such a merciless manner that she lost her power of hearing in one ear. These were no specific demands for money or kind, but every time she went back to live with him on request of her in-laws, who were incapable of protecting her from the physical and sexual torture. D_075 also came to know that her husband has numerous extramarital affairs, and has shown no responsibility towards bringing up their 4 year old son. She realises that she cannot jeopardize her life any longer and seeks alimony and wants to begin her own enterprise and bring up her son. D_075 wonders whether her being more educated than her husband works as a threat to her husband's dominance in the household; the reversal of the normal trend where the wife is better educated in both the above cases has inflicted violent behaviour on the part of the husband.

In both the case studies of D_061 and D_075, it may be observed that the wife being more educated, articulate, well mannered has been the cause of ire of their husbands. Questioning of the husband's authority in marriage and family by women is also considered as norm-less behaviour. Whether they are related to matters of alcoholism, adultery or any other deviant behaviour; intervention or interrogation on the part of the wife is put down with severe punishment.

For D_001, 27 years from New Delhi, married to a Marine Engineer, quit her job to be able to stay with him whenever he sailed on the ships. Within days of her of joining him on the ship, she experienced the most brutal forms of sexual and physical abuse. One of the gruesome incidents narrated by her at the court room was her husband biting of flesh from her leg. Post violence, her husband stayed away from her and wouldn't return to their cabin, which made her suffer from severe depression and cabin sickness, a claustrophobic syndrome experienced by prisoners, as she had no one to interact with.

When her condition worsened, she was sent back to her natal home, and after he sailed back to the country. D_001 waited for her husband to return from his sailing trip, so that she may resume a dialogue with him, but he never got in touch with her. Even after the senior family members tried to contact her husband's family and failed, she lodged a complaint in the Crime Women Cell to be able to return to her marital home. When her husband was summoned at the cell, he responded to the complaints and arbitrators saying that he would not visit the cell henceforth, D_001 may be free to go to the court for any kind of legal settlement. Her husband also made it clear that he would not be able to resume a married life with D_001 since she has brought out their private lives into the public domain by lodging the complain. The bride/wife subject in the popular discourse is one who tolerates all excesses in from the husband and yet tries to adapt into the marital home without questioning. D_001's contesting her husband's behaviour is completely against the expected norm. The legal provision available to D_001, and her right to challenge her husband's behaviour is met with not only resistance, it also closed all options of reconciliation with her husband, since he wouldn't accept her as his wife since she made her grievances public. Bringing matters of the household into the public domain too has serious implications for women, and often jeopardizes her chances of returning to her marital home. Even though the all considers D_001's actions as normal, it didn't find acceptance within her family.

Marriages are also vehicles of preservation of reproductive heteronormativity. Pro-natal and patriarchal values set the task of procreation as the prime goal of marriage. Not being able to bear a child and sometimes not having a male child too has serious implication on women's status in the family. The case of K_130 illustrates the issue. K_130 is 24 years old. She is a graduate and her marriage was arranged through a newspaper advertisement. Soon after her marriage, she discovered that her husband was impotent. She decided to seek medical help for her husband, but he resisted and would not agree for undergoing any medical intervention. With constant pressure on her from her in-laws to bear a child, K_130 was forced to reveal her husband's condition to her in laws; which led to worsening of her relationship with her husband. He became violent and abusive, and her in laws were mute spectators of those acts of violence. As her husband turned more violent and abnormal in his behaviour with the rest of the family,

the in-laws started accusing her of mentally harassing her husband which led to his distraught behaviour. K_130 has been tolerating such behaviour on the part of her husband and in-laws since she has a younger sister who was yet to be married and it would become difficult to get her married if the prospective groom's families found out about K_130's broken marriage. K_130 registered a complaint with the Women's Grievance cell only after her sister got married and settled. K_130 wants a divorce and would find a job to sustain herself and till that time she has approached the Cell to help her get maintenance from her husband for her living. The other norm that pervades all marital relationships in urban India is that the role of the caregiver to the children and also the responsibility of the household chores lie with the wife. Unemployed status of a male married member has severe psycho-social implications in a household where the assigned roles of males are that of bread earners and all their power to control the resources and family member emanate through it. The normalisation process of the male being the sole earning member takes a diametrically opposite picture in a household with an unemployed male and the woman becomes the sole earner. The conflict between the *defacto* powerlessness and the *dejure* power the man possess wrecks violent outbursts within the household.

Case of D_043, works with the Government in New Delhi, and though the current husband is from her second marriage, it is her husband's third marriage. She agreed for a second marriage after she lost her first husband because as she puts it "it's difficult for a woman to live on her own". Though initially, no financial demands were made, later she was forced to contribute five lakhs of rupees for her husband to start a business. Her husband has not made any efforts to sustain the business; and has been living on D_043's income for the past nine years, and has also turned into an alcoholic. She wants intervention from the Crime Women Cell to stop the escalating violence. During the arbitration sessions her husband accused her of not doing her household chores properly, and also neglecting their children. Her husband found it unbearable that D_043 should expect him to help in doing household chores simply because he was unemployed. D_043 knows that she has to continue to live with him for the sake of her two children aged six and four, yet the arbitrators at the cell would help her husband realize that what D_043 is expecting from her husband is a 'normal' expectation of a working woman.

Detailed discussion of Stridhan has been done in Chapter 1, where it has been pointed out that apart from the differences in types of rules following gift of stridhan in different parts of India, it was also documented, that in the pre-colonial agrarian economy, during marriages the bride receives gifts from her parents which she carries with her to her marital home, this part of the gift is termed as *Sridhan*, which her personal possession. In the past *sridhan* was given to brides from her natal home as well as friends, relatives and villagers as a safety net, to be used by her in times of need. In the modern context, the sridhan, though legally protected to be under the rightful ownership of the bride, these gifts are often used by the entire family members and many a times given off as gifts to the younger sister in law for her marriage. The nature of *sridhan* has also undergone a change, which in the past comprised of cash and jewellery, now include furniture, vehicles, electronic and durable goods and in some instances a house or an apartment. The shift in the nature of *sridhan* indicates that not only the bride but her entire natal family is entitled to have a share of her sridhan, and thus the bride would lose control over what was supposed to be her possession. A woman who readily shares her *stridhan* with her in laws are good brides and often linked to good upbringing by her parents, but any resistance on her part to share her *stridhan* brands her as a selfish woman whose parents and guardians have not instilled the right value in her and that she is unfit to be a part of the shared household.

Of the respondents in Delhi and Kolkata, over 90 per cent of them have experienced appropriation of the *Stridhan* by the members of the marital home. It is a common practice, and women do not even grudge it till they have a happy life within the marital home. Only if she is treated as an 'other' or as a commodity, or a conduit for social and economic upwards mobility, does she reclaim her *sridhan*. Its turns into a major issue only when women are at the verge of being ousted from their homes, they have nothing, no material possession to call her own, the *sridhan* is the only thing she can claim to be hers.

Rising up to the expected norms of behaviour is what each and every conscientious member of the society strives to do. Normalisation techniques coupled with disciplinary actions, as a great instrument of power. It, on one hand homogenises and on the other

measures gap between the expected and the achieved levels of compliance of the subjects. Women negotiate with the expected 'normal' through the interplay of the police and the courts and try to alter the existing notions of 'normal' through exposing the lived realities of their everyday experiences and thereby not striving to arrive at the 'normal' code of behaviour rather question the accepted 'normal' and subsequently raising questions on the established normal codes a married women must adhere to.

The 'normal' is not a static form, but the idealised norm varied with time and space. Within specific geographical locations, changes in economic, social and cultural life through external influence of other cultures often lead to alterations in the desired 'norm'. The following section attempts to document the effect on modernity in marital relationships in metropolitan cities.

Influence of Modernity on Marriage:

The period of social renaissance in India occurred at the time of the Colonial rule, partly due to the influence of the metropole and also as a reaction to the impositions of the Western social values over the Indian value systems. Doshi (2010) finds the same period as the usherer of "Modernity" and the phenomenon was not restricted to development of science, technology education and industrial capitalism alone, but in some sense Modernity also signified some sense of being against tradition. It was a period when one did find promotion of liberal and rational values among individuals; their freedom to take decisions reflect in their family life and family organisation as a shift away from 'obscurtanism' that shrouded women's role in family. Modernity in the neo-liberal era assumes a completely different 'avataar' that gendered subjects struggle to fit into with changed notions of 'manhood' or 'womanhood'. The issues pressing the Indian families are not restricted to nuclearity or jointness alone, but there are also an issue of survival in the changed economic regime. In Chapter 2, the impact of the rapid economic transition on the social life of the urban population has been discussed. With the rise of women's entry into the labour market, there has been a shift in the consumption pattern among women which has encouraged consumerist lifestyle and reinforced regressive gender roles and exposed women to violence at home.

The change in women's aspirations about modern lifestyle and marriage is to a large extent either image driven or image dependent. The image of a perfect "happily married couple" in their separate nuclear household is a kind of lifestyle that has been created by the media and the consumers are repeatedly bombarded with those images to become the locus of their aspirations.

Through qualitative analysis of various cases of marital discord reported and arbitrated at the Crime Women Cells in Delhi and Kolkata; three very important aspects of marriage being influenced by modernity was observed. These aspects are, i. the basis for establishing marital bonds; ii. the causes of discord and the type of violence women experience in marriages; and iii. the support systems that are available to women beyond their immediate families for seeking justice and what are the strategies women adopt to mitigate violence and fit into their ideals of progressing into modern way of living.

The discussion has been drawn from interviews with couples appearing for arbitration sessions at Crime Women Cell and Women's Grievance Cell in Delhi and Kolkata respectively. Aspects of modernity, which are practices that tend to create newer means of establishing marital bonds have been taken as categories and cases from the split site study has been fit in to them to observe the outcome of the modern ways to staging marriage.

In South Asia, independently chosen marriages are a marker of modernity, as traditionally the families of the bride as well as the groom would bear the onus of choosing a partner based on the lines of religious, caste and class endogamous lines. It is therefore assumed that marriages which are arranged by family are more stable as they are cushioned by the approval and support of the natal and marital families. The previous section of the chapter documents that marriages where partners' were independently chosen are also fraught with discord in their marital lives. 19.6 percent of the women interviewed in Delhi and 26.1 percent in Kolkata had chosen their partners independently, and the majority of the sample had traditionally arranged marriages. Family members pointed out at class and caste apart from region and religion as the main reasons for selecting partners for their children, whereas, respondents who had chosen their partners independently ironically cited careers, compatibility, caring nature and promise of greater freedom in marriage as the prime reasons for choosing their partners. Wedding budgets

are also lower in independently chosen marriages compared to arranged marriages, where in the name of subtle gifting, huge dowry in the form of jewellery, cash, household durables, vehicles, property etc, are transferred from the brides family to the groom and his family members.

According to Religious laws, marriages among the Hindu community is considered as a sacrament and in the traditional set up, dissolution of marriages were difficult even if women desired to. In Islam and Christianity, marriage is a contract, and has rules associated with its dissolution. Over and above the personal laws, the overarching influence of the region as a whole makes the dissolution of marriage extremely difficult for women, but for men it's rather simple to desert their wives and even establish a new relationship outside marriage too. Divorce was permitted in most ages in countries (Russell, 1929) but the queerness of the practice is the difference that exists between law and custom³. In regions where it's easy to get a divorce are by no means regions which have the highest divorce rates. In this context, instead of regions, the study looks into religious groups for whom getting divorce is easier when marriage is considered as a contract. The two case studies below show how different religious backgrounds of couples influence their choices for nullifying marriage.

For K_002, a 25 years old Christian woman married to a Muslim for the last eight years, ignored her family's wishes and eloped with her husband to set up a household in Kolkata. Her husband started drinking and his habits went out of control. In his drinking spree he would even become violent on her. He has sold of most of her jewellery for his drinking needs. The compatibility they shared earlier was lost. K_002 has registered a complaint at the women's cell to get back the valuables forcibly taken by her husband. She is unwilling to live with him anymore even is he pleads to reform himself. She intends to return to her natal home and live with her brother's family and make efforts to become financially independent. When asked whether inter-religious marriage was tough for her to adjust to; she says religious beliefs /practices never came between her and her husband's life, It was his habits of alcoholism and irresponsibly squandering money that led to her decision.

³ Russell B (1929) *Marriage and Morals*. Routledge, London. Reprinted in 2001.

On the contrary D_117, a 21 years old woman married for 6 months. She finds it impossible to live with her husband who she had chosen independently against the wishes of her parents. D_117 is a Sikh while her husband is a Hindu but both hail from the same region; Punjab. D_117 was just a student in school when she had a romantic relationship with her husband, she eloped and lived with her in-laws who accepted her despite her religious background not matching theirs'. D_117 had also lodged a complaint against her own parents at the local police station because her parents were against the marriage and had threatened her in-laws for supporting the couple. But in six months, D_117 found it unbearable to live in a household with buffaloes living in the backyard. She also found out that dairying was the only source of her husband's income and that he had no independent job of his own about which he had made a false claim before marriage. She then revived her links with her parents and complains of not being able to carry out her religious practices like not able to recite the *Gurbani* which takes a toll on her mental peace. D_117's condition is one of those where mis-representation of one partner led to creation of a false image and expectations by the other. Now, she wants separation from her husband, divorce and wishes to build her life anew.

Modernity does give the women in the cities the space to dissolve marriages and also resort to help from the state in order to consolidate her household when she is herself unable to gain control over it by her ownself. In the urban milieu, the inter-caste, inter-regional as well as inter-religious chasms between partners appear to weaken since work, education and other pursuits which play a greater part in binding partners. D_117's accusations of not being able to carry out her religious practices may be treated as an overall failure of her aspirations which she had articulated in the form of her religious freedom. Apart from religious rituals, the aspect that affects women in a modern day marriage is the issue of patrilocality. One of the pillars of patriarchal system in South Asia is patrilocality whereby, the bride moves out of her natal home and begins living in the house of her in-laws. Social-Anthropologists have theorized the transfer of the bride's labour and productivity (both in terms of her physical labour, and her reproductive labour) from one family to the other. Challenging this order would bring many practices and structures to collapse which support the steady appropriation of women's intrinsic values.

The aspiration of modern women to break free from the traditional patrilocal arrangement was found to be very strong when asked about the means by which they could salvage the ongoing discord in their marital lives. 42.4 per cent of the respondents in Delhi and 45.3 per cent from Kolkata cited a separate household – away from the husband's family would help them organize their lives and gain better control over their partners. This aspiration perfectly fits the nuclear family model that various forms of images conjure up the modern lifestyle.

The tryst with modernity has been experienced not only by the women living in urban areas, but also in rural areas and among communities hitherto exposed only to their community related practices; the national policies pertaining to education have played its role on young girls who have received the opportunity to go to schools and receive formal education. The other aspect of traditional marriages and its role in controlling women's sexuality is has been undergoing slow almost imperceptible changes with changes in women's ideas of exploring their bodies and their sexuality in the modern milieu of urban living.

Patriarchy as a double edged sword, which commands complete sexual discipline and purity where women are concerned, but for men leeway has existed for the occasional sexual adventures outside marriage. Coupled with it, marital rape did invite retribution even though talking about marital rape is a difficult issue for women because generations of women in the region have been subjected to of the socialization process of not speaking on topics related to their sexuality and sexual oppression. Yet during the arbitration process; 16.6 per cent of the respondents in Delhi region and 32.6 per cent in Kolkata mentioned sexual violence/unnatural sexual encounters as an additional cause of discord between partners. It is worth noticing that in no complainant's case record sexual violence was recorded as a primary cause of discord in their marital relationship. The understanding that it is women's duty to be submissive to the partner's sexual needs is perhaps the major cause along with the fact that women are not encouraged to openly discuss about this aspect of their marital lives. So, as a consequence, more often the discomforts are not highlighted in the recorded complaint. The same is not true for the male partner or his family members. Suspicion on women's sexuality and accusations on

women in this regard is a common practice. Most often a woman's lack of interest in her husband is linked to her extra-marital affairs. Controlling of women's sexuality apart, the modern day marriages are still considered as vehicles of upward social mobility. In the modern society of consumers, subjects are tempted to develop a penchant for public display of private lives and adopts market rules for selecting their partners. The rationale underlying selection process may reduce to rules of sieving through customers like better paying capacity; ability to be better immigrants, etc.,. The entire beauty business and the efforts towards reversing the ageing process are also linked to this trend. The laws that usher in modernity can sometimes work in strange ways, offering a facile escape route to men and not being fair to certain women's need. The law on the one hand has widened the scope of its applicability on conjugal relationships by bringing into its fold live in relationships, and on the other, this has led to a peculiar bigamy-like situation in many households yet legally the culpability of the male partner cannot be established. The following case study highlights this gap in the legal provision.

K_018 is 26 years old. She is a single girl child from an upper middle class family of Kolkata. Her marriage was arranged by her parents in her class caste-cohort, to a self employed groom. Soon into the marriage, K_018 realized that her husband was living on his family's wealth and is an alcoholic and a philanderer. After repeated failed attempts by family and friends to change the groom's ways, she moved out of her matrimonial home and began living with her parents. In her three years absence, the neighbours of her marital home informed her that her husband has been co-habiting with another woman at his parental home and had begotten a daughter from that relationship. In accordance to the new Domestic Violence Law, the new partner has the right to residence and the legally she could not be ordered to leave that household. K_018 has no hopes or desire of rekindling her marital relationship with her estranged husband. All she wanted to do was to take back her *Sridhan*. Modernity and its role in formalising relationships of the nature of marriage as in this case has jeopardized the possibility of justice from the law for a woman in distress.

Even though new forms of companionships are getting more and more acceptance by the law and the society, the need to be seen as a happily married couple is still strong among

couples. The conceptualisation of the '*jodi*'⁴ has deep seated influence on the psyche of the couples and that at any cost they must try to uphold their '*jodi*'. The idea of the '*perfect jodi*' has pervaded modernity and the image is up for consumption for anyone who is known to the individual. This factor still plays an important role in conditioning women to relate their success as an individual to the fact that how well they are able to govern their families, children and households. The conceptualisation of the '*jodi*' brings with it an eternal legacy of animosity between sexes which coupled with jealousy and suspicion, leads to a potent mixture of actions that brew discord within the partners. This emotion has been observed in the anxieties reflected in the young couples and their family members in this study. A major social aspect dominant in South Asian is pro natal orientation coupled with the desire for male children from marriage. Aspiration for progeny and male child was found across all religious groups and among all regional spaces. The sceptre of modernity has not been able to make inroads in changing this aspiration, since in the urban areas too violence is meted against women who are childless or have only girl children. The study also reveals that women themselves regret the fact where they are unable to bear male progeny and realize that their inability to do so becomes the cause for their devalued position in the household. The positive impact of modernity on marital life is that the male partner too is being subjected to medical tests for impotency, whereas earlier the entire onus of childlessness was borne by women. Modernity has also been able to create fluid connections between discreet city-spaces through transport facilities. Physical spaces in cities are being put to multiple uses. Work spaces are being linked and subsequently subsumed by places of recreation and spaces of consumption too. Men and women in the metropolitan cities as well as the small towns have access to a complex maze of spaces that connect their homes to their work spaces, the travel spaces and spaces of recreation. The collusion of spaces, of work spaces conjoined with recreational spaces often tends to expose women to more forms of violence. The other modern intrusion into urban lives is the use of and dependence on social media. It is through this medium that users share detailed information about their personal lives and have no qualms of their personal details to be available for public consumption. Linked with it is the element of consumerism as indicated previous studies

⁴ Discussed in detail in Chapter 2

conducted on domestic violence in India. Oldenberg (2002), Sheel (1998) and Kishwar (2008) have discussed how the impact of the changing economy impacts the demands of dowry and affects marriage and family. In the present form of modernity which is altering its solid form to liquid form characterised by un-certainty about the goal posts of being modern (Bauman, 2000). The insatiability of the society of consumers also leads to a 'hurried culture' or the 'now-ist' culture. The rush in acquiring a certain imagined 'good-life' in the urban cities makes women vulnerable to becoming targets for appropriation of their incomes and marriages as a route to amass wealth and secure a whole range of consumerables. The aspirations of the families may be drawn from the range of items they demand as dowry gifts from their bride during marriage. Respondents working in call centres in odd night hours are common – since aspirations of a certain lifestyle allows trade-off between women's income and their presence in the household. Respondents themselves rarely question this process of accepting dowry rather on the contrary, few respondents recorded that had the dowry been up to the expectations of their husband and in laws probably, her marriage could have been saved.

In the case of D_033 who is 24 years old, completed graduation, who during the arbitration process revealed that her husband had promised to take her to Mauritius for their honeymoon after marriage. Due to lack of funds, her husband changed his plans and they visited Kathmandu instead. D_033 was ashamed and had no face to meet her friends who might mock at her for travelling to a not so exotic location/destination. The pressure to 'show up' according to the expectations of one's peer group is also a cause of distress within married couples in metropolitan cities. In the same breath, women still experience a loss of face when their marriages break. In such networks and desire to continue to carry on with violent relationships despite knowing that there remains little chance for improvement. Women too are not free from the shackles of these images of consumption.

The state's response to modernity through enactment of laws enables a kind of porosity within the boundaries of conjugal relationships and they become open to intervention of the state. The conjugal relationships that are shaping up in these liquid modern times are in the process of constant change. This is probably the reason why the laws pertaining to marriage, divorce and matrimonial litigation are constantly being altered. The legal

provisions require tweaking for keeping pace with the modern times. The conjugal bonds men and women establish especially in the urban spaces where one's anonymity and ability to build one's identity irrespective of one's traditional lineage, where marker's of caste and religion do not sit obstinately on the self making way for an individual to make choices based on economic and ideological orientations.

This chapter brings out aspects of marital bond that has been affected by Modernity; and simultaneously, it clearly demarcates spaces that are yet to change from the traditional ways. Even though women in the city are open to arbitration; yet, they are willing to allow the state mediate mainly for the restoration of their marital lives. Even in the modern times, women's option of living independently without depending on her husband for maintenance or the natal family for moral support is not common. Images of the wife as the sole care giver of the children are also dominant among the couples and their extended family even though often custody of children rest with the father.

The PWDVA, 2005 does ensure women have their right to their residences- a modern intervention on the long history of the women in the region having minimal control on property; yet the practical outcome of the provision is far from the expected one. An aggrieved woman finds it very difficult to stay in a hostile household despite the guarantee given by the State agencies. Yet, the very fact that the Act (PWDVA, 2005) being a civil law and not criminal law has helped in finding greater acceptance among the users.

Despite images of modernity which allow women to aspire for a life to be led on equal terms with their partners; women still resort to denial when comes to breaking free from marriage and going back to single status. Majority of the women complainants wish to restore their marital life with the help of the intervention of the Crime Against Women Cell or the PWDVA, 2005; is a clear pointer in that direction. Very few women resort to this structure to break-away from marriage which is an indication that the modernity apparently appears to have weakened women's dependence on marriage but on the contrary, women's dependence on marriage is still strong for not only economic reasons but to produce and consume a life that is considered modern. This modern life and it's aspirations are continuing to be image dependent of the perfect propertied nuclear family.

Referring to work of fiction discussed in chapter 1, there appears similar causes of discord in marital relationships in this study as were depicted in the stories that were written during the times when the country got its independence from the colonial rule. The 'list' of the items gifted as dowry in the story "Meye Dile Shajiye" remains unchanged in the present times. The aspirations of "Chhobi" of "Nabankur" resonates with all the respondents who desired to choose their partners' independently, not adhering to the caste-class and religious endogamy rules. The lack of property rights that worsen women's control over her household continues to remain unaltered as was observed in the novel "Apna Ghar". Disciplining of women through vratas and other religious rituals continues in the present times as depicted in the short stories "Ekadasi". The plot of "Taare Laraaz Rahe Hain" where the daughter in law of the house is enforced into a regimented life, with restricted mobility and freedom to pursue a career, and the unmarried daughter in the family who may be of the same age gets more freedom and opportunity. The married women in their marital homes continue to be overburdened with household chores, her income is appropriated for the future of her sister in law. Modernity has not been able to change the way in which daughter in law is expected to perform her duties in majority of the households in metropolitan cities.

The participation at the arbitration session and recording the life histories of women experiencing domestic violence in urban centres has been a unique process of symbiotically creating new knowledge. The following section documents the processes that were involved in the documentation of the life histories of urban women in distress.

Co-producing Legal spaces and Co-becoming agents of production of legal spaces:

On use of Confessions as a mode of knowledge production, Foucault (2003) talks about an interesting vignette about spatial power – the development of – development of confessional practice in churches. Modern Counseling Sessions bear similarities to the same spatial arrangement; where "material crystallization of all rules takes place". (Elaborated in Chapter 2)

Confessions demanded that sins be confessed to someone who has the power for remission of those sins. The space encourages certain discussions and discourages certain discourses. Certain aspects of married life remained muffled while others highlighted.

The process of 'co-becoming' bearers of the intimate knowledge of intimate partner abuse may be elucidated with the help of the case studies narrated below. Efforts have been made to preserve the voices of the subjects so that they are heard in an unaltered form.

Just as beginning of research relationships take time to get established through adjustments on the part of the researched and the researcher, so do the endings. It is pertinent to document the 'end' of the relationship in research. Reflecting on when to leave the field and when to end each interview is carefully orchestrated depending on the emotional state of the respondent. During the 'field work' the researcher often experienced the difficulties of interviewing the respondents and then breaking away from the listening mode. The discussions went on beyond the schedule, and the act of listening to the respondents fears and pains never seemed to cease. The respondents would often voluntarily inform the researcher about the next date of their visit, thus expecting the presence of the researcher and interacting with her.

Feminist research offers space for a relationship between the researcher and the respondent, and this relationship is usually more complicated than what one builds during participatory research. The relationship rests over issues of involvement, emotion and power. Most often it's the researcher who gains more than the respondent, perhaps in terms of a Ph.D. degree, a research paper or a project. The researcher's own experience changed through the years of conducting fieldwork on domestic violence- initially as an unmarried Ph.D. scholar, was treated as someone quite unaware of the vicissitudes of marital life; struggling researcher – quite similar to the respondents who too were looking for a better future free of uncertainties. The researcher's positionality of class, knowledge never became an impediment in gaining access to the lives of the respondents rather was at the receiving end of knowledge of a life 'unknown to the researcher'. In the later years as a married woman, with a university job still evoked a sense of oneness with the respondents as they empathized with the researchers struggles of commuting to another city for work; raising a child and that perhaps neutralized the hierarchies of power and knowledge.

The methodological challenges in transcribing data from social interactions, from 'just talk' to 'semi structured discussions' was problems that emerged only after the

completion of the interviews. (Mc Kay, 2002) Autobiographical narratives often proved more productive for analysis of women's conception of legal spaces, and the part of legal space they were planning to access for ameliorating their problems. What was used for building rapport with the respondents most often became the primary part of the data collection. All forms of interactions struck with the respondents was to figure out the sameness and difference of the positioning and experiences. The course of dialogue between the researcher and the respondents changed forms and the entire fieldwork became an integral part of research. As the researcher broke barriers of language, class and knowledge, exchange of personal stories obliterated the outsider, privileged researcher positioning.

Yet, re-reading the transcripts often brought back memories of pain and revealed the power relations working in the space between the researcher and the respondent. Dilemmas of not re-telling the stories of pain and private aspects of the lives of the respondents were a primary concern along with preservation of the confidentiality of the respondents.

There were also instances where a reversal of power relations was encountered while researching the intimate personal violence cases of 'elite' women. There were difficulties of not gaining access to their stories as elite women most often maintain a self protective barrier and are usually defensive and have a protective barrier (England, 2002). 'Cold responses' were converted to acquaintances through bargaining and compromise of time and serendipitous interventions to capture their sense of legal space. Conscious efforts were made to not fall into the trap of 'methodological opportunism' of willfully leaving out elite respondents.

Elucidating the hurdles encountered while undertaking this research, the following case studies discussed are being discussed as these help in situating the feminist politics of research in personal relations.

The instant connect with a 'elite' respondent by virtue of sharing the mother-tongue is revealed through the case of D-055, 39 years old, from a well to do Bengali Brahmin household settled in New Delhi, got married into the same class caste; arranged by parents fourteen years ago. Though the marriage appears to be endogamous in terms of class and caste, they belonged to two regions of Bengal- East (present Bangladesh) and

West (the state of West Bengal). From the very first day of her marriage her husband began behaving badly and abusing her, as the dowry gifts did not meet his expectations. She subsequently came to know that he has had numerous romantic affairs with several women in the past and was unwilling to give up on them. This led to quarrels and frequent fights which eventually ended up in violence against her. Her father in law would intervene, take her side and the violence would subside. These incidents recurred in a cyclical pattern in her life. D-055 resumed her education in order to search for new meaning in for life, completed her post graduation, and secured a job in a school.

“...they would look down upon me and taunt me for being an ‘East Bengali’ and that I can never get over the typical East Bengali ‘refugee’ culture. My husband led an extravagant life...after my father-in-law’s death, my mother in law began supporting his behaviour and it became next to impossible to continue to live in my marital home and I was forced to shift to my natal home..”

With time, the incidences of violence became frequent and D_055’s length of stay at her natal home too became lengthier. It was during this time that her husband began co-habiting with a new partner in her marital home, with her mother in law’s consent. D_055 filed a case in the Crime women cell for taking back her ‘stridhan’ and is contemplating moving the court for a legal separation from her husband. When asked what made D_055 wait for 14 years for filing a complaint? D_55 was quick to reply,

“...despite living in my natal home, my parents are comfortable with my social status as a married woman rather than a divorcee or a separated woman...”

D_055 was not willing to seek alimony as she was happy to sustain herself with the school job she has. Apparently, D_055 is an educated employed urban independent woman, who is ‘empowered’ to access the state laws in her favour, yet are unable to do so for the sake of their family’s reputation. Legal provisions here have made possible a bigamy like situation which was unacceptable for D_055. She earlier stayed away from legal recourse. It was her complete lack of control on her partner that she sought legal support to claim her possessions which for her then were the only valuables she was left with.

Religious background too plays a role in imagining the legal space while seeking relief from the state institutions. K_056 a Muslim woman working as a domestic help in

Kolkata has been married for nine years. It was an independently chosen marriage and her husband is a peddler. She had a happy married life for the first one year; after that her husband began demanding money from her natal home for starting new business. As K_056's father had passed away and had no brothers her mother struggled to offer what best she could though her daily wages. One and a half years ago, her husband married again and K_056 began living separately. Her three children; two daughters and one son live with her husband.

Her anguish and shock is palpable as she says that: "I was forced to file the complaint at the crime women cell when I discovered that he [her husband] is not paying for our children's education, though they are being provided with food and shelter. I was aware that for this complaint he would un-leashed severe violence on me which he did. He came to my home and beat me with a leather belt...threatened me of dire consequences leading to Talaq if I didn't withdraw the case." K_056 wants her children to get educated and she is also willing to keep the children with her only if her husband provides for their education and maintenance. "... I don't want anything for my own self from him...I will fend for myself till my body co-operates..." With legal plurality in operation where the Sharia often dominates the private lives of women like K_056; following a tailor made alternative to the person's lives is the only way out. It is in situations like this that the legal centrality of the state law appears weaker and the religious beliefs influence the decisions taken by the subjects. She rues "...my own marital life has no revival, but for my children's sake I am willing to take the risk and fight for their education and other rights..."

D_109 is 34 years old. She is a Christian woman from Kerala, married for 11 years with a nine year old son, was thrown out of her marital home for no fault of hers'. D_109's marriage was arranged by her parents and she was married to her own sister's brother in law. Four years ago her sister left their marital home and began living with her parents since she found it difficult to live with her husband. Her sister has also applied for a divorce suit against her husband, and

"I was being harassed and verbally abused by all my in laws for being my sister's sister. Of late, my husband has begun physically abusing her under the influence of alcohol.

Lately, his beatings became too unbearable to tolerate, so I left home and began living with my parents and approached the crime women cell for support.”

On the first hearing she revealed that her husband has visited her after receiving the notice and apologized for his mistake, and wishes her to withdraw the case from the crime women cell. D_109, wishes her husband to change his ways and wishes to live with him, but she wants the crime women cell to complete its procedure before she closes the case. In this case the time taken in the crime women cell is in fact offering a buffer period to D-109 to observe they changes in her husband, and she remains in the protection of the state powers and consolidates her position in the matrimonial home. D_109’s request to the counselors to “...not close her case...” speaks volumes of the influence the state law holds on people’s lives. The customary laws aren’t potent enough to protect a woman’s security and dignity within her own home space.

Feeling of aversion towards women from other regions is also another feature that influence some women’s understanding of relationships. D_029 is 36 years old. She is married for 15 years lived all her life in a slum dwelling in the South Western part of Delhi. She and her husband hail from the hill state of Uttarakhand. Though they had financial constraints yet led a non-turbulent marital relationship till her husband befriended a widowed lady from the Eastern part of the country and began spending time with her and also started diverting his income to her household. This led to severe financial and psychological distress in her family. In her complaint at the crime women Cell, D_029 failed to indentify the fault lying in her husband. She kept requesting the counselors to summon her husband’s friend who according to her is responsible for the trouble in her marriage. During a deeper private discussion with D_029, she revealed “...that lady has cast a spell of black magic on my husband...the women from that particular state are adept in black magic and can easily change the mind of a man. I feel hopeless and powerless and know of no way to win my own husband over. The other lady is simply using my husband for extracting money...and he doesn’t realize that this is leading to serious financial and emotional problems for me and my children...the children are growing up too, they need to learn good values from their parents and be in an emotionally secure ethos at home...”In the state of denial she looked for solace in her times of trouble. Black magic might never garner space for a deeper probe, but in

D_029's perception, this is the single most important cause of her marital discord. Her husband denies having any relationship with the lady in question, when asked about his regular visits to her home he says "...I simply go to her house and watch television and have tea after work...she is a lonely person and is in need of a person who would spend some time with her..." He denies having helped her with money and says "I will try and reduce my visits to her house if it causes stress within my own family..."

Creation of the 'other' cushions her sense of denial and veils her powerlessness / inability to control her husband. This inability reduces her status in the family and local community too.

Whether they are related to matters of alcoholism, adultery or any other deviant behaviour; intervention or interrogation on the part of the wife is put down with severe punishment.

Single women's life in the urban spaces is still bereft of freedom and choices – which pushes single women to look for partners. D_150's life history elicits this aspect further. D_150 is 43 years old. She works with the Government in New Delhi. Her current husband is from her second marriage, while it is her husband's third marriage. She agreed for a second marriage after she lost her first husband because as she puts it "...it's difficult for a woman to live on her own..." Though initially, no financial demands were made, later she was forced to contribute five lakh rupees for him to start a business. Her husband has not made any effort to sustain the business; and lived on her income for the past nine years, and has turned into an alcoholic. "...people take advantage of him being an alcoholic...it is difficult for me to stay with my father in law in the same household..." Reading into her statement the counselors too advice to find a separate household. She wants intervention from the Crime Women Cell to stop the escalating violence, move out to a nuclear household. Her husband accused her of not doing her household chores properly, and also neglecting the children. She says "...I have to continue to live with him for the sake of my two children aged six and four. It is most often a partial relief that women are seeking from the law to set their homes spaces in order.

All the case studies discussed above bring out the negotiations women make at the family level before accessing legal services from the state. Yet there are spaces that the law is

unable to penetrate into, and possible spaces of evasion of the state law exist within the overarching “Inevitability of law” as a concept.

The complexity of marital relationships challenges both theorists as well as researchers. The findings of this study show that individual and family development is an interactive whole and legal conceptions/formations vary individually and have conflicting impacts among the families.

Quantitative methods of analysis miss the centrality and complexity of time in processing domestic violence cases. Time appears to be the single most important factor that influences women’s decisions and eventually the outcomes of domestic violence arbitration in women cells. Procedural delays in the form of respondent party not appearing on the specified dates’ acts as huge let down for women. It decimates the chances for estranged partners to meet and reconcile. Their disappointments and the panic over fleeting time can only be documented through qualitative techniques. Women in society are a “muted group” as their voices are softened by men’s greater social power. Woman to woman talk offers scope for women to speak openly about their experiences. Language itself exerts a great barrier to women’s speech. The words available do not fit into women’s experiences; women tend to translate while they speak. A part of their lives ‘disappear’ in the process. In order to ‘recover’ those experiences it is imperative to listen ‘beyond’ and ‘around’ the words. In this research attempts have been made to preserve women’s speech during the conversation. Remembrance of the experience of violence is also a subjective event. Acts of remembering are also attempts by women to seize authority, but it requires validation by the other. At counselling sessions, both sides get the opportunity to validate or dismiss each other’s memories.

Accessing the law through institutions is a difficult terrain most women traverse through. Waiting for hearings to speak out their experiences, while often being let down by the absence of the respondent parties. During the course of the study women’s inability to talk about her problems at a time when she has prepared and expected to do so leads to severe disappointment and feeling of defeat. The conscious /unconscious; use/ abuse of time by different players constantly works against women. Most women wish to use the laws partially to restore their family lives. They wish to invoke the controlling powers of

the law, only to quell the escalating violence. Only a small portion of women have separation or divorce in mind while engaging with the law.

The confessional quality of the counseling session also brings to light the perception of the counselors regarding the women complainants. Their motives as well as their moral standings are evaluated subjectively, and remarks such as “she is not interested in going back to her in laws home...she is doing all this just to make her husband find a separate household...all she wants is a nuclear family” hinting at their intentions behind bringing their family matters to the court. The notion of a traditionally constructed ‘good wife’ who displays forbearance in matters of family disputes often gets reiterated in discussions. Most complainants lament “...I tried as hard as I could...” revealing the efforts taken by them to reconcile with their partners before appealing to the state law.

The presence of the powers of reconciliation in the courtrooms too; emerges as a potent impediment that the state tries to assure that family violence is an issue that is to be dealt with in public space. The culture of reconciliation assumes that gender hierarchy exists and urges women to conform to the demands and expectations of the society at large and compromise with their partners. This also explains why most of the cases disappear from the courts. Despite the effort made by the state in supporting women to have a violence free home, what remains un-documented is the suffering women undergo during the process of accessing legal provision from the institutions of the state. The following section discussed the un-researched aspects of women experiencing domestic violence by expressing the sufferings women undergo through the aspect of time they spend negotiating with law.

Time as a leitmotif of the struggles women endure while looking for legal intervention in marriages

The chapter documents the trials and tribulations of women experiencing Domestic Violence through empirical evidences. Yet the sufferings of the respondents who resort to arbitration and litigation with the help of institutions of the state, are never completely documented while undertaking research. It is not possible to quantify the sufferings of the respondents. Yet attempts have been made through the documenting the ‘time’ they spend in improving their marital relationships. Miri (1976) in her thesis on sufferings write that sufferings may be treated objectively, but, it also has it’s basis in one’s own

subjective existence⁵. It is a mental state and a personal experience. Pain and suffering are not the same emotions, being in pain also signifies the dislike for being in pain. It is for this reason that one finds that only self-conscious beings are capable of pain. This study also shows different thresholds women have for considering domestic violence as an offence. For some, neglect, insult tantamount to violence, while for some marital rape and physical violence may be a part of their everyday negotiations of married life. It is the element of time which allows the researcher to understand how and when the respondent began realising that her marital relationship was not satisfactory. Many respondents wait for their partners to change for the better or make amends to end violence in their marital lives. In previous sections of this chapter it has been documented that women reported cases of domestic violence after more than twenty years of marriage. This cumulative time could be a way of reifying the sufferings of a woman experiencing domestic violence.

Once a complaint is registered, it once again 'time' that decides how much of resistance a woman can put up to seek justice. Most women, as the study reveals shift to their natal homes during the arbitration process due to fear of violence. The women are aware of the fact that they are not welcome to live in their natal homes indefinitely, and time becomes a crucial factor as she desires to end the arbitration process as quickly as possible and return to her natal home.

For respondents with children and especially for those respondents who are not gainfully employed, the disruption of the schedule of the children's school and payment of fees becomes an insurmountable problem and respondents feel a sense of dejection when the arbitration process gets delayed and their 'time in hand' to alter her marital relationship slips away.

'Time' becomes the perfect signifier of suffering where respondents' absconding husbands' fail to be traced by the police. In cases where women had been deserted by their partners, each additional day of delay in the arbitration causes severe difficulties in organising their means of livelihood. It is 'time' that determines the threshold when a

⁵ Miri S (1976) *Suffering*. Indian Institute of Advanced Studies. Shimla. pp 10-20.

respondent realises that she may not be able to pursue the case of arbitration, as the time spent on visiting crime cells and courts may practically prove 'expensive' and they decide to give up on the struggle for justice.

Even though the crime cells are committed to provide speedy redressal of the cases of domestic violence in both the metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata, the 'time' the respondents spend beyond the walls of the women's cells; with their hostile family members, also determine how longer time taken at the women cells in 'dispensing' justice can lead to demoralisation of the respondent and she may lose hope of getting justice.

Concluding Remarks:

The chapter documents the role of the Women Cells in two metropolitan cities, Delhi and Kolkata where women register cases of domestic violence and approach the cells for redressal.

The respondents of this study from both Delhi and Kolkata are representative of the urban population in the cities in terms of their religious, regional, linguistic, caste and class backgrounds, thereby offering an opportunity to draw comparisons between the two distinct sub-cultures found in Delhi and Kolkata.

The women cells in these cities cater to the city population from all parts of the city. In both the cities respondents travelled even over 20 kilometers to access the services of the cells which elicits the importance of the cells.

In the cells it was documented that women registered complaints of domestic violence even after twenty years of married life; though, most of the complainants were married for less than five years. Some of the respondents had chosen their partners independently, while the rest were married through 'arranged' alliances.

Marriages in the urban metropolitan areas continues to be a socio-religious life event since very few complainants had registered their marriages in the court of law and most

of the respondents registered the marriage only after the social event of the marriage was completed.

More than sixty percent of the respondents were living in their natal homes after experiencing incidences of domestic violence. Less than 10 percent of the respondents were living independently while about twenty percent lived in their marital homes while reporting cases of domestic violence against their marital partners.

Majority of the respondents followed Hinduism as their religion. Followers of other religions like Islam, Christianity, Sikhism were also a part of the study. The respondents also represented the upper caste groups as well as those caste groups which were not a part of the savarna jatis.

The income levels of the respondents were considered as a marker of their class background, and in Delhi as well as Kolkata, unemployed women who were less than 30 years of age were at a higher risk of experiencing domestic violence compared to women who were employed and were of higher age groups. Most of the respondents revealed that they had adhered to the caste- class endogamy and their family members had decided on the timing of their marriage. The respondents had very little control on the timing of their marriage.

The respondents reported having experienced physical, emotional and sexual violence perpetrated by their husbands and in-laws to discipline as well as punish them for not matching up to the expectation of the members of the marital family. The causes of discord that triggered incidences of violence ranged from issues of dowry, male domination, financial constraint or psychological, personal, medical, social and cultural causes.

The causes of discord among endogamous and exogamous couples on the basis of mother tongue, caste and religion in Delhi and Kolkata show that dowry demand related discord was found to be more rampant among couples who had adhered to rules of endogamy while marrying. Issues of male dominance along with dowry demand and other causes of discord were observed among couples who chose to marry beyond the rules of endogamy. The case studies of the endogamous as well as exogamous couples show that

women who experienced domestic violence did not receive enough support from their marital families; and in most cases even the natal family members of the women refuse to offer support to them in their times of need.

The educational and occupational status of the complainants of domestic violence in the selected metropolitan cities has a strong bearing on their experience of violence. Women with no formal education were at the greatest risk of being physically abused by their partners and with the rise in respondents' educational qualifications, the proportion of women experiencing physical violence diminishes. For emotional violence and sexual violence too, higher levels of education of the respondents act as a deterrent to inflict violence of such kind on them. Women who were educated till graduation level and above were less susceptible to violence from the members of her marital family.

In Delhi as well as Kolkata, the level of educational attainment of the respondent's husband did not bear any influence on the possibility of him inflicting physical violence on her. Complaints related to emotional violence perpetrated by the respondent's husband appear lesser than physical abuse at all levels of the respondent's husband's educational attainments. Respondents reported higher rates of physical abuse afflicted by father or mother in law whose husband's were educated compared to those respondents whose husband's did not receive any formal education.

In Delhi, the demand for dowry as a cause of discord rose with rising levels of educational attainments of the respondent's husbands while in Kolkata, the demand for dowry decreased with the rise in the level of education of the respondent's husband. With higher levels of educational attainments of the respondent's husband, the causes of discord emanating from psychological, social, and medical causes increased whereas the causes of discord arising from financial constraints were equally experienced by respondents at all levels of their husband's educational qualifications. The in-laws contributing to the causes of discord decreased with rise in the respondent's husband's level of education.

Irrespective of the respondent's employment status, their experience of physical abuse was more rampant than emotional abuse and sexual abuse. The nature of employment

does not influence the quantum and type of violence perpetrated by the members of the marital family but, being employed reduces the chances of physical and emotional abuse perpetrated by the in-laws. Respondents whose husbands' were not employed were vulnerable to abuse more than those respondents whose husbands' were gainfully employed. The sector of employment of the respondents' husband has no significant influence on domestic violence perpetrated by the respondent's mother-in-law or father-in-law. Respondents employed in the organised sector recorded more instances of conflict arising from dowry demand by their husbands. Respondents who were not employed, recorded lower rates of causes of discord arising from male dominance and financial constraints.

Most women preferred to stay at their natal homes when experiencing domestic violence irrespective of their educational attainments as well as their employment status. Majority of the respondents cited the need for a separate household or a nuclear family set-up was considered as that crucial that could ameliorate their problems of domestic abuse.

Almost half of the respondents recorded rebuilding their marital relationship through intervention of law in matters of domestic abuse and wished to raise their children with their husbands' support and help from their natal families.

The arbitration at the women cells in Delhi and Kolkata appeared to be sensitive to the feminist ideals of equality between husbands and wives in terms of resource sharing and child care the arbitrators were also empathetically making efforts to end violence within households, yet proving to be the 'judges of normality' at certain junctures. The exogamous marital relationships that were traditionally unacceptable in society but received sanctions through legal intervention, were also treated by arbitrators with compassion and empathy through families and the society as a whole found reasons to consider such relationships 'abnormal'.

It appears that modernity has an influence in marital relationships. It can be observed in terms of independently chosen marriages or the acceptance of intervention of law to resolve disputed in marriages. Modernity has also ushered in various forms of 'image-

driven' lifestyle alterations which makes women's choice of annulling marriages a difficult issue.

Finally it can be said that how creation of knowledge on the forms and causes of domestic violence and its intersection with the legal terrain can be co-produced between the researcher and the researched. The exchanges that transpire between the researcher and the researched has the potential for co-producing legal spaces and co-become altered legal subjects.

Chapter -7
Feminist Legal Geographies - Impact of the Presence and
Intervention of the Third Sector and Everyday Formations of
Legal Spaces.

**"All happy families are alike but an unhappy family is unhappy after its
own fashion."**

Quoting Leo Tolstoy from *Anna Karenina*¹; the uniqueness of marital discord women and men experience require empathetic research techniques for comprehension since just as two individuals are never alike, relationships too need to be freed from packaging into categories depending on the type of discord the relationship facing, or the causes that led to brewing up of such discords. Once the incident is freed from the tyranny of generalizations – the particularity of the event may be better understood. It is in this context, the role of the third sector in mitigating cases of domestic violence in low income neighbourhoods of Delhi and Kolkata is being taken up for analysis.

Making sense of right and wrong derives from law, but awareness and cultural connotations of law give meaning to the lives of women. If social reality is shaped by and understood in terms of legal sanctions, it is also shaped through interactions with gendered spaces and places. Gendered spaces define and build on women's experiences and their agency to negotiate through those spaces. In this chapter the role of nongovernmental organisations in reaching out to women experiencing domestic violence is being discussed. The studies have been curated from both cities of Delhi and Kolkata. The case studies that would be discussed in this chapter were interventions made by the nongovernmental organisations and the impact they created in the aggrieved women's lives, the lives of the women who offer support and the impact that is felt in the geographical and social space where such activities are undertaken.

Scholars working on the ethnography of law have documented the dichotomous reach of the law among the population by coining the phrase "the inevitability of laws and the impossibility of law" meaning that even though the law is applicable to all the

¹ Tolstoy L (1877) *Anna Karenina*. Penguin Classics, New Delhi. (Reprinted in 2004). pp 13.

citizen's of a particular administrative area (inevitability of law) yet, at the same time there would exist pockets within the same region where the law cannot be effectively implemented (impossibility of law). One can draw a geographical analogy by marking those spaces as legal-ecumene and spaces of legal-non-ecumene. In this chapter, the focus of the study is on the spaces which remain insulated from the laws of the state as the law is incapable of making complete penetration among the people living there, who may not be aware of the existence of those laws, or, they may also be incapable of accessing the structures that provide legal support to the citizens like the police and the courts. In issues related to domestic violence, these spaces of legal-non-ecumene abound in various forms. Women lack mobility, freedom, financial support, awareness about law, and over and above the overarching patriarchal mindset that condition women to be 'good-wives' who accept the ways of the family and not the 'perfect right's bearing subject' who can take up a legal battle against her family members. In legislations pertaining to violence against women in general and domestic violence in particular it is pertinent that the provisions of the law is made available to each and every woman if the nation desires to make violence free spaces for women both within and outside the household.

To focus on spaces and groups who remain insulated from feminist jurisprudence at the levels of the institutions of the state, looks into the interventions made by the third sector in Delhi and Kolkata.

The method of selection of the Non-governmental organisations have been discussed in chapter 3 and issue related to NGOisation of feminist politics and activism in chapter 2. Drawing from the discussions in chapter 2 and the empirical evidences documented in chapter 6 on women's struggles with accessing institutions of the state for seeking justice from domestic violence, it becomes clear that in the absence of arms of the state administratin the third sector or other community level initiatives may become effective in 'bringing the law home'.

Discussions on Uniform Civil Code in chapter 1 aver the presence of legal pluralism in India. (Agnes and Ghosh, 2012; Agnes 2011, Kapur and Crossman 1996). Beyond religious groups, women from economically weaker sections of society living in the cities experience a kind of double disadvantage. The disadvantages emanate from the low financial and educational status which hinders them from accessing justice

against domestic violence and also they are most often they are also unaware of the legal provisions that are available to them to build resistance against the violence they experience at home. Apart from that, their being migrants in the city leads to increase in the physical distance from the woman's natal home, thereby weakening her support base further.

As Sen (2010) has rightly pointed out that even for educated employed women living in metropolitan cities, the 'everyday struggles' in cases of seeking divorce or arbitrating domestic violence appears excruciatingly painful and insurmountable at times. Mirchandani (2006) observes that changes in the experience of justice seekers change through flipping of the gender of governance while doing governance of gender. This may be simply put as the effect of having more women to deal with problems related to violence against women, can offer a change in the way the disputes are governed. Deploying more women in the arbitration processes and in legal assistance services encourages the complainants who are women to be at ease and express their problems in a better manner.

In this chapter care was taken to choose two third sector organisations functioning in the cities selected for the study which were set up and organised entirely and exclusively by women. Split site research on women's movements (Ray 1999) has shown that women's movements are located in particular embedded histories and geographies and not pure products of modernization and development.² Lumba Lukose (2012) observes that in the last few decades local and national Governments and NGOs have appropriated feminist vocabulary and agenda and lament the dilution of redistributive justice and disabling of collective opposition³. Space now provides the key to addressing the need of amelioration of violence through strategies of recognition and redistribution and it has taken precedence over crass materialistic benefits⁴. It therefore becomes imperative to shift to new discourses of Justice, Identity and Dignity. This question assumes enhanced importance in the subaltern and marginalized communities and groups the in the poor in the urban areas. Also included in this category are victims of entrenched social prejudices particularly

² Ray R (1999) *Fields of Protests: Women's Movement in India*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

³ Loomba A and Lukose R A (2012) South Asian Feminisms: Contemporary Interventions. In Loomba A and Lukose R A Eds. *South Asian Feminisms*. Duke University Press. Durham. pp 1-29.

⁴ Fraser N (2003) Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics, in Fraser N and Honneth; *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political Philosophical Exchange*, Verso, London New York.

women in patriarchal societies. In Chapter 6, it has been documented that, capability diminishing practices within the household like control on women's mobility and autonomy in terms of access to monetary resources, makes it all the more difficult for women to access legal support from the State run agencies. Roy (2012) writes that current assessments of feminisms begin with a grim note that feminism has 'passed away'⁵ even though feminism is seen to appear in national and international discourses more frequently⁶. There are fears of 'co-option' of feminist ideals with anti-feminist forces. Feminist ideals can be found institutionalised in the conservation of neo-liberal policies too and feminist goals and agencies are being re signified rather than rejected. It is at this juncture that NGOs emerge as 'shadow-states' where the nation state fails to subvert patriarchal ideologies rather than strengthen patriarchal forces. Institutionalisation of feminism through governmental and non-governmental organisations bears the risks of abdicating its autonomy. Roy (2018) draws a trajectory from the Victorian philanthropists of the nineteenth century to professionalised activists of state and non-state power on the feminists' 'will to govern' other women has been it's hallmark⁷. Post Colonial feminist movements are better equipped to critique working of neo-liberal forces and also question co-option of feminist ideals for neo-liberal ends, yet, leaves scope for the activists to decide on governing of their self while conducting the conduct of the others.

For a holistic understanding of women's agential capacities for them to recognise oppression and seeking redressal, Inversen (2005) modified A.K Sen's Capability Approach for the household space, revealing that freedoms of family members vary with gender and age and their capabilities get subdued to the effect that they fail to recognize the injustices done to them and internalize those practices of the dominant groups. Evaluating human capability on the basis of their resource (material/ non material) endowment alone cannot explain bargaining power of individuals. Feminist projects build on the desire for effective agency. Bowden and Mummery (2012) linked to self determination and autonomy, agency denotes exercise of free will and personal freedom, within the bounds of socially authorized actions- which change

⁵ Roy refers to Sylvia Walby (2011) *Future of Feminism*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

⁶ Roy S (2012) Introduction: Paradoxes and Possibilities. In S Roy Eds. *New South Asian Feminisms*. Aakar Books. pp 1-26.

⁷ Roy S (2018) Changing the Subject: From Feminist Governmentality to Technologies of the (Feminist) Self. In Legg S and Heath D Eds. *South Asian Governmentalities: Michael Foucault and the Question of Postcolonial Orderings*. Cambridge University Press. pp 200-223.

with time and place⁸. Activism plays a potent role in altering people's perception of socially authorized actions. The capabilities of the agent to rank her needs and desires and also her self esteem to recognize and pursue them determine the bounds of socially approved actions. Women's choices are not made autonomously. Cross-culturally women have been considered incapable of thinking rationally so the concept of traditional autonomous agent is problematic.

Despite the critique of the NGOisation of feminist agenda, and fears of co-optation between the State and NGOs, one finds that NGOs foster collective agency; which does have the potential to bring about change since unless women understand themselves as members of groups they would fail to see patterns of oppression and also fail to see that group/ structural resistance is necessary to challenge structural oppression. NGOs foster the cementation processes of group formation. These social movements challenge the existing order of things either by direct protest action or by nurturing alternate lifestyles for its members. Iyer, Mani, Mishra and Topalova (2012) take up the issue of protecting the rights of disadvantageous groups which remain a cause of concern in many countries. Their research suggest that political representation is an important means of providing voice to the disadvantaged groups within the criminal justice system. Their research also indicate that having female political representation at the local government level leads to willingness among women to record crimes against them⁹.

In this chapter, the functions of women's groups have been studied to explore the augmentation of agential capacities of not only the women who resort to the NGOs to solve their problems, but also for women who are active members of those NGOs. Their association with the group of women, their activism, and their actions at the organisation bearing fruit within and outside the households all contribute to women's sense of autonomy and self determination and self actualisation.

True to the observations of the feminist ideologues, in Delhi, the Delhi Commission for Women has promoted the setting up of Mahila Panchayats¹⁰ which is an

⁸ Bowden P and Mummery J (2012) *Understanding Feminism*, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

⁹ Iyer, Mani, Mishra and Topalova (2012) The Power of Political Voice: Women's Political Representation and Crime in India , *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, Vol 4, No. 4. pp. 165 -193.

¹⁰ Women's Courts

innovative collective approach for community participation in dispute redressal. After need assessment and motivation, community leaders are identified and these women are then motivated to volunteer as Mahila Panchayat Members. The scheme was designed in collaboration with different NGOs. All the concerned NGOs presented their models and ideas for enabling women for their legal rights. The model presented by Action India, an NGO, was accepted by all and was accordingly adopted. Later, Action India was enlisted as Lead NGO for training.

The members are trained in legal issues, dispute redressal mechanism, trained in the laws relevant to crimes against women, given exposure about the existing legal position regarding property, maintenance, marriage, custody, etc. They are also given training in counselling, First Information Report (FIR) drafting, pursuing the registered complaints at the police station, and how to proceed for legal recourse. The Mahila Panchayats itself acts as a "Watch Dog" at the neighbourhood level on incidences of violence against women and its members, after orientation, and training, can handle delicate family disputes. The procedure of functioning of the Mahila Panchayat regarding domestic disputes of women comprises of six steps. These steps have been depicted by the members of the Mahila Panchayat through visual representation on chart paper. The members use this tool to explain the procedures that the Mahila Panchayat follows while arbitrating cases of domestic violence to complainants who approach them. It gives a facile and clear idea to the complainant about the procedure as well as the estimated time the arbitration process make take. Following are the images represented in figure 7.1 (a – f).



(a)

(b)



(c)

(d)



(e)

(f)

Figure: 7.1. Showing the functions of a Mahila Panchayat in Delhi.

In Figure 7.1 (a) The aggrieved woman visits the Mahila Panchayat office, usually with a member of the Panchayat who could also be a neighbour of the aggrieved woman, who suggests her to take the help of the Panchayat in resolving her problems.

In Figure 7.1 (b) the second stage of the arbitration shows that the grievances being heard by the members, a written complaint is recorded, and all possible legal help and support that the Mahila Panchayat can offer to the aggrieved woman is explained to her.

Figure 7.1 (c) shows the third step which involves visiting the accused person's household, usually the husband and the in laws home, where a notice is served for the two parties to appear and discuss their reasons for the rift at the Mahila Panchayat Office in the presence of the Mahila Panchayat members for them to have a clear understanding of the nature of problems persisting between the partners and their respective families.

Figure 7.1 (d) depicts that on the basis of the hearings and the discussions that take place in the Mahila Panchayat (a series of meeting may be held before a decision is taken), it is decided by the member whether and when the aggrieved woman may return to her natal home.

Figure 7.1 (e) shows a written agreement being prepared by the Mahila Panchayat members after the arbitration process which is signed by both the parties, and a copy of the same is also sent to the local police station and a second is retained by the Mahila Panchayat.

In figure 7.1 (f) the final step of the arbitration process is depicted which reveals that the case is not closed but kept open ended, where the members of the Mahila Panchayat can plan a surprise visit to the aggrieved person's residence, which is termed as the follow up session. Mahila Panchayat members inquire the complainant and her spouse as well as other members of the family whether they are living together in harmony with the husband and in laws and of foremost importance is whether she found freedom from violence at her home. The antecedents of this organisation may be traced to the turbulent 1980s, when Delhi woke up to acknowledging and resisting large scale violence against women which was not only restricted to bride burning and practices of dowry giving, but also other forms of violence against women like rape

and murder and sexual exploitation at workplace. The organisation was known as 'Sabla Sangh' where women could eponymous to the organisation name 'voice' their dissent and organise for supporting other women.

In Kolkata too such organisations were born out of feminist activism. Chatterjee (2000) who is also one of the founders of Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Mancha writes that the term 'Naribaadi' meaning 'feminist' creates a mental block among people in West Bengal. Feminism to them signifies aggressiveness, sexual permissiveness, immodesty and lack of womanly virtues rather feminist possess anti-motherhood and anti-family attitudes¹¹. Their obsession with "ghoraa" or homely women stemmed from colonial history of the region, where family was the last bastion left to get colonised and had to be kept away from prying eyes. Even though activism of women in Bengal began with the Nationalist Movement for ousting the British from the country, the newer avatar of women's movement in Bengal began in the late 1970s, and this phase has been termed as the second wave of Indian Women's Movement and was a concerted uprising of women from many more regions of the country. During this time in West Bengal, the numerous women's groups got together and formed the Pragatisheel Mahila Samiti (PMS) to protest against atrocities on women by men at their workplaces as well as in public places.

It was around the same time period, a lady called Devyani Banik was brutally killed in South Kolkata by her husband and in-laws as she couldn't persuade her father to invest in a cold storage run by her husband. This incident shook the residents of Kolkata, and it led to women coming together and in 1983 to protest against the heinous crime and subsequently, Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Mancha (NNMP) or the Forum Against Oppression of Women (FAOW) was formed. It was decided by the founding members that an office space would be identified, no hierarchical positions would be created within the organisation, all decisions would be taken collectively and that would determine the mode of operation of this organisation. Their public actions were confined to campaigning, counselling and demonstration against all forms of oppression on women.

¹¹ Chatterjee M (2000) The Feminist Movement in West Bengal: From 1980 to the 1990s. In Bose M Eds. *Faces of Feminine in Ancient, Medieval and Modern India*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press. pp. 323 -334.

Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Manch together with other like minded organisations formed an umbrella organisation called 'Maitree' and facilitated women from the city of Kolkata and the suburbs to approach them with their problems so that these organisations could support them at the community level and if necessary provide legal support¹².

A similar situation developed in Delhi too where it was observed that enhancement of women's capabilities through their association with the Mahila Panchayats transpired at multiple levels. One is at the individual level for the women, and at the group level¹³. In this chapter it will be documented, that how women's association with network groups goes beyond the two known impacts and probes into to the nature of change that occurs within the social space of the neighbourhood. The negotiations with patriarchy that are being played out in the neighbourhood by the presence of women's organisations subsequently make way for feminist ideals into the family and alter the power dynamics of the households. If knowledge is power, then community level activities of women's organisations along with their other subsidiaries make a dent into the household, through awareness raising campaigns are held where women are made aware of their rights, and an effort is made to make women view their existence independent of the patriarchal roles she had imbibed through various institutions, of which family being the most potent of all. Suzuki (2000) observes two different modes of operation of social movements; by direct protest action or by nurturing alternative lifestyles for their members. With dematerialization of society, knowledge design and symbolism have emerged at the apex of the value added hierarchy producing signs rather than material objects. This explains the shift of the social movements from physical security to conflicts over culture, meaning and identity¹⁴. The cultural nature of these movements replaces 'emancipatory politics' with 'life politics' involves deeper moral and existential questions where members are made to understand how they should live their lives in emancipated circumstances. The functions of the women's organisations at the neighbourhood levels elicit this

¹² Roy S (2014) New Subaltern? Feminist Activism in an era of Neoliberal Development. In Kenneth Bo Nielsen and Ann Waldorp Eds. *Women, Gender and Social Transformation in India*. Anthem Press, London. pp 175 – 188.

¹³ Magar V (2007) Empowerment Approaches to Gender Based Violence: Women's Courts in Delhi Slums. In R Ghadially Eds. *Urban Women in Contemporary India: A Reader*. Sage Publications. New Delhi. pp 118-136.

¹⁴ Suzuki T M (2000) For and Against NGOs: The Politics of the Lived World. *New Left Review* 2, Mar Apr. pp 63 -84.

shift as members address existential crisis of women in distress. The nature of marital crisis women experience is innate to being a woman and is easily comprehended and empathised by women alone. The other aspect of the neighbourhood based womens' organisations is that it enhances its effectiveness in arbitrating family disputes is that the office bearers of the organisations (members, volunteers and para-legal workers) are women who belong to the same socio-economic echelon which the aggrieved parties belong to. This acts as an assurance that the judgement is one that stems from an 'insiders' perspective, unlike the general disenchantment with the police proceedings and the court orders which reflect 'outsiders' opinion on families and situation removed from the police personnel and the judges scope of experiences.

To document the modalities of operations of these womens' organisations in Delhi and Kolkata, the arbitration sessions were attended and the observations are being discussed below.

Tri-Laminar capacity building of women through Nongovernmental organisations.

The functions of the women's organisation at the neighbourhood level in Delhi and Kolkata capable of bringing about changes at the level of the individual who seeks justice, the members of the organisation as a group and at the level of the neighbourhood where ideas of equality between gender is promoted through the activities of the women's organisation. In the section below, with the help of case studies, these changes at various levels are being documented.

i. The Aggrieved Women- *Ladki apne iccha se rahegi.*

The Mahila Panchayat at Sundar Nagri in Delhi holds its panchayats on every Wednesdays; where ninety six percent of the cases of family disputes were from Sundar Nagri itself. Fifty percent of the cases were satisfactorily solved within two to three months, and the rest of the cases were either partly solved, or referred to the courts or to the Deputy Commissioner of Police's Office. Only one case was reported which was not being pursued by the complainant, as she filed the case, took advice, but did not return for the Mahila Panchayat to initiate its proceedings. In twelve percent of the cases the in-laws made complaints against their daughters in law, while all the others were made by brides against their husbands and in-laws. The case study

below represents a family dispute and reveals the ways by which an aggrieved woman is helped to build on her agential capabilities, and finally help her overcome her vulnerabilities associated with living in the marital home.

Meeta the PLW (Paralegal Worker) of the Mahila Panchayat begins the arbitration session by clarifying the rules of the Mahila Panchayat which the parties must follow while at the Mahila Panchayat. Parties are expected to refrain from the use of abusive language, both parties pay Rs 50 each for the arbitration, which is a one-time payment till the verdict is pronounced and the verdict would be conditional-*sharton par faisla hoga*...meaning that the opinion of the complainant and opponent party's opinions would be taken into consideration for making a judgement of the case. The party which registers the case gets the opportunity to speak first and it is expected that no interruptions should occur when the parties speak. The members of the organisation "behens or sisters" discuss the case and also suggest possible solutions.

Case 1_Delhi, 20 years old walks in to the Mahila Panchayat Office, looking completely exhausted holding her 7 month old daughter. She had made a complaint that her husband does not provide for her basic needs of food and clothing, which forced her to leave her marital household after three months and stay with her parents as she was also in the family way and required care and nutrition for the growing baby. She had been married for two years and has been subjected to physical and verbal abuse and has not been given any money for any of her material needs. While the marriage took place she was not expected to work outside the household and generate extra income for the household. Today her husband and family complains of not being able to make ends meet, and feels that the only way for the couple to live together is to go back to his ancestral village in district Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh.

The Panchayat Members first verified from the complainat's husband whether he had really not paid any money for his wife's requirements and he was reprimanded for his behaviour. The Panchayat members then asked him about his work and income, and he revealed that being a labourer, he earns Rs 200 per day or Rs 6000 per month. The members of the panchayat then very skilfully enquired about his expenditure which was noted down as Rs 1250 for rent per month and that he spends Rs 50 for his food, and since he walks to works, he doesn't need to spend on conveyance. Since they have been living apart for one year, the Panchayat members are quick to asked him

why he had not taken care of the wife's needs with the balance income. As the complainant's husband tried to retort that he wouldn't do that if she stays at her natal home, the panchayat member then asked him whether he has saved the money which he had not given his wife, and if he hadn't then where is he spending all the money? The Panchayat members exhibit their better comprehension of ground realities when they decided that the complainant should not be forced to stay in her husband's ancestral village near Aligarh arguing that a girl brought up in Delhi would find it extremely difficult to stay in the village and since at the time of marriage it was not made clear that they would live in the village, her husband should make efforts to earn regularly, spend his income judiciously and live in Delhi, where the complainant can easily reach her parents in case of any need.

The arbitration process involved counseling the two parties, and making the complainant's husband realise his responsibilities towards his wife and his infant daughter and also made him commit that he would mend his ways.

A complete change in the power equation is observed in the Panchayat meeting since within the household, the breadwinner's autonomy on his spending behaviour remains unquestioned. Also the patrilocal nature of marriage is challenged in the judgement given by the Mahila Panchayat when the complainant is advised to continue to live in her natal home till she as well as the panchayat is satisfied with her husband's commitment to take responsibility of Case 1_Delhi and her child's livelihood.

In Kolkata, the Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Mancha's meetings are held every Friday in the evenings as some the members of organisation are working women and they meet after work.

Case 1_Kolkata, 27 years old, completed her higher secondary studies when her marriage was arranged by her family through newspaper advertisement. She remained separated from her husband as he kept travelling in connection with his job. Then she was taken to Orissa where her husband worked as safety officer in an engineering construction company. She experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse and she also reveals that the house where she was made to stay was also not fit for a family to be staying in.

Intervention: After the case was presented, the complainant was enquired about her desire, her married life whether she was willing to live with her husband far away from her natal home as her husband showed no interest in returning to Kolkata. The members of the organisation showed her the ways how she can register her dissent against domestic violence by lodging a complaint with the police that may serve as a deterrent for abusive behaviour committed by her husband in the future. The complaint is advised to build on her own capabilities and also told about her right to stay in her marital home with her in-laws in Kolkata even though her husband lives at his place of work.

In Delhi, the mahila panchayats proceeding are quite effective in addressing problems associated with extra-marital relationships and in cases where husbands deprive their wives and children financially. In cases where the marital home of the complainant is away from Delhi, the mahila panchayat remains quite ineffective but that is not true for the organisation in Kolkata. The Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Mancha has members of their organisation scattered all over the city, and the members are responsible for the helping women experiencing violence at home to reach the Manch Office. So even if the locality where the complainat stays is far away from the manch office, the volunteers of the manch ensure that they are there to help the complainant at any time of need.

The following cases deal with extra-marital realtionships that lead to domestic violence and how the organisations mitigate the issue.

Case 2_Delhi 42 years old has been married for twenty years and though she did not have children of her own, she and her husband were against adopting too. A year back the complainat discovered to her dismay that her husband has fathered a baby boy out of wedlock. The Mahila Panchayat summoned her husband and confirmed about the veracity of his fathering the child, but instead of asking her husband to return to Case 2_Delhi, the panchayat members established contact with the women, who had mothered the new born child. The Mahila Panchayat explained to the mother of the baby that the new law (PWDVA 2005) takes into cognizance live-in relationships and that she and her child too have the right to income of the father of the child and he cannot be forced to not communicate with his legally married wife. In the subsequent

meetings at the mahila panchayat office, the mother of the child was counselled too about the insecurities associated with women bearing children out of wedlock, and even though the law recognises such relationships and guarantees her right to residence too, the chances of violence and disharmony within the household would continue, since she has her right on the father of her child, in the same manner his wife too would continue to have hers. The members then spontaneously veered the discussion to the issues related to men having multiple sexual partners and the threat of women contracting sexually transmitted diseases. The discussion among the members exemplifies their ability to correlate and empathise with various aspects of women's vulnerability and make efforts to protect women from falling prey to such instances.

A similar incident was brought up at the Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Manch at Kolkata. The complaint Case 2_Kolkata is a native of Uttar Pradesh and had migrated along with her husband to Howrah, adjoining Kolkata. Her husband works as a labourer at construction sited and has been a habitual alcoholic for long. She has been dealing with his alcoholism for the sake of raising her children. Her children have all grown up and left home and at this stage of her life, her husband got involved in an extra marital relationship and does not return home regularly and has become erratic in providing for household expenditure. Case 2_Kolkata has no means of supporting herself, and she says that she is not even aware of the whereabouts of her husband. The Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Mancha members discuss her case and thought of ways to sustain her livelihood. She needed to find some source of income and then help would be provided to her to lodge a complaint with the police to nab her husband and make him accountable for his family.

The members of the manch living in the vicinity of Case 2_Kolkata's house were given instructions to offer all round support to her. Her travel to the Manch office was also provided for by the volunteers.

The impact of the women's groups in low income neighbourhoods becomes spaces of newer governmentalities¹⁵ where the 'disciplining' of the subjects are attempted through 'conduct of conduct' of the subjects occupying the designated space or the

¹⁵ Huxley M (2007) Geographies of Governmentality. In Jeremy W Crampton and Stuart Elden Eds. *Space Power and Knowledge: Foucault and Geography*. Ashgate. Surrey. PP 185 -204.

territory over which the organisations can have their influence. Their programmes and their practices help 'shape, guide and govern the behaviour of others paving way for the individuals to govern themselves in accordance with the regulatory forms of the organisations which are in tandem with the legal provisions and sanctions guaranteed by the state.

The interventions taken by the members of the organisation alter the selves of the facilitators too. In this case the members of the organisation too experience a heightened sense of accomplishment and achievement. The following section documents the changes in the lives of the women who volunteer at women's organisation working towards violence free lives of women in the cities.

The Mahila Panchayat Members - *Hamari Izzat Hone Lagi.*

The members of the Mahila Panchayats in Delhi have a variety of responsibilities assigned to them depending on their designation in the Panchayat. The members of the Panchayat attend the panchayat meeting, also have the responsibility, to advice women in distress to visit the Mahila Panchayat, and accompany them to the Panchayat. Members often accompany parties to the courts, investigate the cases as well as follow up the cases by visiting houses of complainants.

The Volunteers maintain the Panchayat records, which entail writing down the case file, writing out the office procedures and court procedures; makes notices that are served to respondents of cases; going about in the neighbourhood and reminding members of the Panchayat for Wednesday Meetings, offering advice and serving Notices as well as visit the aggrieved party's residence without prior information and observe whether the household is violence free, and the verdict of the Panchayat is being observed/ followed by the complainant, her spouse and the family members.

The Para-Legal Workers of the Panchayat (PLWs) are on the apex of the hierarchy and take the lead role in the arbitration process. Para Legal Workers are trained in all Acts relating to Women, Children and Family of the Indian Penal Code. They undergo trainings for up-gradation of their knowledge base and capacity building and skill enhancement. PLWs take the final decisions during the process of arbitration whether the case can be resolved at the Mahila Panchayat level or the case should also be pursued through the Courts and the Crime Women Cell too.

Seventeen members of the Panchayat were interviewed for the study, among whom one was para-legal worker, one volunteer and the rest were members of the panchayat. Their ages ranged from 30 years to 70 years and their number of years of association with the panchayat ranged from two years to thirty years. Eight members were Hindus and nine were Muslims belonging to myriad caste affiliations. None of them were educated beyond High School; fourteen of them lived in residences owned by them, while others lived in rented accommodations. An analysis of their responses highlights the kind of change members experience on their personalities and capabilities as they participate and contribute to the Mahila Panchayats journey.

An earlier victim of partner abuse, Mani today is a volunteer living on her own with her children. She fought her own case at the Court and now gets maintenance from her husband. She is quick to remind her husband “...*pata hain main kahan naukri karti hoon?*”... don’t you know which organisation I work for? The very association with the Mahila Panchayat offers an empowering influence and members vouch for a positive change in their level of confidence.

Almost all members agreed that the forum has given them the ability to speak up for their own rights. Tremendous change in self occurred as Rammati says “*ab koi bhi bade aadmi se baat karne mein dar nahin lagta*”...now we don’t feel scared to speak to any high and mighty person... the entire equation of caste based dominance has been overthrown from the minds of the Panchayat members. Magar (2001) observed how the Panchayats were playing an important role in dilution of caste based associations within the neighbourhood, the present study shows a great level of cohesion between women belonging from different religious groups too. Members belonging to two major religious groups namely Hindus and Muslims often quipped that across the religious boundaries the conditions of women remain unchanged. A sense of sameness and not ‘othering’ is clearly observed while members discuss cases from different religious and caste backgrounds. During the month of Ramzaan, the meetings timings are advanced, as the volunteers said “ Hamari Mussalman behenon ko Iftaar ki taiyyariyan karna hain....our Muslim sisters need time to prepare for their evening meals after the day-long fast. Women’s mobility within the neighbourhood has undergone a very positive change, with women freely joining the weekly meetings of the panchayat, while most of the members don’t need to take permission

from home to attend the meetings, yet there are members like Tayyaba, who still keeps her visits to the Panchayat a secret.

Members are quick to recognise the new found 'Respect and Dignity' as one member proudly recalls that often people refer to her as "*Pradhanji*"

Mani proudly proclaims her ability to talk to lawyers and the police personnel without hesitation... "*Bejhijhak Police, Wakil ya Judge se baat kar sakte hain*" Karuna ascribes the knowledge of the body, environment, sanitation also to her association with the Mahila Panchayat apart from acquiring the knowledge of laws and her new found ability to stand up for her own and other women's rights. Neerja sums up the strengths of community based action gets rubbed on to women members too. *Sangathan mein jude rehne se sangathan ki taaqat hume bhi majboot karti hain...* by being a part of the group, the strength of the group rubs on to us too.

All the members interviewed reveal tremendous change in their selves, shedding their earlier demure and underconfident selves to women who see through the injustices done on women. One member quips that she learnt to speak, found a job, her confidence level has gone up, and gets hope to fight back all forms of oppression once she meets all her panchayat *behen* (sisters). Another member retorts '*Ab akal aye hain; pehle toh maar khati thi*' its only after joining the panchayat realisation dawned in her; as earlier she would simple get beaten up. The same member is now a pillar of support to other women; she accompanied a neighbour and helped her get back her child from her in-laws with the help of Police.

Members feel confident to be able to speak in public; "*Baat karne ki tameezh seekhi*" and have become capable of resolving their household matters. "*Samaj bhi izzat ke saath dekhte hain. Bade samajhne lagen*"...and members of the society too treat them with respect.

While cases are heard the opinion of the members are awaited for deciding on cases the members' self worth gets enhanced as their opinion and understanding is valued.

Tarannum had never stepped out of the household, but her tryst with the Mahila Panchayat began with her daughter's case being registered here. Now she regularly visits and feels happy that many marriages in the colony have been saved because of

the intervention of the Mahila Panchayat. She found friends here, and for a couple of hours, forget household tensions.

Sehla finds a lot of change in the locality, women feel free to discuss their household problems to Panchayat members even outside the Panchayat office.

Capability enhancement of women seeking justice as well as women members of the panchayat is an integral part of the entire social movement of women's courts. Empowering women to decide on the family disputes; and judgements given by them being endorsed by the local police augments their ability.

In Kolkata, eight members of Nari Nirjatan Pratirodh Mancha were spoken to, and since the organisation claims to have no hierarchical system within the organisation, the organisation does not have any titular positions. Three of the members who were attending the Friday meetings during the study were Associate Professors of colleges and Universities located in Kolkata, One member was a journalist in one of the widely circulated English dailies, and one young scholar of Mathematics who was pursuing her Ph.D. in Mathematics from a University in the United States of America and was visiting her home town at that time. All the members were thoroughly conversant with the laws related to women and violence and have been a part of the Women's Uprising since the 1980s. Three other members were responsible for meeting women in various neighbourhoods, women who approached 'party offices'¹⁶. These members are also responsible for bringing the complainants to the meetings at the manch, also be as a source of support in case of any incidences of violence at home and also accompany the complainants to police stations or to the legal support cells, so that they remain motivated and find an affordable way to seek justice.

The members spoke about their joining the organisation as a part of the movement and they dedicate a part of their personal and professional time to offer support to women in need and also they desire to see the city and the state free of violence against women and believe that their struggle would continue till the goal is realised.

¹⁶ Party offices refer to offices of the political parties like the Communist Party of India (M) or the All India Trinamool Congress where women party workers would be present to hear and offer support to women in distress. Since the party offices are ubiquitous around the city of Kolkata and its suburbs, women find the locations accessible.

Ray (1999) discusses how different political fields alter the nature of women's movement in different regions. Ray's work on Kolkata and Mumbai shows that how left politics rooted in hegemonic culture was more focussed on issues of wages, water and electricity supply in Kolkata, but in Mumbai, with the incipient right wing forces gaining ground the women's movement veered to issues on Violence against Women, Sexual harassment at workplace and the movements remained autonomous and small in size¹⁷. Basu (2000) praises Ray's rejection of economic determinism in women's movement but also sends a caveat about her over-emphasizing political determinism¹⁸. In Delhi, the women's movement was initiated by similar left leaning ideologies during the 1980s, but as Menon (2004) laments that all women's movement have turned into NGOs¹⁹ thus making it difficult for women as a subject to sustain in the face of both official state and NGO discourse.

Yet, there appear distinct imprints of the activism of the women's organisation over micro spaces. The following section documents the changes observed in the neighbourhood where these organisations are located.

In Delhi, the creation of a structure like the Mahila Panchayat which stands against the establishment of patriarchal norms and overlaps on a sizeable amount of space which otherwise would be negotiated only through the Police and the courts. Even though the Mahila Panchayat works in consonance with the judicial and enforcement system, their presence has made dents into the spaces where it would have been impossible for the law to reach.

On the role of the Panchayat in creating spaces within the neighbourhood in terms of safety, dignity and respect to women; the para legal workers as well as the members of the Panchayats offer candid views. They opine that safety of women can never be guaranteed in any locality, but if a woman feels threatened to visit the Police Stations, she may instead visit the Mahila Panchayat office without any hesitation. Her identity is protected and the Mahila Panchayat on her behalf takes the help of the police to guarantee her safety. A member quipped that "*jo badmash hote hain woh to police se*

¹⁷ Ray R (1999) *Fields of Protests: Women's Movement in India*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

¹⁸ Basu A (2000) Review: Fields of Protests: Women's Movements in India by Raka Ray. *The Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol 59, No. 4 (Nov). pp 1081 – 1083.

¹⁹ Menon N (2004) *Recovering Subversion: Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*. Permanent Black. Ranikhet.

bhi nahin darte; toh humse kya darenge” - the wayward ones are not even afraid of the Police, so can they ever be scared of us (Mahila Panchayat)? Yet a para legal worker remembers with a great sense of pride how a factory owner in the vicinity of the Mahila Panchayat office who would break in to using abusive language to control his workers, with gentle counseling over the years by the Panchayat members, the factory owner is a reformed man today.

The altered social space of the neighbourhood is a product of surprise follow up visits by the Mahila Panchayat members to any household which had ever registered any case of dispute. The residents realise that they are expected to follow the conditions that were laid down while settling their disputes. The links that established between women of the Panchayat also play an important role in shaping the social space of the neighbourhood. Women feel empowered to have acquaintances with whom they can share their problems. Apart from the change noticed in individual families; the PLWs not only try to change the mindset of the spouses so that they refrain from violence but also sensitize the mothers-in-law and the daughters-in-law to realise each other’s perspectives. This works well at the panchayat since the members of the panchayat too are a mixed group of mothers in law and daughters in law who bring in their own experiences and sensibilities in deciding the outcome of the disputes. This is important in situations where household resources are limited as exists in localities where Mahila Panchayats operate. As members take back their experiences from the panchayat back to their households they discuss the cases there, they notice a perceptible change in the attitude of the male members of the household too. Consequently, the men begin to understand that women deserve dignity. The existence of the Mahila Panchayat in a locality is a constant reminder that women too have a place to go to in case of any violation of her rights. Earlier women had no other institution where she could freely go to or from where members on their own would visit their households and network with them. According to some members earlier women wouldn’t move out alone even to see a doctor, now even if four women get together they are capable of resisting violence in the locality. What emerges from the engagement of the Mahila Panchayat with the neighbourhood space is the deliverance of everyday justice. The access to legal provisions can be a hurdle even for educated middle class women. The law cannot accommodate the needs and desires of individual women neither can the law take into cognizance the multiple expectations women have from the Justice delivery systems.

The community based programmes organised by the Mahila Panchayats on existing laws of the state, which are related to women, and are for women are disseminated by organising '*Gali Meetings*' (Meetings on the Lane). In the words of a PLW, since women whose cases (arbitration at the Panchayat) have already been solved, bring other women in distress to the Mahila Panchayat for ameliorating their household problems, the existence and the nature of functions of the Mahila Panchayat get propagated by word of mouth to almost all the women living in the neighbourhood and the relatives and friends if women of the neighbourhood who might be living in other localities or even other towns and villages.

Since the members of the Mahila Panchayat usually belong to the neighbourhood, the obstacle of distance or the cost of reaching out to the mentors are minimised. The possibility of reaching out to a Mahila Panchayat members as mentors has an empowering effect on women who are married into families which may be hostile to them. With more and more women using mobile phones members call each other and congregate at the scene of violence in a very short notice for which earlier the Mahila Panchayat Members would have had to personally go from door to door to inform members and wake members up and rush to the location of violence to offer support and care. One member remembered their plight in the early 1980s, when in case of an incidence of rape of a girl/woman in the neighbourhood occurred, they had to knock on the doors of the panchayat members in the middle of the night to get together and help the victim. Now a days with the latest technology in hand, a message broadcast to the members ensure that they are all there at the place of the crime within the least time spent.

In Kolkata however, since the office of the manch is located at an upper middle class locality of South Kolkata, the neighbours were not visible during the Friday meetings which were held late in the evenings. The meeting took place in an apartment of a highrise building, so it didnot provide scope for the analysis of the transformation of neighbourhood space. Yet, it is understood, that this location is only for organising the meetings and the members were spread out in all localities of the city and the suburb. The members and volunteers presence in any locality has an assuring effect on the women who know that they have someone to fall back on in case they are in need.

In Delhi, as well as Kolkata, the members of womens' organisations narrate stories of backlash too. The Mahila Panchayat challenges not only the male dominance within the household, but by instilling feminist ideals within the members impacts women attitude and expectation even outside the household, like her workplace, or her neighbourhood. But the transition from male dominated spaces to egalitarian spaces is never smooth. Most of the members remember experiencing some form of backlash and efforts by both men and women to stall the process of change. As Mani (volunteer) recalls her husband would often show his frustration regarding her association with the Mahila panchayat ... "*Jab se Panchayat mein kya baithne lagi hain....zabaan chalati hain*" ever since she joined the Mahila Panchayat, she started speaking a lot. Most of the members faced resistance from their families to join the Mahila Panchayat, but there has been no collective effort by the neighbourhood or any social group to threaten the existence of the Mahila Panchayat. In Kolkata, the aversion of people towards 'Naribaadi Mohila' or a feminist remains unchanged. The imagined fears associated with a woman who is active in feminist politics makes her unsuitable to become a 'ghoraa' or docile woman. The volunteers who work at the neighbourhood levels reveal that women of the neighbourhood do not show any spontaneous interest to join the women's organisations or become a volunteer. It's only when an incidence of violence occurs and they become witness to the trauma and trials that women experience because of such behaviour do they agree to be a part of the organisations.

The study also reveals that by tapping women's agencies, the state run legal system is able to share a part of its duties and get unburdened to a certain extent of the huge amount of litigation it has to process. As scholars often note, that Anti- Dowry Act and Protection of Women against Domestic Violence Act is often used by women as a strategy to consolidate her control over the matrimonial household, who in reality wish to continue their marital relationships. The Mahila Panchayats act as a deterrent to such acts since the Mahila Panchayats refers only those cases to the courts where genuinely separation is sought and recovery of the bride's possessions is to be undertaken. The state does offer free legal services to women in need of legal assistance but the intervening obstacles to reach those services are extremely difficult for women from low income groups to surmount. Women with resources to travel freely from their homes, knowledge of legal options, are the ones who can avail of

those services. For women who have no clue of what the state institution offers for them are in no position to make use of it, unless those facilities are made available to them at their homes and neighbourhoods. The Mahila Panchayat follows exactly the same technique of reaching out to women, through home visits and bringing the courts right into the backyards of women living in ignorance of legal support, who are also financially dependent on their families. The same hold true for the women's group in Kolkata. Beyond questions of accessibility and awareness about legal provisions, the women's courts have been instrumental in contesting toxic masculine behaviour patterns by constantly demystifying the relationship between violence and masculinity. Mirchandani (2006) documents the role of the arbitrators in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. In her research she found a lasting impact of naming violent behaviour by men as 'not – manly' had a way of undermining patriarchal mindsets of asserting power through violence²⁰. The women's courts in Delhi and Kolkata too during the arbitration sessions constantly counsel men who appear at the courts that being violent is not the way to assert their supremacy in the household. The courts ensure that the contesting individuals are made to understand that the responsibility of sustaining their family lies equally on both the husband and wife.

Law performs a normative function showing the zone of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. The State by enacting a law, takes a position on the normative function. Sen (2010) exposes the blindness of the law and its incapability to recognize the everyday struggles of women negotiating with the courts. Even from the upper middle class, employed and educated location struggle to access structures dispensing justice. There are issues of backlash too where women's access to legal recourse is often popularly constructed as 'misuse' of law. Sujatha (2014) shows how Dalit women's experience of domestic violence is rarely researched area, often ignored despite the National Family Health Survey reveals that the prevalence of domestic abuse is higher among Dalit women compared to women outside these categories²¹. The organisations studied in Delhi and Kolkata in this regard are bringing the law to women who belong to dalit communities and who are economically weak.

²⁰ Mirchandani R (2006) "Hitting is not Manly": Domestic Violence Court and the Re-Imagination of the Patriarchal State. *Gender and Society*, Vol. 20, No. 6 (Dec., 2006), pp. 781 -804.

²¹ Sujatha D (2014) Redefining Domestic Violence: Experiences of Dalit Women. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol 47, Issue 47. pp 19-22.

Studies on the ethnography of law has been gaining space in the context of Indian domestic violence jurisprudence (Basu, 2009, 2012, Ghosh 2004, Sen 2010) The everyday struggles women undertake to access the law, and negotiating with the law needs to be documented for understanding how the law remains incapable to provide succour to women seeking justice from domestic violence. Ethnography of law is a more recent sub-field of study and it can be strengthened by documenting the functions of women's organisations. The following case study, highlights the plurality of law operating on women's lives based on the religious group the complainant is a part of.

Case 3_Delhi, a Muslim woman is married for fourteen years and four years ago. She filed a complaint at the Crime Women cell, as her husband got involved in extra-marital affairs. With the intervention of the police and counselling, her husband mended his way. Two months ago she found out that he was not contributing his salary to the household and used pretexts in order to spend the salary on another woman, named F. F's husband is in jail and so F has no means of livelihood and depends on Case 3_Delhi's husband to provide for her. Case 3_Delhi feels approaching the Crime Women Cell would be too exhausting a proposal as she does not have the financial means to travel to the Cell, and she is afraid that in her absence her husband would bring F home and make her live in the same household. The Panchayat summoned her husband and explained to him that their children are growing up and his actions would have a negative effect on them. Very soon they too might behave in the same manner. Her husband though seems unwilling to give up F, saying that she is a helpless woman and he is emotionally attached to her too. The members of the panchayat then ask Case 3_Delhi to approach the local Jamaat for ensuring that he shares his income proportionately to her and her children too, as in accordance to Sharia, her husband needs to provide for her and her children. The members also help her in drafting a request to the free legal aid cell, so that her case for maintenance cost may be filed in the Court too, and Case 3_Delhi is assured that one member of the panchayat would accompany her whenever she is required to appear at the court.

The above case highlights the plight of women when trapped between more than one legal system, where in one system her problem is treated as a crime against her, and in

another, though it is not considered right, yet offers leeway to escape from his responsibilities to provide maintenance to his wife and children. The Mahila panchayat members, through experience, used a multi pronged approach to ensure Case 3_Delhi's rights of maintenance through the court, while bringing the case to the 'Jamaat'²² would make her husband's actions known in their community. The Panchayat members also adopt multiple techniques to make sense of various realms of law in order to make a positive difference in the affected women's life.

Drawing from Tamanaha (2011) though the Indian legal system is well developed with linkages with police, yet, the services are fraught with lack of funds, which also makes it inaccessible for certain sections of the society to gain access to the law, as well as awareness of the law is also dismal among many communities²³. The law is unable to make its impact felt as funds for appointment of Protection Officer's -the ones who file the Domestic Incident Report (DIR) is sporadic (Discussed in detail in Chapter 4). Apart from the protection officer's the other arms of the state engaging with this law are the police and the courts. The police personnel engaging with this new progressive law are not convinced themselves about the women's needs and often suggest reconciliation with their abusive partners' to 'save' the marriage. This complex situation leads to creation of overlapping of many legal spaces which contradict each other for example, the Sharia law guidelines control Muslim women's marital lives, while the law gives women the right to assert their choices. Often the religious law gains dominance as the state law is rendered impotent to combat such religious practices.

On the contrary, the Hindu religion does not permit bigamy but since the domestic violence law takes into consideration all relationships of the nature of marriage into it's fold, and offers right to residence to women trapped in such relationships, a curious bigamy –like situation arises in such conditions – which require sensitive engagement to ameliorate the conflicting and helpless situations women are put into. Apart from religious laws, the community laws too have their strong influence on women's lives as the community courts too offer mediation services and these structures are steeply rooted in patriarchal practices, and are in complete disagreement

²² An Islamic Council or Assembly.

²³ Tamanaha B Z (2011) The Rule of Law and Legal Pluralism in Development. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 3: pp 1 -17.

with feminist legal jurisprudence. Often women are faced with treats of ostracism for not heeding to the community court's rulings are seeking help from state agencies. The hope for implementation of the state law in moderation with the family, community and religious law requires creation of 'hyperterritoriality' of legal spaces to address the needs of women at particular socio-economic locations to deal with the crisis. The creation of women's courts for tackling instances of violence against women in general and domestic violence in particular has emanated from this concern. These courts are an arm of the feminist non-governmental organizations that work towards the betterment of women's living conditions and making legal rights available to women who are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder and who on their own are not in a position to know and access legal support to alter their violence ridden lives.

Complex relationships develop in life's course for some women, altering their understanding of what is lawfully right and what is not. It is even more difficult to share those complexities in public space. Case 4_Delhi's life story is one such instance. Case 4_Delhi, 26, married for four years was helped by a neighbour to register her case at a Mahila Panchayat (Women's Court) in her locality in North Eastern part of New Delhi. Case 4_Delhi was married off to the brother in law (her elder sister's husband) by her parents. Her parents were under heavy pressure to marry her off to her brother in law since her elder sister had eloped with her childhood companion after two years of marriage and giving birth to a baby boy. It is a practice among some communities that in the event of the death of a married daughter; the younger daughter is married off to the widower son in law for the best interest to the children of their deceased daughter. In this case it was being done to save the family from ignominy of a married daughter eloping with her friend. Case 4_Delhi had grudgingly given into her parents demands like an obedient daughter; "...even though I didn't wish to marry my brother in law, but since my own sister's mistake was the cause of the problem, I gave in to my parents demands in order to save our family's reputation and soon I became a mother of two more children..." It is around this phase of her life that her elder sister reappeared into her marital household and made all possible efforts to claim her status as the rightful wife of Case 4_Delhi's husband. Her husband too was willing to have his first wife back in his life. Case 4_Delhi lost her mental peace as she knew no way to counter her elder sister's moves in the household.

She sought advice and help from the volunteers of the community women's court and both the sisters and their husband were summoned to the court. Through many sessions of counseling Case 4_Delhi elder sister agreed to relinquish her claim on her husband but wanted to live in her natal home while Case 4_Delhi resolved not to visit her natal home with her husband when her sister would live there. Case 4_Delhi's sister wanted Case 4_Delhi to continue to bring up her child. Case 4_Delhi's husband on the other hand justifies his interaction with his first wife saying that "...since she was my first wife, I have deep seated love for her..." The validity of his feeling was questioned by the Mahila Panchayat.

Member 1: "Had he been so much in love with the first wife; he shouldn't have married Case 4_Delhi and, rather he would have waited for the first wife to return. It is difficult to objectively ask a person to choose between two women he is emotionally attached to. A visit to Case 4_Delhi's home was undertaken to observe her level of comfort in residing at her marital home. Case 4_Delhi was found to be in control of her household after her sister agreed to move out of the house. She moved around the house with the confidence of the rightful owner, offered her guests tea and snacks and expressed no signs of insecurity.

Women's insecurities, fears and hopes work in complex combinations and form their aspirations from marriage.

Case 4_Delhi later became a full time volunteer at the Mahila Panchayat. She often takes her own example and tells that but for the constant presence of the members of Mahila Panchayat in and around her, she would not have been able to overcome the distress she was going through and would not have been able to re gain control over her partner. She urges women from the locality to become volunteers as she says, joining the organisation strengthens not the organisation alone, but the members too.

The functions of the Women's courts in the low income neighbourhoods are not restricted to addressing questions of domestic violence alone. Gali meetings (meetings held on the lanes of the neighbourhood) provide information to the people in the locality about birth and death registrations, getting access to public distribution systems, awareness about keeping the sewerage systems clean, water supply, school attendance of children along ways and means to seek redressal in petty disputes. It is after building a rapport with the family members do the volunteers of the panchayat

talk to women in the locality about women's rights; what constitutes domestic violence, and how women can resist violence.

A formal space of operation within the neighbourhood offers women of the locality to visit the panchayat office with relative ease. It is here that they discuss their household issues and seek advice from the volunteers.

Time emerges as a leitmotif of troubles surrounding the issue of domestic violence litigation (Black, 2007) similar to the observations made in Chapter 6²⁴. In the Indian system the constant waits at state agencies delivering justice i.e., the courts and the crime women cells; have been well documented (Sen 2010, Basu 2012). It is these women's organisations which have the ability to transcend this impediment by bridging the time lag, as the members of the women's organisations reach the homes of the accused in case they fail to arrive at the women's organisations on the date they have been summoned. Time becomes a constraint for women, as living each day away from home, sometimes children, wears away their resolve to pursue the cases against their intimate partners. Women are known to drop their complaints as they are worn down by the abusers (Black, 2007) or they are tired of pursuing the cases where the State run agents are not in a position to ensure that the respondents appear at the Crime Women Cell or the Courts. It is in situations like this, the women's organisations offer support to the complainant; also try to conclude the disputes in a faster manner by follow ups which are not constrained by regular bureaucratic procedures that the courts and crime women cells are required to follow. For women time constrains also translates into money constraint too. Each visit to the follow up sessions require travel costs as well as taking leave from employers spells loss of income. women's organisations address this problem in an effective manner.

The transformation of the legal spaces through the process of women's activism in localized spaces offers scope for combating the dominance and perpetuation of customary laws and making the state laws relevant by creation of new feminist legal geographies.

The specific nature of domestic violence experienced in India is often linked with dowry demand, but case studies of domestic violence arbitration reveal that there is no

²⁴ Black M L (2007) *Everyday Harm: Domestic Violence, Court Rites and Cultures of Reconciliation*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

direct link with dowry demand alone. As observed in Western countries incidences of domestic violence is linked to cultural and economic status of the individuals and families. Law continues to remain a significant area of intervention, and it has the potential to subvert the traditional oppressive regimes that women inhabit within their homes. Legal activism in the local level holds hope for the future in making the legal provisions available to women and bringing the state laws into the traditional legal spaces.

The NGOisation of feminist vocabulary and agenda might pose as a problem when the NGOs are not partners of women's movement or do not share the philosophy of the local feminist movements. An NGO which has been a part of the movement for empowerment of women and is aware of the local social space where it operates, is in a position to enhance the agential capacities of women residents of the neighbourhood in terms of awareness generation as well as retributive justice wherever required. The everyday trials and tribulations that women experience are sympathetically and sensitively handled by women since the volunteers and the paralegal workers usually belong to the same social strata and share the same geographical as well as social space. The case studies discussed in this chapter elucidate the consolidation of agential capacities of women who are at the verge of losing their rights on their matrimonial homes, how they restore their claims by resorting to the legal entitlements, and also forging bonds and networking with women in the neighbourhood thereby building on their existing capabilities and working towards violence free homes and send strong signal of intolerance for violence against women in the locality. Justice delivered through the arbitration process is almost always tailor made for the woman seeking justice, even while adhering to the legal framework. Women's organisations apart from building women's agential capacities; show them the direction to follow beyond achieving redistributive justice alone. Women learn about an alternate lifestyle as opposed to their socially approved roles and their networking through groups becomes a constant reminder of the patterns of oppression women are subjected to, and group/ structural resistance is necessary to challenge such structural oppression.

The plural legal spaces comprising of a blend of the constitutional law, the personal laws and the local community laws often act as a source of confusion regarding women's rights in the family. Grass-root level organisations such as the women's

organisations and other women's groups can function effectively in delivering justice to women who are governed by separate sets of norms in family and public space. Being insiders of the community and locality becomes an added advantage for these organisations to comprehend the locus of power that impacts women's lives.

New economic policies, liberalisation and globalisation have affected the outlook of feminist movement in India. Access to foreign funds led to the growth of NGOs. These organisations while appropriating many demands of the feminist movement – have not done away with the hierarchical structures. In organisations where such hierarchy has been done away with, perceptible changes may be experienced as seen in the case of the two organisations offering support to women experiencing domestic violence.

The women's organisations bringing law to the insular parts of the legal territory not only expand the legal ecumene in geographical terms, but changes the legal subjects from good wives, daughters-in-law to rights bearing subjects; thereby questioning the sexual contract²⁵ that defines their relationship within the household. Their exposure to feminist ideals of equality and dignity ensures that the sexual contract that marks their basis of living in the marital home is altered to a stronger social contract with the family members and the community beyond the household. The process also entails "co-producing" legal space by the complainants and the volunteers as well create a situation for "co- becoming rights bearing citizens. On the question of whether "Can the Subaltern Speak", it could be put forward through this study, that the subaltern can speak and are willing to speak only if one allowed to speak in her own language and if she know that the ones' hearing her stories would be in the position to comprehend their pains, fears and also hopes. As Roy (2004) puts it; "There's really no such thing as the 'voiceless'. There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard."²⁶

The functions of Women's organisation in Delhi and Kolkata within specific localities have been capable of being productive of political subjectivities and in creation of self forming subjects. In the spatial enclosure, the organisations have been aiming to

²⁵ Pateman C (1977) The Sexual Contract. In CC Gould Eds. *Key Concepts in Critical Theory: Gender, Humanities Press*, New Jersey. pp 317 -324.

²⁶ Roy A (2004) The 2004 Sydney Peace Prize Lecture. Retrieved from http://arundhati-roy.blogspot.com/2004_11_07_archive.html Accessed on 18.4.2019.

'conduct the conduct' of the residents of that locality and that leads to formation of new forms of subjects. In the new governmentalities of the NGOs, it may be observed that these organisations possess the ability/ power to guide the behaviour patterns of the residents of the localities where it operates on. These organisations can be seen as foils to crime cells run by the state where the arbitrators don the roles of 'judges of normality' and confessionary mode of arbitration found in the crime cells is replaced by an informal arbitration session at the women's courts.

Chapter 8

Summary of Conclusions

In this chapter, findings of all the previous chapters is being revisited and documented . The scheme of this chapter follows the same sequence as has been adopted in the chapters.

1.1. The first chapter has been drafted to introduce the topic of research on domestic violence in metropolitan cities in India, by beginning with the defining crimes, how certain behaviour is categorised as crimes. It's relative nature in the context of time and space following it's legal definitions which too alter with time and location. The social definition of crimes was discussed in the context of the state power, the modern law, colonial legalities, as is the case in the post colonial nations like India, and as a corollary to the process, the creation of legal subjects of the modern state has been discussed.

1.2. In the scheme of codification of law the issues of crimes against women has been highlighted along with discussion on international conventions to which nations have been signatories, which in turn became a binding on member nations to introduce such laws in their countries. India was not an exception, and the issues relating to a comprehensive legal definition of domestic violence in India has been the outcome of relentless persuasion of the state by the women's movement in India. The movement has been responsible for making the private lives of women experiencing domestic violence visible in the public realm, thereby urging the state to create legal provisions to protect women from violence. Since violence against women is non-negotiable in terms of upholding basic human rights of having violence free home, it was the state in its commitment to comply with the international conventions for ending violence against women like The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination on Women (CEDAW).

1.3. In India, Protection of Women against Domestic Violence Act was enacted in 2005, keeping in mind the specific legal provisions women in matrimonial relationships needed to have a violence free home. The law was introduced not only to protect against physical abuse, but also to include emotional and sexual abuse into the definition of violence. The law is also ambivalent on being applied as a civil law and treating all

relationships of the nature of marriage to be dealt by the law. It has special significance in a multicultural and multi-religious population of a that country also bound by the community specific laws and personal laws that govern their social lives which creates spaces of legal pluralism.

1.4. The conflicts arising from the juxtaposition of the laws in the spaces of legal pluralism leads to the ideas of creation of a 'Uniform Civil Code' to govern all marital relationships irrespective of the couples' religious and cultural backgrounds.

1.5. For discussing question of legal spaces, locations were selected for delineating the study area and a detailed discussion on the personality of the study areas has been presented in this chapter. The macro level analysis involving all districts of India and for urban areas all mega cities were selected for the analysis over two time periods. 2001 was chosen as the initial time period, representing official statistical records of the years 2000, 2001 and 2002; while the other time period chosen is 2011 which represents average crime statistics of the years 2010, 2011 and 2012. The two time periods reflect the crime rates five years prior to the enactment of Protection of Women Against Domestic Violence Act, 2005 and the later time period reflects the changes in reporting of crime after five years of the enactment of the law.

1.6. The study then moves away from the macro level analysis of crimes at district level and crime rates in mega cities and focuses on the reporting of domestic violence in two metropolitan cities, Delhi and Kolkata. Though Delhi and Kolkata have been chosen on the basis of variant rates of crimes, the two cities are representative of similar histories of being the colonial capitals and later capital city of the country and the state capital respectively. The two cities have been the palimpsests of smorgasbords' of people's experiences living in multicultural setting and both cities being home to huge numbers of refugee population during the partition of the country apart from being governed by political parties of divergent ideologies.

1.7. For constructing the expected gendered roles of the residents of the two metropolitan cities, the imagined ideals of manhood and womanhood in the diverse social spaces of Delhi and Kolkata have been presented by drawing from literary work where the pre-colonial traditions and customs were seen in the light of colonial rule and its impact on the changing nature of women's roles in the family and the public space.

Novels and other publications on literature have been resorted to for analysis of the roles women were expected to play in the specific geographical settings. For Kolkata, writers' critiqued the cult of worshipping of mother goddess and the feminine form by men, yet, the social and cultural ideology of treating women with similar respect and awe created conflicting ambivalence in their familial relations with the real women in their lives. During the colonial times, in Kolkata, the fears related to women's sexuality and its control gained prominence along with the imagined dangers of educated, emancipated women and their impact on family. Though the 'bhadralok' elite introduced urban culture within their homes, yet it was done within the patriarchal framework. Interesting 'doggerels' are remembered as voices of resistance registered by women and creation of dissenting spaces. Disciplining through 'bratas' and confinement in secluded spaces were also techniques of control that were imposed on married women. Literary work on intergenerational changes in women's roles in family and society from Kolkata document the changed expectations from women's lives, yet newer issues of dowry and inter-community alliances feature in the literature of the recent times. For the Delhi region, during the early Twentieth century, magazines document women's plight shedding light on mismatch marriages. Problems associated with widow remarriage and urging women and men to treat their relationships as companionship and not one of the slave and master feature in the literature. Important issues of dowry giving and taking as a 'cultural' crime have been demystified showing how the changing political economy turned a benign custom into a vicious practice. The differential ethos of the 'maika' and 'sasuraal' is palpable in the literary work from the region encompassing Delhi as is the issue of women's right to property or the lack of it (Basu, 1999; Oldenburg, 2002).

1.8. Following the literary texts, a detailed and comprehensive overview of the volume of research work that has already been conducted on domestic violence in India has been documented. The organization of the existing research shows the aspects of research related to domestic violence in India that has been conducted and shows the way to frame areas that have not yet been explored. The survey of existing research also played an important role in the formulation of the objectives of the research, framing the research questions and hypotheses around the objectives of the research. Finally, the chapter closes with the scheme of the chapters that follow the present introductory chapter for

better organization of the research work. This chapter paves the way for the following chapters to build on the body of the research work.

2.1. The second chapter situates the present research work within and around the theoretical postulations on crimes against women. Different strands of thought that might hold the key to understanding what conditions lead to violence against women in public as well as private spaces have been chronicled. The theoretical positions have been organized into groups of theories dealing with questions on geographies of gender, social inequality, questions of dignity and justice, redistribution and recognition debates, freedoms and creation of capabilities of individuals, etc.. Women's geographies being different from men's geographies create differential perception of spaces for men and women. Documenting how women perceive, occupy, produce and reconfigure spaces help in writing women's geographies. In India, these spaces are viewed through the lens of male dominance, the rubric of classical patriarchy, kinship studies, linguistic diversities, and many scholars have distinguished between the patriarchal norms that exist North India as compared to South India, which has led to the understanding of the two broad regions as distinct from each other. The distinct regions also offer scope for making connection with patriarchal norms of the region vis a vis the patterns of crimes against women reported in those regions.

2.2. The region and community based differences can be explained through the Ecological Model of Domestic Violence which attempts to link the causes of domestic violence into four separate spheres of human interaction; namely: individual level, family level, socio-structural level and socio-cultural level. These levels get constituted differently at different regional settings.

2.3. For explaining differential regional patterns of occurrences and reporting of crimes, theories of geographies of crimes such as occurrence of varied regional patterns of occurrence of crimes, the questions of existence of regional sub-cultures of crimes which claims that certain regions are more prone to violence or violent retributions compared to others because of its unique historical geography. In the context of India, the explanations on patterns of violence on women may be drawn from the theories of regional genderscapes which carve out areas of strong and weak patriarchies through

superimposition of four realms, namely: the realm of nature, realm of social relations, realm of meaning and realm of agency.

2.4. The causes of intimate partner violence however need more delicate understanding of interpersonal relationships within the household in relation to the extended family, the socio-economic status of the family as well as the individual traits of the spouses. Important theories of domestic violence discussed include Leonore Walker's Cyclical Theory of Violence, Psychosocial Theory of Learned Helplessness; and The Survivor Theory propounded by Gondolf and Fisher.

2.5. Women's powerlessness within the marital household has been analyzed with the help of various theoretical positions espoused by many scholars. Theories that have been discussed to help explain causes of domestic violence in metropolitan cities stem from analysis of the way domestic labour of women was appropriated with the establishment of private property and how women's subject creation process began. Drawing from liberal feminist's project, the nexus of patriarchy and legal and institutional structures have been brought out to show how women's gendered subjectivity gets formed. Yet these theories remain incapable of the explaining how powerful women suffer from men's violence.

2.6. Following the analysis of patriarchal power, Foucauldian analysis of power was discussed where the idea of power shift to a group of people working towards 'conducting the conduct' of others and within the states of domination and power games is the issue of governmentality. Resistances to those power forms are also ubiquitous and study of these resistances can help in locating the locus of power. The means of normalising violence through perpetuation of epistemic violence in the private spaces and ignoring the everyday struggles women experience in their families. The idea of modern form of power being non-corporeal is also challenged as domestic violence incorporates forms of violence that are both corporeal and invisible.

2.7. An attempt was made to integrate theories of family violence approaches with feminist theories of violence against women. The gender and class nature of the modern state was brought out while discussing the role of the modern state for understanding the

continuation of women's battering within private spaces. Since, violence on women is an expression of male dominance and power, the potency of the power of the lack of it has been questioned by Hannah Arendt who asserted that the use of violence by any individual is a ramification of absence of power in that individual. This theory helps in understanding the underlying causes that whet men to use violence on their spouses/partners in order to obscure their own failures and powelessness in the public life.

2.8. The role of the state in treating its subjects as a homogenous entity has also received criticism from feminist scholars. Till very recently, the private space of home and family was not readily accepted as a space of intervention by the state by treating matter of domestic conflict as outside the purview of state control. This dichotomous treatment of private and public spaces by the State stripped women off the power to seek redressal against domestic violence. Carol Pateman averred that women's life within homes remain bound by sexual contract alone and they are unable evolve to a social contract in relationships rendering them as incomplete citizens of the state.

2.9. Crimes occurring in urban metropolitan spaces have peculiar characteristics by virtue of the fact that the perpetrators and the victims of those crimes living in the urban milieu. Women in urban areas enjoy higher degrees of mobility due to participation in economic and social activities and the notions of their sexuality and desire tend to alter from the traditional norms with exposure to multi-cultural population living in the cities. The city life offers more opportunities for men and women to break rules of endogamy by forging inter-linguistic, inter caste and inter religious relationships. These 'deviant' behaviour norms are not free of fears of retribution which can be expected from their families as well as the society they belong to. The urban metropolitan spaces also experience the influence of modernity which infuses among the city dwellers newer aspirations of a modern lifestyle of a certain size of family, expectations of income and leisure and often the inability to achieve those lifestyle conditions affects their relationship with their partners and their families.

2.10. Modernity is also responsible for the 'marketised' version of the 'perfect wife' which triumphs over the traditional family values. Women's movement in India has been

instrumental in ushering modernity in another form through its activism and in the context of this study; the feminist jurisprudence has in India strived for creation of legal provisions to ensure violence free homes. The movement has also contributed in generating awareness among men and women of the multiple negative ramifications of domestic violence thereby resisting the continued practices of 'normalising violence' behind closed doors.

2.9. The chapter also devotes a section on mode of documenting domestic violence by institutions of the states. The information on causes and types of domestic violence is derived through 'confessions' made by the complainant as well as the perpetrators of violence in the presence of the arbitrators. Examination of the complainant or the confessing person is an important step in the direction of establishing veracity of the claims of the confessor and her spouse and his family. The information routinely gets filtered through examination, analysis and discourse. The confessionary process may also be a 'power gaining' practice for a person who had been oppressed and the same process of confession may evoke a sense of 'loss of power' to the perpetrator and so the researcher must remain conscious of the process while sourcing knowledge from confessions.

2.11. Laws related to women govern women's lives and feminist initiatives lie at the heart of creation of legal spaces that offer protection and support to women. In this light, theories relating to Feminist Legal Geographies have been archived in this chapter. It has been observed that the existence of legal pluralism embraces all citizens of India. Citizens being gendered subjects, are often left with no power to choose among the various legal realms that govern their lives since most of the legal realms are manifestation of multiple patriarchal systems. Women looking for succor from domestic violence through legal provisions often observe that those institutions emulate the overarching patriarchal norms. Patriarchal mindsets among the providers of legal counsel can be a cause of intimidation for women seeking justice from violence at home, and those who cross over numerous impediments to reach the courts of law feel that the legal system is completely oblivious of the everyday struggles that women encounter. This has been the experience of educated employed women who have readily documented their experiences and

struggles. The family and the community rarely offer comfort to women and even though the Indian legal system has strong linkages with the network of police and courts, lack of funds is a critical issue for not having sufficient numbers of facilitators. Research indicates that the dismal rates of appointment and retaining of Protection Officers who are liable to register 'Domestic Incidence Reports' (DIR) by the State, make it extremely difficult for justice seeking women to forge a lonely battle against her spouse and in-laws.

2.12. Specific geographies create distinct legal spaces which need to be understood and dealt with in the context of those specificities that explains how the space renders power to a legal provision. Scholars often mention that state laws are abstract spaces and float over the everyday, so legal provisions alone cannot bring about any change in the social behaviour. Yet, it may be said that with extra-institutional support structures in place, legal provisions like laws on domestic violence can find meaning among people and also can be implemented effectively.

2.12. The legal spaces that constitute the terrain of domestic violence law can never be complete without the inclusion of the third sector and quiet activism. The third sector has been instrumental in 'bringing home the laws' on domestic violence. They have been very effective in the metropolitan cities. Despite fears of cooption between the state and the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the NGOs have been able to elicit collective agency among urban women and have been able to make women realize the fact that structural resistances need to be built on to challenge violence against women that is entrenched within the societal structure. The comprehensive theoretical background that this chapter offers, lays down the conceptual bases over which the research has been designed and also offer scope to test the applicability of the theoretical positions in the spaces where the research has been undertaken.

3.1. The third chapter has been devoted to describe the methodology adopted for the study and the data bases that were employed to arrive at conclusions on the objectives of the study.

3.2. The official statistical records on domestic violence that is available for research is restricted to complaints that have been registered at police stations. This indicates that the

published statistics on domestic violence that is available is only the 'tip of the iceberg' as most incidences go unreported. In this light, the importance of collection of statistics on domestic violence for better research and analyses of the causes and ways to reduce incidences of domestic violence needs to be emphasized.

3.3. A temporal analysis of the crime statistics in India since 1953 till recently shows, that slowly and steadily, statistics on violence against women has been finding space in the official records.

3.4. The limitations in the availability of official statistics on domestic violence in India makes it essential to resort to alternate sources of collection of information; and one of them being primary sources.

3.5. Research on domestic violence generates diverse ethical issues. So, for this study, the suggestions made available through the Ethical Guidelines for Social Science Research in Health formulated by Centre for Enquiry into Health and Allied Themes (CEHAT) have been adhered to, and issues of non-maleficence, beneficence, autonomy, confidentiality and justice were kept in mind while conducting the research work.

3.6. The secondary data for the study was sourced from National Family and Health Survey (NFHS) and National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB).

3.7. The primary sources of data on domestic violence were collected from Crime Women Cell in Delhi and Women's Grievance Cell in Kolkata where women experiencing domestic violence register complaints.

3.8. For documenting the influence of the third sector in mitigating problems associated with occurrences of violence against women, the functions of two non-governmental organizations from Delhi and Kolkata respectively was documented.

3.9. Control quota mode of sampling technique was adopted to address issues of intersectionality within the sample of women to capture the similarities and differences in the experience of domestic violence among women belonging to different religions, caste and linguistic groups.

3.10. For analyzing the official statistics, the available data was refined by using average values of records of three consecutive years for two time periods; 2001 and 2011. This was done for the chosen spatial units namely: districts and mega cities.

3.11. For the purpose of genealogical analysis of the cities, religious, functional and population related statistics were sourced from Census of India, 2001 publications. Maps have been used extensively to represent the analysis drawn for the secondary sources.

3.21. The information on domestic violence that was collected from the Crime Women Cell in Delhi and Women's Grievance Cell in Kolkata have been analyzed with the help of quantitative as well as qualitative techniques to arrive at inferences.

3.13. Beyond the methods of collection and processing of data base, the chapter also documents the role of the researcher and the researched in co-producing legal spaces and co-becoming legal subjects.

4.1. The fourth chapter begins with tracing the history of collection of crime statistics in India, the colonial legacy of documentation of crimes that was carried forward in Independent India. Tracing the official records since 1953, it may be observed that the entry of crimes against women within the published crime statistics in India has been late but slowly many different categories of violence against women are being incorporated.

4.2. The chapter attempts to explore the spatial patterns of Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes at the levels of districts and states in India over two time periods, namely, 2001 and 2011. The data for the crime records have been taken from National Crime Records Bureau, Government of India and the National Health and Family Survey reports.

4.3. The two time periods, 2001 and 2011 were times before and after the implementation of PWDVA, 2005 which elucidates the rising importance of Domestic Violence as a category of crime taken into cognizance by the Indian Penal Code.

4.4. The study also explores the National Health and Family Survey reports to collect the responses of women at the state level on their experiences of three types of domestic abuse, namely, emotional violence, sexual violence and physical violence.

4.5. Since criminal behaviour cannot be studied simplistically at the level of an individual alone, the role of physical and cultural spaces in the form of Regional Genderscapes was used as foils to compare the crime rates in districts. Regions of weaker forms of

patriarchy did register lesser assault on women when compared to assaults experienced in regions of stronger patriarchy.

4.6. The analysis of crimes against women in relation to the regional genderscapes was followed by a more disintegrated study of the reporting of crimes at the district level. All three categories of crimes namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes were mapped for the two time periods, 2001 and 2011. The maps explored the spatial concentration of the crimes. Following the mapping of the crimes, all three categories of crimes were grouped into classes and the share of the districts in each range were compared over the decadal period to note the trends of reporting of each of the crime categories from 2001 to 2011.

4.7. Further to this analysis the change in the rates of crimes in the districts over the decade was also classified into districts which recorded decline in the rates of crimes, districts where the rates of crimes remained unchanged and districts where the rates of crimes rose over the decade.

4.8. Relationships between the occurrences of three categories of crimes chosen for the study, namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes to identify areas where a subculture of violence may exist and whether such a subculture makes women's lives more vulnerable to violence both at private and public spaces.

4.9. Crime patterns at the district levels, brings up questions about whether districts are the suitable spatial units to be chosen for analysing crime rates vis a vis crime rates of states; since its important to remember that districts were administrative divisions created during British rule over India for ease of control over native population. The aspects of homogeneity that make up a region were overlooked and ignored by giving primacy to aspects of ease of governance.

4.10. The chapter holds a pointer in the direction which shows that district level data may offer disintegrated values for in depth research, but fails to offer the results that a region with physical or cultural attributes may reveal. On the other hand, districts get marked as hostile or unsafe generating 'fearscales' over space. The role of the colonial panopticon

continues to serve its purpose to the modern governments too, by organising crime data at district levels which continue to be administrative units.

4.11. The final part of the chapter elucidates how the politics of 'Recognition' did help in bringing about new laws on Domestic Violence and why politics of 'Redistribution' is the need of the hour for gender just schemes to operate on a wider spatial scale.

4.12. The next chapter attempts to analyse urban crimes by locating urban centres in their physical, cultural, historical and functional niche to offer meaning to regions that exhibit peculiar social pathologies of the nature of crimes against women.

5.1. The fifth chapter of the study is devoted to analysing crime patterns in the mega cities of India over two time periods namely, 2001 and 2011. The chapter opens with a discussion on the significance of research on urban crimes and moves on to listing the urban centers selected for the study for the time periods mentioned above.

5.2. The mega cities have been genealogically classified on the basis of the period of origin of the cities, the Agro Ecological Region within which the cities are located, the religious and linguistic composition of the city population and finally, the Functional Specialty of the city in terms of its occupational composition. The three categories of crimes chosen for the study; Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes were tabulated for each city and their respective share has been calculated in relation to total crime across the cities. Each category of crime, namely, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women and Total Crimes was mapped for two time periods; 2001 and 2011 and the decadal change in all the urban centre were documented. The rates of Domestic Violence was compared and contrasted with rates of Violence Against Women and Total Crimes to identify whether high rates of crimes led to higher rates of Violence Against Women and that in turn influenced the rates of Domestic Violence.

5.3. It was deciphered that high rates of Violence against Women did influence the rates of Domestic Violence in the cities, but the rates of Total Crimes did not have any significant bearing on rates of Domestic Violence which is characteristic to urban centres as in the district level analysis in the previous chapter yielded different results.

5.4. The geneological classification of the urban centres was undertaken to analyse their role in determining the rates of crimes occurring in the cities. The analysis resulted in identifying myriad city types that were associated with higher rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women.

5.5. Analysing reporting of crimes in cities in the light of their diverse physical and cultural settings pave the path for researching the issue of Domestic Violence in cities located in specific socio – ecological realm it occupies. Researching the individual who is experiencing Domestic Violence and the family members who perpetrate such atrocities has been analysed in the context of their socio-economic status within particular cityscapes.

5.6. The cities classified historically indicated that the cities that had originated in the Colonial period, registered higher rates of increase in the rates of both Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women during the decade ending in 2011, when compared to the cities that had origins in the Medieval and Ancient period. No generalisation could be made on cities of Post Independence era since only a single city featured in the study.

5.7. Cities classified on the basis of their linguistic regions showed that the cities located in the Malayalam linguistic region recorded highest rates of Domestic Violence followed by cities located in the Gujarati linguistic region. The lowest rates of Domestic Violence were recorded in Bengali and Tamil linguistic regions while highest rates of Violence Against Women were also recorded in cities of Telugu and Gujarati linguistic regions.

5.8. In cities with one, two or three dominant religious groups did not record any significant difference in the rates of Domestic Violence and Violence against Women, but recorded doubling of the rates of both Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women in cities where there were either one dominant religious group, or three dominant religious groups. In cities where there were two dominant religious groups the rise in the rates of Domestic Violence as well as Violence Against Women were less pronounced.

5.9. Over the decadal period from 2001 to 2011, cities located in Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau), Hot Semi Arid Ecological Region) continued to record least rates of Domestic Violence. Agro

Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region) continued to record highest rates of domestic violence in the cities located in this region.

5.10. Rates of Violence Against Women were found to be the highest in cities located in the Agro Ecological Region 2 (Western Plains, Kachch and part of Kathiawar Peninsula, Hot Arid Ecological region) in 2001, but in 2011, cities located within the Agro Ecological Region 18 (Eastern coastal Plains, Hot to Semi Arid Ecological Region) emerged as the region with cities reporting highest rates of Violence Against Women. Cities located within Agro Ecological Region 8 (Eastern Ghats and Tamil Nadu uplands and Deccan (Karnataka Plateau) showed least change in the rates from 2001 to 2011

5.11. In terms of functional classification of the cities selected in the study, cities where Trade and Transport was a dominant function recorded highest rates of Domestic Violence in 2001 as well as 2011. The cities where Industry or Services dominated the occupational structure of the city population, the rates of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women did not reveal any significant change in rates during 2001 and 2011.

5.12. For a deeper understanding of the ecological realms that influence the subjects experiencing and perpetrating crimes in the urban milieu, detailed personalized investigation into their socio-cultural, socio-structural realms has been undertaken in the following chapter to comprehend the etiology of crimes against women in general and Domestic Violence in particular in the urban spaces of India.

6.1. The documentation of information on the causes of discord women experience in their marriages in metropolitan cities of Delhi and Kolkata has been chronicled in this chapter. The sources that have been accessed for collecting the information regarding issues of domestic violence are Crime Women cell in Delhi and Women Grievance Cell in Kolkata. These special centers have been set up by the city police to provide assistance to women undergoing domestic violence. The cells are also equipped with counselors and arbitrators to counsel the complainants, her spouse and her in-laws apart from offering legal support to redress the concerns of the aggrieved women. Apart from the police a

host of other support services including volunteers from Non Governmental Organizations, psychiatrists, counselors also offer support to the complainants.

6.2. It was observed that these women cells cater to the legal needs of women across the spatial expanse of the two cities. In both the cities, it was documented that complainants travelled from as far as over twenty kilometers to avail the services of the crime cells.

6.3. The study relies heavily on collection of information on domestic violence through application confessionary power mode. Confessionary power is exercised by the authorities on the subjects coupled with a paraphernalia of related techniques of power like, examination, verification of the confessions. The process yielded reliable and unbiased knowledge on the nature of domestic violence prevalent in the cities. The veracity of the confessions could be established by cross-examination techniques followed by the arbitrators.

6.4. The respondents of this study from Delhi and Kolkata are representative of the urban population in the cities in terms of their religious, regional, linguistic, caste and class backgrounds, thereby offering an opportunity to analyze aspects of intersectionality among urban women and how these intersectionalities impact their marital lives. The study has also been designed to draw comparisons between the experiences of women with the two distinctly discrete sub-cultures within which the two cities are located.

6.5. The study showed that women from the cities registered complaints of domestic violence even after twenty years of their married life; though, most of the complainants were married for less than five years. The respondents were a mixed group of participants, some of whom had chosen their partners independently, while the rest were married through 'arranged' alliances. The mixed group of participants enabled the researcher to throw light on the differences in the nature of conflicts that arose in exogamous /endogamous marriages.

6.6. In metropolitan areas, like it's rural counterpart, the life event of marriage continues to be a socio-religious life event. Rarely had the respondents officially registered their marriages in the court of law and almost all of the respondents who had registered the marriage, did so only after the social event of the marriage was completed.

6.7. Even though right to residence has been guaranteed to married women through feminist jurisprudence and the introduction of new laws, yet one finds that for women registering complaints to the crime cells while living in their matrimonial household is rare. The study shows that more than sixty percent of the respondents were living in their natal homes after experiencing incidences of domestic violence. Less than ten per cent of the respondents were living independently while about twenty percent lived in their marital homes while reporting of cases of domestic violence against their spouses.

6.8. The sample chosen for the study is fairly representative of the religious and caste compositions prevalent in the cities. Most of the respondents followed Hinduism as their religion. Followers of Islam, Christianity, Sikhism were also featured in the study in that order. The respondents demonstrated a fairly good representation of caste composition found in the cities. The sample accommodated the upper caste groups as well as those caste groups which were not a part of the savarna jatis.

6.9. The income levels of the respondents were considered as a marker of their class background, and in Delhi as well as Kolkata, unemployed women who were less than 30 years of age were at a higher risk of experiencing domestic violence compared to women who were employed and were of higher age groups. Most of the respondents revealed that they had adhered to the caste- class endogamy. The respondents reportedly had very little control on the timing of their marriage.

6.10. The respondents reported having experienced physical, emotional and sexual violence perpetrated by their husbands and in-laws to discipline and punish them for not matching up to the expectation of the members of the marital family. The causes of discord that triggered incidences of violence ranged from issues of dowry, male domination, financial constraint or psychological, personal, medical, social and cultural causes.

6.11. The causes of discord among endogamous and exogamous couples on the basis of mother tongue, caste and religion in Delhi and Kolkata show that dowry demand related discord was found to be more rampant among couples who had adhered to rules of endogamy while marrying. Issues of male dominance along with dowry demand and

other causes of discord were observed among couples who chose to marry beyond the rules of endogamy.

6.12. More than twenty five causes of discord plaguing marital relationships in the two study areas were curated through interviewing the respondents for the study. Of the host of causes of discord, the prominent causes of discord were, alcoholism, marital rape, childlessness, aspiration for male child, involvement in extra marital affairs and desertion which drove women to register complaints against their spouse and in-laws.

6.13. The study attempted to explore the contrasts in the experiences of domestic violence between women in endogamous marriages vis a vis women in exogamous marriages. The rules of endogamy were observed on the basis of caste, linguistic region and religious beliefs. Apart from the three social parameters, the experiences of couples adhering to linguistic endogamy but residing in a different linguistic region were noted to analyse the influence of migration to an alien/ unfamiliar linguistic region on their marital lives.

6.14. Case studies of the exogamous couples show that women who experienced domestic violence did not receive enough support from their marital families; and in most cases even the female members of the natal family refuse to offer support to them in their times of need.

6.15. The respondents of exogamous marriages in terms of linguistic groups in Delhi experienced less dowry demand compared to endogamous couples. Psychosocial, medical and social causes of discord were higher among exogamous couples than their endogamous counterparts. Case studies show that most of the couples who married across linguistic barriers, had other commonalities like their religion or profession that brought them together. In Kolkata too, linguistically exogamous couples had fewer complaints of dowry demand. For non-Bengali speaking endogamous couples settled in Kolkata, feeling of alienation was palpable as they narrated their struggles of living far away from their kin.

6.16. Couples united on the basis of exogamy of religion in Delhi reported lesser incidences of dowry demand as a cause of discord when compared to the endogamous

couples in the same city. Financial constraints were the major issues among endogamous couples whereas conflicts emanating from issues of male dominance controlled the cases of discord among the exogamous couples. Similar to Delhi, in Kolkata, too issues related to male domination became the bone of contention among the exogamous couples. Rarely did the exogamous couples indicate religious difference per se as the primary cause of discord between them.

6.17. Respondents in endogamous marital relationships on the basis of caste in Delhi reported more cases of dowry demand than the exogamous couples. In endogamous marriages, dowry demand by family members of the respondent's spouse was also a major cause of discord. In Kolkata on the contrary, dowry demand was found to be more rampant as a cause of discord among exogamous couples than the endogamous couples. Respondents in caste based exogamous marriages did mention receiving demeaning comments relating to their caste location in both the cities.

6.18. The educational and occupational status of the complainants of domestic violence in the selected metropolitan cities has a strong bearing on their experience of violence. Women with no formal education were most vulnerable to being physically abused by their partners. At higher levels of education, the chance of experiencing physical violence reduces. Higher educational levels of respondents act as a deterrent in their experiencing emotional and sexual violence. Women, who were graduates, were less susceptible to violence inflicted by their in-laws.

6.19. In Delhi as well as Kolkata, the educational attainment of the respondent's husband did not influence the possibility of him inflicting physical violence on her. Complaints related to emotional violence perpetrated by the respondent's husband appear lesser than physical abuse at all levels of the respondent's husband's educational attainments. Respondents whose husbands' were formally educated reported higher rates of physical abuse afflicted by their in-laws on them than those respondents' whose husband's s did not receive any formal education.

6.20. In Delhi, the demand for dowry as a cause of discord rose with rising levels of educational attainments of the respondent's husbands while in Kolkata, the demand for

dowry decreased with the rise in the level of education of the respondent's husband. With higher levels of educational attainments of the respondent's husband, the causes of discord emanating from psychological, social, and medical causes increased whereas the causes of discord arising from financial constraints were equally experienced by respondents at all levels of their husband's educational qualifications. The in-laws contributing to the causes of discord decreased with rise in the respondent's husband's level of education.

6.22. Irrespective of the respondent's employment status, their experience of physical abuse was more rampant than emotional abuse and sexual abuse. The nature of employment does not influence the quantum and type of violence perpetrated by the members of the marital family but, being employed reduces the chances of experiencing physical and emotional abuse perpetrated by the in-laws. Respondents whose husbands' were not employed were vulnerable to abuse more than those respondents whose husbands' were gainfully employed. The sector of employment of the respondents' husband has no significant influence on domestic violence perpetrated by the respondent's mother-in-law or father-in-law. Respondents employed in the organised sector recorded more instances of conflict arising from dowry demand by their husbands. Respondents who were not employed, recorded lower rates of causes of discord arising from male dominance and financial constraints.

6.23. Most women preferred to stay at their natal homes when experiencing domestic violence irrespective of their educational attainments as well as their employment status. Majority of the respondents cited the need for a separate household or a nuclear family set-up was considered as that crucial that could ameliorate their problems of domestic abuse.

6.24. Almost half of the respondents recorded rebuilding their marital relationship through intervention of law in matters of domestic abuse and wished to raise their children with their husbands' support and help from their natal families.

6.25. The arbitrators at the women cells in Delhi and Kolkata were sensitized on issues of gender equality, yet they possessed their own perception of 'normal' and 'abnormal'

modes of living and in some sense were reduced to the proverbial ‘judges of normality’ which in turn reflected their biases and predilections while delivering justice.

6.26. The case studies of women experiencing domestic violence also try to address the genesis of discord in marital life through the prism of a woman’s imagined and real capabilities and her desire to realise the same. Seeing through the woman’s perspective elicits the importance of freedom to explore and successfully realise one’s capabilities.

6.27. Cityscapes are ideal spaces to observe the influences of Modernity. The impact on marital relationships in the city can be found through more and more independently chosen marriages among the urban population and in increased instances of resorting to legal intervention for resolving disputes in marriages. ‘Image-driven’ lifestyle of an ideal romantic couple who individually own property also make it a difficult choice for women to annul marriages.

6.28. This chapter also bears testimony to how creation of knowledge on the forms and causes of domestic violence and its intersection with the legal terrain can be co-produced between the researcher and the researched. The exchanges that transpire between the researcher and the researched have the potential for co-producing legal spaces while co-becoming altered legal subjects.

6.29. The chapter not only documents the visible or tangible forms of domestic violence women experience, the case studies also reveal the various techniques applied on women for their subordination to the male authority by structural and epistemic violence. The invisible forms of power in the family that reduce women to subjects, and women endure such violence without identifying those as violence and thereby never offer resistance against such forms of discipline or norms. Addressing the cryptic forms of violence is as important as making efforts for amelioration of tangible violence. It is only when women see through the process that turns them into ‘docile bodies’ to become ‘a cog in the wheel’ of the existing oppressive, exploitative system; would they be in a position to resist the forces that dis-empower them.

6.30. The newly enacted Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 does help in infusing individuality, agency and the idea of consent among women and at the

same time becomes a tool that women can resort to in order to resist various forms of patriarchal controls working within the family.

6.31. Women engaging with law become subverters and transactors of material relationships and can veto, nullify relationships.

7.1. The final chapter is an exploration of the role of the third sector's interventions in the metropolitan cities to help address concerns of domestic violence in low income neighbourhoods.

7.2. All legal studies are rooted in space, yet, spatial aspects of law have been neglected in both legal as well as geographical studies. Attempts have been made to integrate feminist legal interventions in specific geographies that work towards expanding the legal-ecumene. The spaces where law appears to be 'impossibility' can turn into spaces where the 'inevitability' of law may be implemented. This change may be brought about by agents who assist in 'bringing the law home' to subjects who lack awareness about laws as well to those who are not empowered enough to access the legal structures of the State.

7.3. Even though the third sector of which Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) are often accused being complicit of cooption between the feminist ideals and the patriarchal overtones of the State, yet, NGOs that are rooted deep into feminist movement and activism have been effective in bringing in positive changes in the lives of women experiencing violence. The two cities have been potent breeding grounds for feminist movements since the second wave of Indian Women's Movement. Many feminist organisations germinated and have flourished over the decades in the two cities and have been instrumental in addressing issues of violence against women.

7.4. Two Non Governmental Organizations were selected for this study that held women's courts and facilitated women in low income neighbourhoods of the city to avail of legal support. It has been documented by educated women from upper class backgrounds that negotiating with the legal terrain is a difficult proposition as the law and the courts are not sensitive to the everyday struggles women experience while seeking freedom from violent marriages (Sen, 2010). This reflects the near impossibility of

women from low income localities to access legal service without the help and support of external agents.

7.5. The structure of the organisations are non-hierarchical and the members comprised of a mixed group of academicians, social workers, paralegal workers, volunteers and regular members.

7.6. The women's courts are a complete reverse picture of the traditional gram panchayats or the 'jaati' panchayats which are headed as well as run by men. In the women's courts or the 'mahila panchayat', the 'gender of governance' is altered by placing women at the helm of the affairs while undertaking 'governance of gender' yielding innovative and novel results.

7.7. The members of the organizations are trained in laws related to violence against women so that they are in a position to generate awareness about the existing legal provisions offer advice and support to women in need. The organizations are true representations of agents who 'bring law home' by offering legal advice within the neighbourhood. The organization enhances the agential capacities of the women by transforming battered women into survivors. The cultural nature of the NGOs replaces 'emancipatory politics' and replaces them with life 'politics' which makes the members reflect on deeper moral and existential questions beyond their immediate concerns (Suzuki, 2000).

7.8. The arbitrators of the women's courts belong to the same socio-economic echelon as those who register cases of domestic violence (Magar, 2000). The approach to finding solutions by the members of the organisation is perceived as that of an 'insider's' unlike the feelings of disenchantment associated with the highhandedness of the police and the courts. The familiarity that exists between the volunteers and the justice seekers makes the judgments delivered by the organisations readily acceptable to the aggrieved parties.

7.9. The women's organisations' while arbitrating cases of domestic violence, address the uneven balance of power within the household as a result of patrilocal norms of marriage, the issue of respect and dignity of women in the household, and recognition of women's oppression within the homes and how redistribution of resources and power through

newer modes of governmentalities like the NGOs can help ameliorate the issues afflicting women's safety and dignity within the family.

7.10. Researchers have pointed out that experiences of women of belonging to socially oppressed communities are rarely curated in domestic violence research. This chapter documents experiences specific to women of socially and economically weaker sections of the cities (Sujatha, 2004).

7.11. The camaraderie and social bonding that develops between and among the volunteers of the NGOs and the women who approach them for redressal of the domestic abuse they experience, at later stages turns into long term relationships that cut across caste and religious groups. The organisations become true representations of symbols of feminist sisterhood (Chatterjee, 2000). Documenting women's experience at spaces like crime women cells women's courts elicits the fact that each woman is unique and her background, her education, her income, her ownership of property influences her decisions and her responses to incidences of partner abuse and expectations from the legal systems (Basu, 1999; Oldenburg, 2002). The connection with regional genderscapes and ecological model's influence on incidences of domestic violence within the family gets firmly established through this study.

7.12. Questions of intersectionality is inseparable to the study of feminist legal spaces as the comprehension of law, and the location of the woman in the maze of fragmented identities defines how law can offer support to women (Gangoli, 2007). Whether women wish to look for a separate household, or restore peace within the household is influenced by their subjectivities arising from their social locations.

7.13. Marriage counselors have a greater role to play in helping couples to understand the different locations they come from and the values and sense of law they inherit from their families and socio cultural environment. Legal centrality in a modern state may not be questioned, yet, the uniform applicability of the law on all citizens continues to remain paradoxical (Baverman, Blomley, Delaney, Kedar, 2014).

7.14. Issues of legal plurality, of co-existence of customary laws and regional practices over space, can be best understood through ethnography of legal practices in specific

locations within regions (Manji, 1999). Along with it, it is important to explore the material bases of the repressive system and those need to be identified and addressed. A few aspects are property ownership by women, right to residence, women's educational and occupational locus, among many more.

7.15. This study also brings out the fact that there are no typical couples (cases) where incidences of domestic violence occur. Recognizing the uniqueness in each relationship is the way forward to understand the choice of legal intervention that suits the lives of women. The trials women undergo to shift their position from a conforming "good wife" to a 'rights bearing subject' can be studied in its entirety through qualitative analysis of what women consider to be the threshold beyond which they overthrow traditional understanding of conformity to family values and access the laws made by the State.

7.16. The appropriation of the feminist ideals by the state leads to a potent mixture of the inherent patriarchal attitudes borne by the keepers of the law, who are responsible for implementing those feminist practices. The preservers of law who are made to deliver gender just laws influence the justice delivery system with their own inputs based on their social locations as well as their perceptions regarding the problems affecting women. It had been alleged that whenever the state appropriates the agenda of the feminist movements, the resultant version emerges out of co-option with the state agencies and loses the original ideals of a complete reformation of that a feminist movement aims at.

7.17. The state's willingness to adopt the feminist ideals does alter the terrain of laws that deal with gender discrimination. The enactment of gender sensitised laws and setting up of family courts are great strides in the direction of ushering in gender justice within family (Roy, 2012, 2018).

7.18. There also arises the argument that the state through its intervention with family laws, is now in a position to monitor the minutiae of human life, even the most private moment taking place in the private spaces, yet it may be noted that the interference of the state is optional and only when an individual approaches the state for intervention into their private life, does the state extend its surveillance into their private spaces.

7.19. The study is a journey through the liminal spaces of counseling chambers and informal courts through which women experiencing domestic violence traverse with the hope and aspirations of having a better and meaningful life beyond the legal interventions. The process of writing about the untold and unheard stories about ordinary women's lives and their negotiation with violent family members has contributed in un-writing silences that shroud experiences of domestic violence. On addressing 'Dialectics of Women's Geographies'; women's resistances help in creation of new spaces which strive to be egalitarian in nature, be it arbitration cells, women's courts and finally their home-spaces. Resistances help in scripting new spaces that women occupy.

7.20. Role of spaces such as women cell, counseling chambers are newer versions of confession chambers, where the subjects 'speak truth to power' and such spaces have a strong control on managing, monitoring the conduct of the individuals (Huxley, 2007). The aspect of 'reflection' that is entwined with the process of confession also leads to 'self-improvement' of the subjects.

7.21. When one looks at the question of surveillance by the state, and the invasion of the state into the private lives to strengthen techniques of governmental control over the population, ensuring women's rights basic dignity and safety as well as offering access to justice. In the process, the state sets new 'normal' for the family and the state power penetrates deeper into the individual's lives. The role of the NGOs and their functions in the low income neighbourhoods reiterate the observation that 'space' is fundamental to any form of communal life just the way it is fundamental to exercise of power. The NGO's have been successful group authorities in shaping the 'governmental self-formation' of the subjects which is fostered through myriad of practices that encourage the individuals to govern themselves in accordance with the regulatory and moral norms.

7.22. The study heavily depends on the analyses of multifarious resistances to existing power structures that reduce of women as docile subjects. Scholars have cautioned about attempting to analyse power structures through laying over emphasis on the resistances that get built up against such power. Treating multiple resistances individually weakens the building up of a single focus of resistance that could become potent to overthrow the power (Moi, 2011). The varieties of forms of resistances need to be studied in totality to

be able to formulate ways and means to stall the perpetuation of violence in the private lives of married women.

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Glossary of Colloquial Terms

Agamani (Songs of advent) and *Vijaya* (Songs of parting) are genres of Bengali folk songs celebrating the return of the Goddess Parvati to the home of her parents on the eve of the Bengali autumn festival of Durga Puja

Baaper Bari – Natal Home

Behen – sister.

Bhadralok - Bengali for the new class of 'gentlefolk' who arose during British colonial times.

Bhadramahila - the mothers, wives and daughters of the many school masters, lawyers, doctors and government servants who made up the English-educated professional Bengali middle class or *bhadralok*.

Brata/Vrata - is a Sanskrit word that means "vow, resolve, devotion", and refers to pious observances such as fasting and pilgrimage.

Dayabhaga - is a Hindu law treatise written by Jimutavahana which primarily focuses on inheritance procedure. The *Dayabhaga* was the strongest authority in Modern British Indian courts in the Bengal region of India, although this has changed due to the passage of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 and subsequent revisions to the act.

Dharmasastra - is a genre of Sanskrit theological texts, and refers to the treatises (*shastras*) of Hinduism on *dharma*. There are many *Dharmashastras*, variously estimated to be 18 to about 100, with different and conflicting points of view.

Gurbani - compositions by the Sikh Gurus and other writers of *Guru Granth Sahib*. In general, hymns in the central text of the Sikhs, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, are called *Gurbani*.

Jamaat – an Islamic Council or Assembly.

Jodi – a couple, a pair, twosome, companions.

Karwa Chauth - *Karwa Chauth* is a one-day festival celebrated by Hindu women four days after *purnima* in the month of *Kartika* for their husband's long life.

Mitakshara - The *Mitakshara* legal commentary on the *Yajnavalkya Smriti* best known for its theory of "inheritance by birth. The *Mitakshara* concept of coparcenary is based on the concept of birth right of son, son's son and son's son's son. Under ancient Hindu Joint Family system, property rights were within the hands of male members of family. Women had no rights and it was the duty of male members to administrate the property of the whole family and women hasn't enjoyed any freedom for expression of opinion regarding the property administration.

Nikah Halala - is practiced by certain sects^l of Sunni Muslims. It involves a female divorcee marrying someone else, consummating the marriage and then getting a divorce in order to make it allowable to remarry her previous husband. Halala marriage makes the divorced wife lawful to the former husband, after she had become unlawful due to the third talaq final divorce after which the same people cannot remarry.

Stridhan – as per Hindu Law, stridhan is whatever a women receives during her life time. Stridhan includes all movable, immovable property gifts etc received by women prior to marriage, at the time of marriage, during child birth and during her widowhood.

Sasur Bari – Marital Home.

Sumata – Good Mother

Sugrihini – Good Homemaker

Triple Talaq - also known as talaq-e-biddat, instant divorce and talaq-e-ughallazah (irrevocable divorce), is a form of Islamic divorce which has been used by Muslims in India, especially adherents of Hanafi Sunni Islamic schools of jurisprudence. It allows any Muslim man to legally divorce his wife by stating the word talaq (the Arabic word for "divorce") three times in oral, written, or more recently, electronic form.

Zenana - the part of a house for the seclusion of women

Appendix. III. I. Questionnaire

(For Respondents at Crime Women Cell, Delhi and Women Grievance Cell, Kolkata)

Information about the Respondent.

Name							
Age							
Marital Status	Married	Cohabiting	Divorcee	Separated	Widow	Others	

Duration of Marriage.....

Present location in Delhi/ Kolkata.....

Staying With	
Independently	
Natal Home	
Marital Home	
Relatives	
Friends	
Shelter Home	
Any Other	

Education	
Before Marriage	After Marriage

Occupation					
Before Marriage			After Marriage		
Basic	Subsidiary	Assets/Savings	Basic	Subsidiary	Assets/Savings

Family Type	
Joint	
Nuclear	
Extended	
Other	

Marriage Type	
Independently Chosen	
Arranged	

Agents	
Friends	
Relatives	
Workplace	
Educational Institutions	
Other	

Response of Family Members					
Natal Family			Marital Family		
Positive	Negative	Indifferent	Positive	Negative	Indifferent

Type of Violence/ Offence and Perpetrators					
Type of Violence	Husband	Parent in laws	Brother/Sister in law	Others	Time of begining
Neglect					
Humiliation					
Insult					
Confinement					
Threat					
False Allegations					
Push					
Slap					
Kick					
Starvation					
Marital Rape					
Forced Pregnancy					
Forced Abortions					
Physical Violence during Preganancy					
Misrepresentaion					
Motherhood Denied					

Cause of Discord and Perpetrators				
Cause of Discord	Husband	Wife	Family Members	Others
Dowry Demand				
Misappropriation of Stridhan				
Maladjustment				
Separation of husband from wife due to work				
Property Dispute				
Extramarital Relations				
Desertion				
Medical Unfitness				
Alcoholism and Other Abuse				
Childlessness				
Aspiration for Male Child				
Disrespect towards in-laws				
Irresponsible towards children's upbringing				
Food not cooked well/ Neglect of Domestic Chores				
Sexual abuse by Father/Brother in law				
Undisclosed marriage				
Suspicion				
Demand for wife's income				
Misrepresentation of wealth and status/ education				
Psychological disorder				
Parent's instigation				
Overburdening with work				

Prime reason for choosing your husband	
Caste	
Class	
Debt Recovery	
Education	
Family/ Societal Pressure	
Age	
Compatibility	
Loving Nature	
Appearance	

Place where marriage was held	
Court	
Religious Institution	
Social Institution	

Marriage Expenditure			
Items	Value (rs)	Expenditure	Person who bore the expenditure: Self/ Parents/ Others
Celebrations			
Cash			
Jewellery			
Furniture			
Vehicles			
Land			
House			
Durables			
Utensils			
Stocks			
Shares			
Others			

Information regarding the Natal Home of the Respondent

Name of locality in Delhi/ Kolkata	Mother Tongue	State of Domicile	Religion	Caste

Migrated from	Duration
	Cause

Family Members

Relationship with the Respondent	Age	Education	Marital Status	Occupation		Income	Allowances	Perks
				Main	Subsidiary			

Family Type	
Joint	
Nuclear	
Extended	
Other	

Property	Value/ Location
Land	
Business	
House	
Vehicles	
Other Assets	

Information about the Marital Family of the Respondent.

Name of locality in Delhi/ Kolkata	Mother Tongue	State of Domicile	Religion	Caste

Migrated from	Duration
	Cause

Family Members

Relationship with the Respondent	Age	Education	Marital Status	Occupation		Income	Allowances	Perks
				Main	Subsidiary			

Number of Children	
--------------------	--

Age	Male	Female

Family Type	
Joint	
Nuclear	
Extended	
Other	

Property	Value/ Location
Land	
Business	
House	
Vehicles	
Other Assets	

Relative Freedom

Aspect	Natal Home	Marital Home
Social Location		
Consultation in decision making about younger ones		
Consultation about household expenditure		
Interaction with male members of the family		
Interactions with neighbours and strangers		
Household chores		
Mobility		
Private Space		
Time spent for self daily		
Time spent with husband daily		
Income allocation done by others		
Grievances heard		
Yearly Holidays		

Awareness about Domestic Violence

Were you aware of such violence against women before you got married	
Yes	
No	

What precautionary measures did you take to avoid it

At the time of violence, what crucial aspect could have saved you
Better link with neighbours
Better link with natal home
Employment

Changes that might ameliorate your present condition	
Separate household	
More time for self	
Husband giving more importance to your wishes	
Separation of ancestral property	
Financial Independence of the Bride	
If marriage would have taken place later	
If marriage would have taken place earlier	

Custody of the children with	
Husband	
Wife	

Assistance

Initial Assistance Provided by	
Friend	
Relative	
Neighbour	
Any Other	

How did you come to know about CWC?WGC

Newspaper	
Radio/TV	
Public Transport	
Friends	
Neighbours	
Relatives	
Any Other	

Incase of NGO

Name of NGO and Locality of

Operation.....

Do they work in the locality of your residence?

Yes	
No	

What is the mode of their operation

Nature of Activity	
Adult Education	
Literacy	
Legal Counselling	
Rehabilitation (Drugs)	
Self Help Group	
Health and Hygiene	
Disease control (AIDS and TB)	
Street Plays	
Any Other	

Strategy Adopted:

Type of Help	Yes/NO	Nature	Stage
Help from Natal Home			
Help from Marital Home			
Help from Friends			
Help from Neighbours			
Help from Organisations apart from CWC/WGC			

Income Generation	
Business	
Self Employment	
Government	
Domestic Help	

Shelter	
Independent	
Natal Home	

Relatives	
Friends	
Others	
Maintenance of Children	
Independent	
Natal Home	
Relatives	
Friends	
Others	

Future Strategy

For the respondent	
Start one's own enterprise	
Seek Employment	
Seek Alimony	
For the Children	
Maintenance	
Shelter	

Appendix. III.II. Questionnaire

Mahila Panchayat

Case No:

Date of Registration:

Date of Completion:

Case Filed by: (Paksh):	Respondent: (Vipaksh):
Education	Education
Age	Age
Occupation	Occupation
Source of case registry	
Address:	Address:

Problem:

Procedure of Mahila Panchayat:

(Case Registration)

1st meeting

2nd Meeting

3rd Meeting

4th meeting:

Followup 1

Follow up 2

Remarks

Appendix. III.III. Questionnaire:

Mahila Panchayat Members

1. Name:
2. Age
3. Religion:
4. Caste:
5. Educational Qualifications:
6. House : Owned/ Rented
7. Duration of association with Mahila Panchayat:
8. Responsibilities:

9. Whether she is an Office Bearer:
10. How are you perceived in Society as a Mahila Panchayat Member:

11. How are you perceived by your family members as a Mahila Panchayat Member:

Appendix. IV.I. Districtwise Rates of Domestic Violence, 2001 and 2011.

Districtwise Rates of Domestic Violence, 2001

Category 1 0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population	Category 2 Rate : 1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population	Category 3 5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population	Category 4 8.98-12.50 cases per lakh population	Category 5 >12.50 cases per lakh population
Leh Kupwara Anantnag Budgam Pulwama SBS Nagar Sirmaur Chandigarh Siang Upper Subansiri Lower Kameng West Mon Tuensang Mokokchung Wokha Zunheboto Ri Bhoi Kohima Garo Hills East Garo Hills West Dimapur Phek Khasi Hills West Jaintia Hills Ukhrul Senapati Tamenglong Banas Kantha Churachandpur Chandel Sabar Kantha Champhai Serchhip Lunglei Saiha Lawngtlai Diu	Belgaum Vadodhara Rural Tinsukia Boudh Sivagangai Ferozpur Mahasamund Lalitpur Raigarh Morena Chennai Madurai Rural Pudukottai Bilaspur Puri Saran Shivpur Cuddapah Koderma Jharsuguda Nilgiris Amritsar Siang West Mau Bagalkot Badaun Davanagere Uttar Dinajpur Munger Thoothugudi Dhenkanal Fatehpur Bidar Sitapur Bolangir Nuapada Narmada	Vishakapatnam Palakkad Yamunanagar Koraput Jind Guna Solan Amravati Hailakandi Gopalganj Muzaffarnagar J P Nagar Nandurbar Nadia 24 Parganas N Saharanpur Sontipur Udaipur Gadchiroli Karimganj Jhunjhunu Mandla Nalgonda Barabanki Jalore Cuttack Chhindwara Rajkot Rural Mandi Dakshin Dinajpur Durg Dehradun Coochbehar Kozhikode Rural Amreli Bhopal Thissur	Bareilly Bikaner Gandhinagar North Tripura Wardha Jodhpur Rural Lucknow Jaipur East Pilibhit Patiala Jalgaon Parbhani Pali Mehsana West Godavari Rajsamand Bharatpur Washim Lakhimpur Nizamabad Ahmadnagar Kaithal Akola Ajmer Panchkula Panipat Kutch Anand Tonk Ambala Jhajjhar Jalna Bilaspur Ranga Reddy	Porbandar Hingoli Baran Cachar Hanumangarh Junagadh Bhilwara Jhalawar Hyderabad City Bundi Kota Rural Chittorgarh Ganganagar

Daman	Darrang	Satara		
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Mahendragarh	Yavatmal		
Bastar	Hassan	Haridwar		
Yanam	Bankura	Kheda North		
Andamans	Jalaun	Hissar		
Pondicherry	Purbi Singhbhum	Ludhiana		
Mahe	Dibrugarh	Janjgir		
Lakshadweep	Pune Rural	Hamirpur		
Karaikal	Keonjhar	Adilabad		
Nicobars	Bhadrak	Karimnagar		
Imphal East	Tikamgarh	Patan		
Baramulla	Gulbarga	Idukki		
Doda	Jalpaiguri	Bulandshahar		
Khasi Hills East	Medinipur	Ujjain		
Pashchimi Singhbhum	Banda	Gondiya		
Godda	Sarguja	Hooghly		
Thiruvarur	Sonepur	Ariyalur		
Vellore	Nagpur Rural	Medak		
Trichy rural	Auraiya	Kollam		
Lohit	Rewa	Dewas		
Kargil	Rohtas	Osmanabad		
Hazaribagh	Hamirpur	Shahdol		
Aizawl	Ratnagiri	Nasik Rural		
Garo Hills South	Jagatsinghpur	Chandrapur		
Tirap	Udhamsingh Nagar	Krishna		
Kanchipuram	Barmer	Fathehabad		
Aurangabad	Dhalai	Hathras		
Dharwad	Rewari	Latur		
Srinagar	Khargaon	Dhubri		
Kushi Nagar	Kanker	Wayanadu		
Madhepura	Faridkot	Vizianagaram		
Salem Rural	Mandya	Nanded		
Samastipur	Sheopur	Malappuram		
Saharsa	Etawah	Gurgaon		
Maharajganj	Murshidabad	Alwar		
Gumla	Golaghat	24 Parganas South		
Sonbhadra	Hardoi	Karnal		
Thoubal	Kaushambi	Kanpur Nagar		
Mahoba	Datiya	Aligarh		
Bishnupur	Jajpur	Beed		
Kolasib	Kolkata	Mamit		
Aurangabad	Khandwa	Meerut		
Thiruvanamalai	Jhansi	Sagar		
Jashpur	Kabirdham	Dholpur		

West	Hoshangabad	Sawai Madhopur		
Kathua	N C Hills	Churu		
Chatra	Kottayam	Indore		
Dantewara	Sheikhpura	Goalpara		
Kameng East	Kokrajhar	South Tripura		
Poonch	Hoshiarpur	Sirsa		
Chamoli	Patna	Dhule		
Dhanbad	Sibsagar	Neemuch		
Thirunelveli Rural	Valsad	Nellore		
South Goa	Korba	Khurda		
Khagaria	Mainpuri	Jamnagar		
Dahod	Satna	Banswara		
Sitamarhi	Raisen	Guntur		
Chitrakoot Dham	Bhiwani	Kurukshetra		
Dharmapuri	Sultanpur	Agra		
Imphal West	Sangli	Buldhana		
Kamrup	Chamba	Sirohi		
South	Ropar			
Surat Rural	Morigaon			
Sheohar	Una			
Gurdaspur	Darjeeling			
Nagapattinam	Shimla			
Thiruvannamalai	Uttarkashi			
Chamarajnagar	Bijapur			
Changlang	Kolhapur			
North	Ambedkar Nagar			
Buxar	Mandsaur			
Thiruvallur	Bongaigaon			
Mansa	Kendrapara			
Tawang	Rayagada			
Dindigul	Rajgarh			
Sambalpur	Jaisalmer			
Pakur	Varanasi			
Dakshin Kannada	Nainital			
Kabri Anglong	Anantapur			
Supaul	Sidhi			
Gaya	Alappuzha			
Sundargarh	Raibareily			
North Goa	Khiri			
Deoghar	Rajnandgaon			
Garhwa	Rampur			
Purnea	Vaishali			
Siddharth Nagar	Kurnool			
Jamui	Kasargod			

Lahaul-Spiti	Chhartarpur			
Ranchi	Bangalore Rural			
Sahebganj	Etah			
Cuddalore	Gautam Budh Nagar			
Lohardagga	Panna			
North West	Muzaffarpur			
North	Harda			
North East	Ahwa-Dang			
West	Bhind			
South West	Raipur			
East	Jorhat			
Central	Kannauj			
New Delhi	Perambalur			
South	Allahabad			
Ballia	Chikmanglur			
Banka	Bhatinda			
Nawadah	Kangra			
Sindhudurg	Narsinghpur			
Champawat	Rohtak			
Lakhisarai	Malda			
Haveri	Fategarh			
Udupi	Mayurbhanj			
Bangalore	Prakasham			
Dhamtari	Sonipat			
Virudhunagar	Mathura			
Panchmahal	Balasore			
Bageshwar	Kapurthala			
Udhampur	Kinnaur			
Thanjavur	Debagarh			
Kalahandi	Betul			
Jhabua	Angul			
Pauri Garhwal	Kanpur Dehat			
Tumkur	Kishanganj			
Theni	Sihore			
Gadag	Koriya			
Rudra Prayag	Bharuch			
Thane Rural	Nagaur			
Raigarh	Shahjahanpur			
Siwan	Dhar			
Shrawasti	Moradabad			
Jehanabad	Firozabad			
Subansiri Upper	Khammam			
Almora	Burdwan			
Ganjam	Ghaziabad			

Gorakhpur	Srikakulam			
Fatehgarh Sahib	West Tripura			
Rajouri	Baghpat			
Erode	Jalandhar			
Bokaro	Dibang Valley			
Sant Kabirnagar	Balaghat			
Nayagarh	Kannur			
Deoria	Karauli			
Pithoragarh	Vidisha			
Nowrangpur	Faridabad			
Palamau	Pathanamthitta			
Kullu	Surendranagar			
Darbhangha	Ratlam			
Chandoli	Mahboobnagar			
Tehri Garhwal	Jabalpur			
Araria	Gwalior			
Giridih	Sikar			
Bhagalpur	Chittoor			
Ghazipur	Purulia			
Nalanda	Dungarpur			
Malkangir	Unnao			
Dumka	Shajapur			
Chitradurga	Warangal			
Ahmadabad	Shimoga			
Kolar	Nagaon			
Coimbatore Rural	Damoh			
Purba Champaran	Umraiya			
Bahraich	Kandhamal			
Sant Ravidas Nagar	Bhavnagar			
Bhadoh	Bijnor			
Uttar Kannada	East Godavari			
Mirzapur	Birbhum			
Karur	Barpeta			
East	Bhandara			
Pashchim Champaran	Katni			
Begusarai	Dhemaji			
Villupuram	Dausa			
Jaunpur				
Siang East				
Mysore Rural				
Mumbai (Suburban)				
Mumbai				
Jammu				
Kanyakumari				
Koppal				

Pratapgarh Azamgarh Bellary Bhabhua Bhojpur Gajapati Dindori Balrampur Ramanathapuram Papum Pare Namakkal Madhubani Gonda Barwani Kodagu Solapur Rural Katihar Muktsar Baragarh Navsari Ernakulam Rural Nalbari Seoni Howrah Sangrur Faizabad Basti Moga Raichur				
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Districtwise Rates of Domestic Violence, 2011

Category 1 Rate 0.00 – 1.92 cases per lakh population	Category 2 Rate : 1.93 – 5.44 cases per lakh population	Category 3 5.45 – 8.97 cases per lakh population	Category 4 8.98-12.50 cases per lakh population	Category 5 >12.50 cases per lakh population
Leh	Siwan	Doda	Tinsukia	Chirang
Pulwama	Bhagalpur		Mahendragarh	Jhajjar
Ramban	Nainital	Wardha	Anand	Porbandar
North District	Ranga	Mayurbhanj	Chittoor	Medak
Tawang	Reddy	Patiala	Bhopal	Thissur Rural
Kameng East	Jalaun	Ernakulam	Vishakapatnam	Paschim
Tirap	Dhanbad	Rural	Jalgaon	Midnapur
K/Kumay	Cuddalore	Neemuch	Bulandshahar	Paschim
Upper Dibang	Rohtas	Davanagere	Ujjain	Midnapur
Valley	Purnea	Satara	Raichur	Lucknow
Mon	Dhamtari	Mahboobnagar	Kodagu	Panipat
Mokokchung	Kathua	Chamarajnagar	Shahdol	Khammam
Zunheboto	Katihar	Chandrapur	Bhadrak	Sontipur
Wokha	Pune Rural	Patna	Washim	Ahmednagar
Phek	Khargaon	Singrauli	Rewari	Karnal
Tuensang	Kabirdham	Gulbarga	Amreli	Mewat
Longleng	Hamirpur	Kalahandi	Patan	Panchkula
Kiphire	Hamirpur	Udhamsingh	Gwalior	Kottayam
Kohima	Saharsa	Nagar	Panchmahal	Kolkata
Peren	Amritsar	Hathras	Fathehabad	Alapuzha
Senapati	Rural	Sagar	Kozhikode	Sibsagar
Tamenglong	Seoni	Belgaum	Rural	Palakkad
Chandel	Villupuram	Jajpur	Dhule	Jhunjhunu
Mamit	Vadodhara	Bijapur	Osmanabad	Purab
Kolasib	Rural	Muzaffarnagar	Kamrup	Midnapur
Champhai	Koraput	Bilaspur	Gandhinagar	Udaipur
Lunglei	Banda	Bokaro	Sonipat	Nalbari
Lawngtlai	Baksa	Khurda	Banswara	Kannur
Saiha	Dakshin	Bankura	Dausa	Wayanadu
Garo Hills East	Kannada	Narsinghpur	Sikar	Krishna
Khasi Hills	Dakshin	Dehradun	Srikakulam	Ambala Rural
West	Kannada	Cuddapah	Darjeeling	Beed
Jaintia Hills	Hazaribagh	Vidisha	Kokrajhar	Shimoga
Tehri Garhwal	Warangal	Anuppur	Guntur	Sawai
Shopian	Warangal	Bhavnagar	Nellore	Madhopur
Bharuch	Dhenkanal	Janjgir		Trivandrum
Shrawasti	Nuapada	Puri		Rural
Gonda	Tarn Taran	Ramanagar		Vizianagaram
Dimapur	Fatehpur	Bijnor		Dibrugarh

Ukhrul	Udhampur	Purulia	Kaithal	Kasargod
Churachandpur	Madurai	Burdwan	Rohtak	Kollam Rural
Bandipora	Rural	Darbhangha		Dhalai
Chamoli	Ferozpur	Baghpat	Hassan	Jalna
Budgam	Moga	Akola	Meerut	Junagadh
Balrampur	Papum Pare	Bhiwani	Mandya	Hissar
Khunti	Auraiya	Surendranagar	Balasore	Dhemaji
Kulgam	Khandwa	Keonjhar	Sirsa	Jamnagar
Reasi	Ratnagiri	Rajouri	Nagaur	Dholpur
Ganjam	Mahasamund	Kheda North	Morigaon	Malappuram
Anantnag	Malkangiri	Ratlam	Lakhimpur	Karimganj
Dahod	Gajapati	Rajkot Rural	Faridabad	Alwar
Thiruvallur	Muktsar	Chikmanglur	Mehsana	Hooghly
Ganderbal	Mansa	Prakasham		Sirohi
Lohit	Sangrur	Jind	Karauli	Adilabad
Kanchipuram	Ropar	Aurangabad	Parbhani	Malda
East District	Chandoli	Rural	Indore	Churu
Kargil	Jalandhar	Yavatmal	Yamunanagar	West Tripura
Narayanpur	Rural	Buldhana	Pathanamthitta	West Tripura
Sundargarh	Ahwa-Dang	Nalgonda		Dakshin
Baramulla	Jehanabad	Theni		Dinajpur
Baramulla	Mandla	Jalore		Golaghat
Serchhip	Mainpuri	Una		Uttar Dinajpur
Champawat	Mirzapur	Gurgaon		Howrah
Ri Bhoi	Barabanki	Nanded		Jorhat
Nagapattinam	Bhind	Ghaziabad		Karimnagar
Godda	Raipur	Gautam Budh Nagar		Coochbehar
Kupwara	Balaghat	Kanpur Nagar		Bikaner
Faizabad	Harda	Aligarh		West Godavari
Nilgiris	Giridih	Agra		Hailakandi
St. Ravidas Nagar	Kabri	Hoshangabad		Bharatpur
St. Ravidas Nagar	Anglong	Bangalore Rural		Idukki
Namakkal	Pratapgarh	Dewas		Rajsamand
Kushi Nagar	Pratapgarh	Jagatsinghpur		North Tripura
Garo Hills West	Mahoba	Hingoli		Pali
Thanjavur	Sitapur	Barmer		Tonk
Garo Hills	Kishanganj	Latur		Barpeta
South	Shimla	Sas NGR		Bongaigaon
Uttarkashi	Thoothugudi	Baragarh		Nizamabad
Perambalur	Tikamgarh	Jabalpur		24 Parganas
Deoria	Rajgarh	Birbhum		North
Barwani	Fatehgarh	Dungarpur		Goalpara
Pauri Garhwal	Virudhunaga	Koriya		Bhilwara
	Siang Upper			Hanumangarh

West District	Kaushambi	Palwal		Baran
Kameng West	Tiruppur	Damoh		Ajmer
Subansiri	Jamui	East Godavari		Jhalawar
Lower	Sangli	Kutch East G		Bundi
Almora	Raigarh	Kurukshetra		Jalpaiguri
Chaibasa	Raigarh	Mathura		Nagaon
Thane Rural	Sheopur	Kurnool		Cachar
Pithoragarh	Vaishali			24 Parganas
Bageshwar	Guna			South
South District	Solan			Darrang
Alirajpur	Gondiya			Nadia
Thiruvarur	Kullu			Hyderabad
Palamau	Kangra			City
N C Hills	Mau			Ganganagar
Sonbhadra	Saran			Dhubri
Surat Rural	Kolhapur			Chittorgarh
Araria	Madhubani			Murshidabad
Gumla	Anjaw			
Siang East	Nalanda			
Valsad	Shivpuri			
Sant Kabirnagar	Lahaul-Spiti			
Ballia	Betul			
Erode	Munger			
Thiruvanamalai	Unnao			
Maharajganj	Rayagada			
Sindhudurg	Bhatinda			
Ramanathapura	Dumka			
m	Bagalkot			
Jaunpur	Udupi			
Chatra	Sivagangai			
Trichy Rural	Fatehgarh			
Bettiah	Sahib			
Ghazipur	Nowrangpur			
Dantewara	Debagarh			
Subansiri Upper	Bareilly			
Khiri	Burhanpur			
North Goa	Dhar			
Dharwad Rural	Thoubal			
Shahjahanpur	Jodhpur			
Siddharth Nagar	Rural			
Jhabua	Firozabad			
Simdega	Jaisalmer			
Ranchi	Umraiya			
Imphal West	Durg			
Narmada	Korba			

Bizapur	Srinagar			
Latehar	Buxar			
Coimbatore	Sambalpur			
Rural	Ambedkar			
Karur	Nagar			
Bahraich	Jashpur			
Pudukottai	Dindori			
Nagpur Rural	Etawah			
Basti	Dharmapuri			
Banka	Bilaspur			
Chamba	Saharanpur			
Salem Rural	Chhartarpur			
Sarguja	Jaipur Rural			
Vellore	Datiya			
Badaun	Bhojpur			
Kolar	Sahebganj			
South Goa	Jamtara			
Rudra Prayag	Allahabad			
Lalitpur	Faridkot			
Madhepura	Mandi			
Bhabhua	Koderma			
Sitamarhi	Bolangir			
Bishnupur	Kinnaur			
Samba	Etah			
Changlang	Jammu			
Muzaffarpur	Solapur			
Aizwal	Rural			
Azamgarh	Poonch			
Raibareilly	Panna			
Nawadah	Gadag			
Imphal East	Sidhi			
Sheohar	Nayagarh			
Kanker	Tumkur			
Khasi Hills East	Siang West			
Arwal	Bellary			
Ariyalur	Dibang			
Chitrakoot	Valley			
Dham	J P Nagar			
Motihari	Chennai			
Sonepur	Pilibhit			
Gadchiroli	Sheikhpura			
Supaul	Lakhisarai			
Ramgarh	Morena			
Saraikela	Haveri			
Samastipur	Pakur			

Khagaria	Varanasi			
Kanshiram	Amravati			
Nagar	Rural			
Hardoi	Haridwar			
Rajnandgaon	Ashok Nagar			
Tapi	Navsari			
Begusarai	Katni			
Sultanpur	Boudh			
Gaya	Hoshiarpur			
Shajapur	Deoghar			
Gurdaspur	Kandhamal			
Krishnagiri	Kistwar			
Jhansi	Aurangabad			
Ahmedabad	Anantapur			
Rural	Bhandara			
	Thirunelveli			
	Rural			
	Kapurthala			
	Rewa			
	Chhindwara			
	Gopalganj			
	Mandsaur			
	Koppal			
	Kannauj			
	Kendrapara			
	Garhwa			
	Cuttack			
	Rampur			
	Yadgiri			
	Gorakhpur			
	Kanyakumar			
	Uttar			
	Kannada			
	Raisen			
	Nandurbar			
	Moradabad			
	Bidar			
	Dindigul			
	Satna			
	Nasik Rural			
	Angul			
	Sihore			
	Jharsuguda			
	Udalguri			
	Chitradurga			

Appendix IV.II. Districtwise Rates of Violence Against Women, 2001 and 2011

Districtwise Rates of Violence Against Women, 2001

Category 1 0.0 – 7.83 cases per lakh population	Category 2 7.84 – 16.15 cases per lakh population	Category 3 16.16 – 24.46 cases per lakh population	Category 4 24.47 – 32.78 cases per lakh population	Category 5 >32.78 cases per lakh population
SBS Nagar Sirmaur Chandigarh Senapati Banas Kantha Sabar Kantha Diu Daman Dadra & Nagar Haveli Bastar Yanam Andamans Pondicherry Mahe Lakshadweep Karaikal Nicobars Tuensang Chandel Mokokchung Tamenglong Wokha Churachandpur Phek Zunheboto Mon Ukhrul Garo Hills South Garo Hills East Dharwad Surat Rural Dimapur North Ahmadabad Khasi Hills West Aurangabad Madhepura	Nowrangpur Ratnagiri Bellary Jajpur Faizabad Ambedkar Nagar Burdwan Mahoba Ropar Basti Patna Poonch Fatehpur Darjeeling Sultanpur N C Hills Dindigul Thiruvapur Mau Faridkot Sangli Gajapati Lohit Lohardagga Araria Pudukottai Narmada Lalitpur Pithoragarh Raichur Jagatsinghpur Kullu Villupuram Koppal Kolkata Mahendragarh	Datiya Dhubri Mandi Gadchiroli Rajnandgaon Gurgaon Nizamabad Budgam Yavatmal Krishna Khurda Aizawl Sontipur Kozhikode Rural Jalna Warangal Alwar Jodhpur Rural Satna Buldhana Nalgonda Adilabad Nagaon Bikaner Chennai Korba Sawai Madhopur Aligarh Hathras Porbandar Koraput Pathanamthit Guntur	Jhajjar Ujjain Perambalur Chhartarpur Debagarh Betul Kinnaur Tonk Idukki Hyderabad City Ariyalur Shajapur Sihore Siang East Neemuch Jabalpur Bilaspur Hanumangh Banswara Panchkula Kandhamal Shahdol Nellore Raisen Koriya Lakhimpur Lahaul- Spiti Bhopal Hamirpur Siang West Khammam Narsinghpur Damoh Cachar	Srinagar Vidisha Ganganagar Guna Faridabd Bhilwara Dewas Sagar Chittorgarh Kota Rural Jhalawar Bundi Baran

Gurdaspur Sonbhadra Trichy rural Samastipur Howrah Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadoh Kohima Panchmahal West Navsari Garo Hills West Buxar Pashchimi Singhbhum Ri Bhoi Supaul Khagaria Dahod Palamau Kargil Dakshin Kannada Salem Rural Siwan Khasi Hills East Saharsa Thane Rural Maharajganj Sant Kabirnagar Aurangabad Gadag Jaintia Hills Mansa Nawadah Ghazipur Gaya Jaunpur Bangalore Kanchipuram Kushi Nagar Jamui Jehanabad Amritsar Chandoli Kameng West Sitamarhi	Godda Nainital Namakkal Gopalganj Kasargod Malda Theni 24 Parganas North Rampur Sundargarh Nalbari Purulia Giridih Udhampur Muzaffarpur Bhatinda Bharuch Jalaun Kathua Raigarh Jaisalmer Ernakulam Rural Vaishali Virudhunagar Nuapada Kishanganj Una Barmer Kodagu Mandya Hassan Sahebganj Auraiya Jhansi Gulbarga Kapurthala Badaun Udhamsingh Nagar Rewari Bhiwani Rajkot Rural Ramanathapura	North Tripura Mandsaur Raipur Jhabua Sheopur Meerut South Tripura Ambala Bhandara Wayanadu Jaipur East Sirohi Bulandshahar Bareilly Akola Papum Pare Kurukshetra Janjgir Washim Gondiya Kameng East Khandwa Harda Junagadh Hingoli Agra Kolasib Kanpur Nagar Shivpur Dholpur West Godavari Katni Hailakandi Sarguja Patiala Bharatpur Hoshangabad Khargaon Panipat Gwalior Pali	Mandla	
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Thiruvallur	m	Goalpara		
North Goa	Sikar	Pilibhit		
Medinipur	Kannauj	Dhemaji		
Siddharth Nagar	Birbhum	Lucknow		
Ballia	Kangra	Ranga Reddy		
Azamgarh	Tinsukia	Panna		
Solapur Rural	Jalandhar	Ajmer		
Vadodhara Rural	Rewa	Kollam		
Chatra	Cuddapah	Durg		
Kabri Anglong	Malkangir	Umraiya		
Vellore	Nagaur	Saiha		
Thiruvanamalai	Bijapur	Rajsamand		
Banka	Bhadrak	Ratlam		
Almora	Jashpur	Karimnagar		
Muktsar	Raibareily	Rajgarh		
Udupi	West Tripura	Dibang		
Bishnupur	Mainpuri	Valley		
Purnea	Banda	Tikamgarh		
Bhabhua	Anantapur	Indore		
Pune Rural	Amreli	Chhindwara		
Begusarai	Bhavnagar	Balaghat		
Sangrur	Varanasi	Dhar		
Hooghly	Purbi	Wardha		
Bilaspur	Singhbhum			
Tirap	Surendranagar			
Bhojpur	Nagapattinam			
Garhwa	Davanagere			
Dharmapuri	Hardoi			
Gorakhpur	Rayagada			
Darbhangha	Dhalai			
Tehri Garhwal	Uttarkashi			
Lakhisarai	Serchhip			
South Goa	Fategarh			
Purba Champaran	Karimganj			
Bankura	Sonipat			
Dumka	Satara			
Haveri	Etawah			
Fatehgarh Sahib	Subansiri Lower			
Belgaum	Nadia			
Mirzapur	Nasik Rural			
Moga	Srikakulam			
Gumla	Bidar			
Leh	Puri			
Imphal East	Sitapur			
	Nandurbar			

Pauri Garhwal	Patan			
Kolar	Dausa			
Saran	Vishakapatnam			
Uttar Dinajpur	Allahabad			
Madhubani	24 Parganas			
Coimbatore Rural	South			
Bhagalpur	Nagpur Rural			
Mumbai (Suburban)	Bongaigaon			
Mumbai	Kokrajhar			
Rudra Prayag	Etah			
Sheohar	Kanyakumari			
Tumkur	Coochbehar			
Ferozpur	Vizianagaram			
Pashchim Champaran	Dhamtari			
Deoria	Bijnor			
Valsad	East Godavari			
Uttar Kannada	Hamirpur			
Chitrakoot Dham	Bolangir			
Jalpaiguri	Kaushambi			
Balrampur	Thirunelveli			
Shrawasti	Rural			
Bahraich	Rajouri			
Murshidabad	Koderma			
Changlang	Jharsuguda			
Munger	Jhunjhunu			
Sindhudurg	Kheda North			
Pratapgarh	Muzaffarnagar			
Mysore Rural	Chittoor			
Kamrup	Kupwara			
Champawat	Yamunanagar			
Gonda	Anantnag			
Deoghar	Morena			
Sheikhpura	Dakshin			
Ahwa-Dang	Dinajpur			
Ranchi	Dibrugarh			
South	Mathura			
Nalanda	Dhule			
Chamarajnagar	Prakasham			
Dantewara	Cuddalore			
Karur	Chikmanglur			
Thoubal	Sonepur			
Nilgiris	Boudh			
East	Latur			
Kolhapur	Darrang			
	Baghpat			

Hazaribagh	Moradabad			
Erode	Dhenkanal			
Lawngtlai	Baramulla			
Doda	Chamba			
Nayagarh	Cuttack			
Baragarh	Kannur			
Pakur	Khiri			
Hoshiarpur	J P Nagar			
Rohtas	Barabanki			
Katihar	Tawang			
Dhanbad	Sambalpur			
Thiruvannamalai	Thanjavur			
Madurai Rural	Osmanabad			
Ganjam	Saharanpur			
Kalahandi	Hissar			
Bageshwar	Beed			
Bokaro	Jamnagar			
Sivagangai	Jammu			
Bagalkot	Morigaon			
North West	Bangalore Rural			
North	Jind			
North East	Kurnool			
West	Mamit			
South West	Ludhiana			
East	Gandhinagar			
Central	Imphal West			
New Delhi	Lunglei			
South	Shimoga			
Chitradurga	Jalore			
Chamoli	Jalgaon			
	Fathehabad			
	Kanpur Dehat			
	Rohtak			
	Ghaziabad			
	Siang Upper			
	Kendrapara			
	Nanded			
	Mahboobnagar			
	Barpeta			
	Jorhat			
	Ahmadnagar			
	Dehradun			
	Alappuzha			
	Thoothugudi			

	Shahjahanpur Solan Pulwama Sirsa Golaghat Kottayam Firozabad Churu Medak Barwani Haridwar Gautam Budh Nagar Karauli Unnao Subansiri Upper Champhai Mayurbhanj Balasore Karnal Amravati Udaipur Mahasamund Shimla Raigarh Palakkad Kaithal Kanker Dindori Kutch Thissur Bhind Sidhi Mehsana Kabirdham Keonjhar Angul Anand Malappuram Sibsagar Parbhani Chandrapur Dungarpur Seoni			
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Districtwise Rates of Violence Against Women, 2011.

Category 1(0.00-7.83 cases per lakh population)	Category 2 (7.84- 16.15 cases per lakh population)	Category 3 (16.16-24.46 cases per lakh population)	Category 4 (24.47 -32.78 cases per lakh population)	Category 5 (>32.78 cases per lakh population)
Peren	Fatehgarh	Mehsana	Kurnool	Balasore
Ukhrul	Sahib	Sikar	Anantnag	Indore
Longleng	Ramanathapuram	Neemuch	Lucknow	
Chandel	Madhubani	Thoubal	Kandhamal	Bharatpur
Tamenglong	Bhojpur	Siang Upper	Nellore	Bandipora
North District	Faizabad	Cuddapah	Shimoga	Coochbehar
Kohima	Krishnagiri	Jammu	Kokrajhar	Kasargod
Mon	Subansiri	Udalguri	Bikaner	Sagar
Tuensang	Lower	Seoni	Hissar	Dakshin
Churachandpur	Namakkal	Durg	Faridabad	Dinajpur
Wokha	Shrawasti	Chitradurga	Vizianagaram	Shahdol
Tehri Garhwal	Nagapattinam	Kaithal	Tinsukia	Ganderbal
Surat Rural	N C Hills	Amreli	Anuppur	Pali
Senapati	Varanasi	Fathehabad	Karimganj	Dhalai
Chamoli	Jamui	Jajpur	Rajouri	Bhilwara
Thiruvallur	Ambedkar	Janjgir	Rohtak	Koriya
Phek	Nagar	Yavatmal	Dholpur	Kulgam
Mokokchung	Mau	Kozhikode	Kamrup	Ajmer
Garo Hills East	Bahraich	Rural	Ratlam	Nizamabad
Kargil	Simdega	Akola	Panipat	Karimnagar
St. Ravidas	Pratapgarh	Siang East	Bhopal	Hanumangarh
Nagar	Pratapgarh	Paschim	Dibrugarh	Angul
St. Ravidas	Pratapgarh	Midnapur	Ujjain	Golaghat
Nagar	Lahaul-Spiti	Paschim	Doda	Nalbari
Kanchipuram	Giridih	Midnapur	Jabalpur	24 Parganas
Zunheboto	Nasik Rural	Dausa	Chirang	South
Uttarkashi	Bellary	Jehanabad	Alwar	North Tripura
Valsad	Muzaffarpur	Koraput	Debagarh	Sibsagar
Thane Rural	Solan	Jagatsinghpur		Trivandrum
Champawat	Kanker	Gurgaon	Budgam	Rural
Ahmedabad	Rohtas	Rewa	Malda	Dhemaji
Rural	Rudra Prayag	Mahendragarh	Gwalior	Idukki
Pauri Garhwal	Jalaun	Mathura	Dewas	Barpeta
Tapi	North Goa	Nagaur	Alapuzha	Bongaigaon
K/Kumay	Jamtara	Nowrangpur	Dhenkanal	Hyderabad
Almora	Katihar	Bulandshahar	Udaipur	City
Tawang	Kishanganj	Chandrapur	Kollam Rural	Cachar
Bharuch	Faridkot	Datiya	Narsinghpur	Jalpaiguri
Ghazipur	Dhanbad	Papum Pare	Raisen	Shopian

Khunti	Sheikhpura	Purab Midnapur	Pathanamthitta	Goalpara
Deoria	Munger	East Godavari	Wayanadu	Bundi
Dharwad Rural	Solapur Rural	Parbhani	Kolkata	Hailakandi
Ahwa-Dang	South Goa	Panna	Rajsamand	Ganganagar
Balrampur	Aurangabad	Prakasham	Tonk	Nadia
Narmada	Khasi Hills	Serchhip	Hoshangabad	West Godavari
Dahod	West	Gautam Budh	Krishna	Jhalawar
Mirzapur	Barabanki	Nagar	Damoh	Baran
Trichy Rural	Barwani	Chittoor	Sirohi	Chittorgarh
Coimbatore	Bidar	Satna	Srinagar	Nagaon
Rural	Saran	Mandla	Sontipur	Murshidabad
Pithoragarh	Nainital	Baramulla	Uttar Dinajpur	Dhubri
Upper Dibang	Jhansi	Baramulla	Morigaon	
Valley	Jaisalmer	Mandsaur	Adilabad	Lakhisarai
Basti	Hazaribagh	Raichur	Khammam	Darrang
Kushi Nagar	Dumka	Kanpur Nagar	24 Parganas	Dibang Valley
Ballia	Nandurbar	Champhai	North	
Ranga Reddy	Nalanda	Shivpuri	Lakhimpur	
Vadodhara	Shahjahanpur	Bilaspur	Vidisha	
Rural	Salem Rural	Ahmednagar	West Tripura	
Thiruvanamalai	Sivagangai	Darjeeling	West Tripura	
Siddharth Nagar	Madurai Rural	Jharsuguda	Kottayam	
Vellore	Haveri	osmanabad	Jorhat	
Nagpur Rural	Alirajpur	Junagadh		
Jaunpur	Siwan	Sirsa		
Sultanpur	Pulwama	Umraiya		
Gurdaspur	Kaushambi	Dungarpur		
Sonbhadra	Hoshiarpur	Srikakulam		
Azamgarh	Ropar	Bangalore Rural		
Lawngtlai	Gadag	Agra		
Bizapur	Kameng East	Kota Rural		
Amritsar Rural	Warangal	Rewari		
Dantewara	Warangal	Khandwa		
Erode	Bhatinda	Kalahandi		
Nilgiris	Kabri Anglong	Jamnagar		
Kolar	Kanshiram	Kurukshetra		
Chaibasa	Nagar	Tikamgarh		
Bettiah	Rajnandgaon	Subansiri Upper		
Sitamarhi	Cuttack	Kodagu		
Dimapur	Allahabad	Mewat		
Pune Rural	Burdwan	Palwal		
Thiruvarur	Deoghar	Baragarh		
Maharajganj	Gumla	Siang West		
Chandoli	Rajkot Rural	Yamunanagar		
Ferozpur	West District	Rajgarh		

Sundargarh	Perambalur	Dhar		
Samastipur	Sarguja	Hooghly		
Gonda	Buxar	washim		
Gaya	Banda	Sidhi		
Bageshwar	Cuddalore	Kistwar		
Tirap	Hamirpur	Singrauli		
Palamau	Hamirpur	Sonipat		
Dakshin	Chitrakoot	Bolangir		
Kannada	Dham	Beed		
Dakshin	Vaishali	Wardha		
Kannada	Karur	Chhartarpur		
Khagaria	Khasi Hills	Aizwal		
Sindhudurg	East	Banswara		
Banka	Pilibhit	Hassan		
Nawadah	Koderma	Jashpur		
Sant Kabirnagar	Patiala	Churu		
Godda	Fatehpur	Palakkad		
Sheohar	Bijapur	Rayagada		
Madhepura	Sitapur	Jhunjhunu		
Raibareilly	Fatehgarh	Dindori		
Jodhpur Rural	Kheda North	Ambala Rural		
Navsari	Kapurthala	Ramanagar		
Supaul	Auraiya	Karauli		
Anjaw	Gopalganj	Panchkula		
Garo Hills West	Kutch East G	Guna		
Jaipur Rural	Aurangabad	Aligarh		
Thoothugudi	Rural	Guntur		
Garo Hills South	Satara	Mandya		
Bhabhua	Jaintia Hills	Medak		
Begusarai	Lunglei	Ashok Nagar		
Tarn Taran	Bishnupur	Mayurbhanj		
Moga	J P Nagar	Poonch		
Kameng West	Unnao	Kannur		
Bhagalpur	Imphal East	Theni		
Tiruppur	Tumkur	Boudh		
Latehar	Sheopur	Harda		
Motihari	Samba			
Gadchiroli	Etawah	Thissur Rural		
Araria	Lohit	Katni		
Jalandhar Rural	Baksa	Jalna		
East District	Dindigul	Chhindwara		
Saharsa	Chamba	Sihore		
Leh	Bankura	Malappuram		
Ranchi	Moradabad	Meerut		
Sangrur				

Hardoi	Thirunelveli	Nalgonda		
Purnea	Rural	Jhajjar		
Koppal	Anantapur	Bhadrak		
Thanjavur	Chatra	Karnal		
Badaun	Pakur	Howrah		
Arwal	Purulia	Sawai		
Mansa	Patna	Madhopur		
Ratnagiri	Garhwa	Betul		
Saharanpur	Nayagarh	Keonjhar		
Lalitpur	Nanded			
Pudukottai	Kupwara			
Saraikela	Kangra			
Kolhapur	Bokaro			
Narayanpur	Muzaffarnagar			
Muktsar	Bhavnagar			
Bagalkot	Ernakulam			
Saiha	Rural			
Udupi	Davanagere			
Sangli	Chennai			
Khiri	Bhandara			
Ramgarh	Belgaum			
	Uttar Kannada			
	Mamit			
	Dharmapuri			
	Surendranagar			
	Bareilly			
	Changlang			
	Virudhunagar			
	Bijnor			
	Bhind			
	Anand			
	Mainpuri			
	Jalore			
	Ri Bhoi			
	Raipur			
	Shimla			
	Yadgiri			
	Vishakapatnam			
	Gondiya			
	Rampur			
	Latur			
	Barmer			
	Firozabad			
	South District			
	Etah			

	Gorakhpur Dhamtari Gulbarga Darbhanga Birbhum Hingoli Sonepur Puri Reasi Morena Sahebganj Balaghat Kannauj Jhabua Bilaspur Sambalpur Ganjam Chamarajnaragar Mahoba Kanyakumari Kabirdham Amravati Rural Gandhinagar Haridwar Kendrapara Malkangir Ramban Panchmahal Kinnaur Raigarh Raigarh Korba Villupuram Dhule Mahasamund Mandi Ariyalur Udhampur Khurda Burhanpur Mahboobnagar Kullu Nuapada Sas NGR			
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	Gajapati Chikmanglur Kolasib Imphal West Una Jind Kathua Ghaziabad Baghpat Jalgaon Shajapur Dehradun Hathras Bhiwani Khargaon Buldhana Udhamsingh Nagar Porbandar Patan			
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Appendix IV.III. Districtwise Rates of Total Crimes, 2001 and 2011

Districtwise Rates of Total Crimes, 2001

Category 1 (0.00- 13.73 cases per lakh population)	Category 2 (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Category 3 (109.39– 205.02 cases per lakh population)	Category 4 (295.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Category 5 (>32.78 cases per lakh population)
SBS Nagar Sirmaur Chandigarh Banas Kantha Sabar Kantha Diu Daman Dadra & Nagar Haveli Bastar Yanam Andamans Pondicherry Mahe Lakshadweep Karaikal Nicobars Tuensang	Medinipur Mon Tamenglong Ukhrul Gurdaspur Siddharth Nagar Zunheboto Maharajganj Ghaziपुर Sant Kabirnagar Sonbhadra Phek Bankura Amritsar Mokokchung Howrah Chandoli Murshidabad Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadoh Jaunpur Ahmadabad Khasi Hills West Pashchimi Singhbhum Surat Rural Kushi Nagar Balrampur Thane Rural Uttar Dinajpur Almora Champawat Garo Hills West Mirzapur Churachandpur Rudra Prayag West	Bhagalpur Vizianagaram Khasi Hills East Bhabhua Shahjahanpur Jorhat Deoghar East Saran Hazaribagh Allahabad Sitapur Baghpat Ranchi Sangli Ropar Fatehgarh Sahib Dhenkanal Anantapur Nainital Krishna Unnao Jalgaon Jalandhar Kupwara Belgaum Navsari Buxar Balasore Koppal Leh Prakasham Dhemaji Muzaffarpur Cuddapah Begusarai	Raipur Jamnagar Sheopur Rajouri Kurukshetra Surendranagar Coimbatore Rural Jhunjhunu Katni Malappuram Bikaner Anand Valsad Gurgaon Korba Jammu Panna Thiruvannamala Khandwa Pudukottai Bhavnagar Junagadh Mandsaur Rewa Ambala Ariyalur Durg Kutch Mandla Lawngtlai Kanchipuram Sambalpur Bharuch Vellore	Morena Siang West Ganganagar South Goa Bangalore Rural Bilaspur Sihore Thoothugudi Bhilwara Hyderabad City Kollam Kolasib Thissur Pathanamthit ta Tonk Cuddalore Alappuzha Bharatpur Kottayam Guna Aizawl Sagar Jaipur East Papum Pare Chittorgarh Baran Saiha Jabalpur Dewas Bundi Idukki Ujjain Perambalur

Coochbehar	Bulandshahar	Jodhpur Rural	Kota Rural
Bageshwar	Jagatsinghpur	Kameng East	Gwalior
Garo Hills East	Thoubal	Hamirpur	Ernakulam
Jalpaiguri	Kurnool	Solan	Rural
Chitrakoot Dham	Barmer	Kannur	Indore
Azamgarh	Firozabad	Imphal West	Bhopal
Bahraich	Ludhiana	Jhabua	
Shrawasti	Bokaro	Narsinghpur	
Tehri Garhwal	Budgam	Mumbai	
Bilaspur	Tawang	(Suburban)	
Garo Hills South	Mainpuri	Mumbai	
Muktsar	Pilibhit	Thirunelveli	
Chamoli	Sontipur	Rural	
Hooghly	Haridwar	Srinagar	
Pauri Garhwal	Etah	Panchkula	
Dharwad	Kaithal	Banswara	
Gumla	Thiruvallur	Kanyakumari	
Wokha	Golaghat	Theni	
South	Raigarh	Chikmanglur	
Varanasi	Chamba	Hassan	
Ballia	Yamunanagar	Cachar	
Sangrur	Tinsukia	Kasargod	
Pune Rural	Satara	Chhertarpur	
Purulia	Trichy rural	Shimoga	
Mansa	Keonjhar	Thiruvarur	
Ambedkar Nagar	Jind	Villupuram	
Ganjam	Rohtas	Lucknow	
Kamrup	Koraput	Akola	
Gonda	Lohit	Subansiri Upper	
Burdwan	Serchhip	Karur	
Pithoragarh	Tirap	Alwar	
Aurangabad	Changlang	Dindigul	
Gorakhpur	Bishnupur	Karauli	
Mau	Kanker	Porbandar	
Siwan	Salem Rural	Rajgarh	
Chandel	Bhojpur	Dibang Valley	
Bijnor	Nagpur Rural	Udaipur	
Nowrangpur	Dhule	Satna	
Birbhum	Vaishali	Tikamgarh	
Nadia	Kabirdham	Erode	
Dumka	Mathura	Virudhunagar	
Lalitpur	Etawah	Palakkad	
Kargil	Nagaon	Khargaon	
Madhepura	Gadchiroli	Hanumangarh	
		Bhind	

Jaintia Hills	Dhanbad	Gandhinagar
Raigarh	Angul	Mandya
Basti	Koderma	Hoshangabad
24 Parganas North	Narmada	Sirohi
Ferozpur	Mahboobnagar	Damoh
Dakshin Dinajpur	Pulwama	Kodagu
Saharsa	Bareilly	Sivagangai
Kendrapara	Godda	Pali
Pakur	Medak	Ramanathapuram
Sitamarhi	Dibrugarh	Ratlam
Palamau	Rewari	North West
Kishanganj	Raichur	North
Jamui	Haveri	North East
Madhubani	Dehradun	West
Solapur Rural	Dindori	South West
Garhwa	Fathehabad	East
Raibareilly	Gulbarga	Central
Sultanpur	Kolar	New Delhi
Hardoi	East Godavari	South
Sheohar	Bhiwani	Sawai
Deoria	Udhampur	Madhopur
Fatehpur	Latur	Nagapattinam
Faridkot	Kameng West	Koriya
Sahebganj	Chamarajnaragar	Wayanadu
Ratnagiri	Mahasamund	Ranga Reddy
Khagaria	Jharsuguda	Shimla
Panchmahal	Malda	Siang East
Gajapati	Kangra	Dausa
Kabri Anglong	Dimapur	Shajapur
Rampur	Thiruvanamalai	Shahdol
Darrang	Hathras	Bidar
Moga	Nalanda	Khurda
Hoshiarpur	Sarguja	Patiala
Vishakapatnam	Rajkot Rural	Faridabad
Nawadah	Chandrapur	Umraiya
Pratapgarh	Mahendragarh	Kozhikode
Katihar	Kandhamal	Rural
Moradabad	Ghaziabad	Mehsana
Kalahandi	Debagarh	Wardha
Darbhangha	Amreli	Neemuch
Samastipur	Bijapur	Dholpur
Banka	Jalna	Vidisha
Kolhapur	West Godavari	Dhar
24 Parganas South	Hailakandi	Shivpur

	Saharanpur Purnea Barabanki Uttarkashi Nandurbar Baragarh Kannauj Vadodhara Rural Ri Bhoi Sonapur Karimganj Bongaigaon Ahwa-Dang Gaya Pashchim Champaran Morigaon Mahoba Bangalore Bhatinda North West Tripura Hamirpur Auraiya Faizabad Chatra Imphal East Gadag Senapati Dhubri Doda Sindhudurg Malkangir Nasik Rural Dantewara Mayurbhanj Kokrajhar Khiri Nuapada Badaun Sundargarh South Tripura N C Hills Kanpur Dehat Dhalai	Purbi Singhbhum Janjgir Bellary Churu Kanpur Nagar Aligarh Kathua Nalgonda Puri Chittoor Sibsagar Sirsa Dhamtari Beed Parbhani Amravati Sheikhpura Sonapat Siang Upper Meerut Una Harda Nizamabad Dakshin Kannada Agra Adilabad Jhajjar Subansiri Lower Chennai Tumkur Munger Nagaur Gondiya North Goa Davanagere Hingoli Kullu Jalore Thanjavur Uttar Kannada Yavatmal Washim Hissar	Rajsamand Datiya Ajmer Jhalawar	
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Anantnag	Kinnaur
Gopalganj	Osmanabad
Kaushambi	Karimnagar
Lakhisarai	Seoni
Aurangabad	Guntur
Araria	Nellore
J P Nagar	Nilgiris
Jhansi	Udupi
Bhadrak	Dungarpur
Udhamsingh Nagar	Raisen
Jashpur	Lahaul-Spiti
Banda	Khammam
Jajpur	Kolkata
Kohima	Poonch
Supaul	Karnal
Kapurthala	Madurai Rural
Nalbari	Nanded
Muzaffarnagar	Gautam Budh
Lohardagga	Nagar
Srikakulam	Patna
Baramulla	Champhai
Jalaun	Sidhi
Nayagarh	Dharmapuri
Barpeta	Sikar
Fategarh	Cuttack
Jehanabad	Chitradurga
Bolangir	Lunglei
Buldhana	Balaghat
Bagalkot	Lakhimpur
Purba Champaran	Betul
Giridih	Warangal
North Tripura	Mandi
Dahod	Rohtak
Mysore Rural	Panipat
Darjeeling	Namakkal
Mamit	Bhandara
Ahmadnagar	Rajnandgaon
Goalpara	Chhindwara
Boudh	Kheda North
Rayagada	Jaisalmer
	Barwani
	Patan

Districtwise Rates of Total Crimes, 2011.

Category 1 (0.00 – 13.73 cases per lakh population)	Category 2 (13.74 – 109.38 cases per lakh population)	Category 3 (109.39 – 205.05 cases per lakh population)	Category 4 (205.03 – 300.67 cases per lakh population)	Category 5 (>300.68 cases per lakh population)
	Mon Tehri Garhwal Tuensang Uttarkashi Bageshwar Chamoli Kiphire Almora St. Ravidas Nagar St. Ravidas Nagar Peren Siddharth Nagar Balrampur Pithoragarh Phek Ghazipur Longleng Pauri Garhwal Mokokchung Churachandpur Wokha Champawat Ranga Reddy Ballia Deoria Basti Jaunpur Mirzapur Maharajganj Tamenglong Gurdaspur Ukhrul Kushi Nagar K/Kumay Rudra Prayag	Rajkot Rural Sitamarhi Katihar Mainpuri Kandhamal Gorakhpur Nawadah Warangal Warangal Pilibhit Godda Dumka Firozabad North Tripura Baragarh Arwal Baghpat Boudh Etah Deoghar Kota Rural South District Bhabhua Bagalkot Chittoor Lunglei Sangrur Serchhip Ranchi Khagaria Malda Narmada Gaya Kendrapara Chamba Saran Imphal East Bolangir	Raigarh Raigarh Bhilwara West Godavari Bilaspur Jhabua Nagaon Sas NGR Hailakandi Sibsagar Khammam Bidar Barpeta Bhind Nellore Shajapur Srinagar Patan Nadia Panna Jhajjar Nalbari Khargaon Meerut Siang East Jamnagar Kinnaur Udupi Akola Kozhikode Rural Kheda North South Goa Shopian Hanumangarh Jharsuguda Samba	Ashok Nagar Karauli Kollam Rural Sihore Shimoga Hoshangabad Dausa Kasargod Palakkad Vidisha Datiya Raisen Dholpur Thiruvapur Kokrajhar Hassan Kodagu Cuddalore Mandya Bharatpur Dewas Trivandrum Rural Chennai Sagar Gautam Budh Nagar Thissur Rural Theni Wayanadu Alapuzha Ramanagar Hyderabad City Jabalpur Ujjain Kolkata

Sultanpur Chandel Azamgarh Raibareilly Amritsar Rural Surat Rural Chandoli Sant Kabirnagar Bankura Ahmedabad Rural Sonbhadra Zunheboto Ambedkar Nagar Shrawasti Garo Hills East Thane Rural Lalitpur Mau Burdwan Chaibasa Ganjam Sundargarh Hamirpur Hamirpur Pratapgarh Pratapgarh Chitrakoot Dham Purulia Khasi Hills West Jalaun Fatehgarh Gajapati Badaun Khiri Barabanki Banda Simdega Gonda Khunti Kanshiram	Dakshin Kannada Dakshin Kannada Moga Coochbehar Jalgaon Dhalai Begusarai Lakhisarai Bhatinda Nayagarh Aurangabad Etawah Lohit Dehradun Faridkot Upper Dibang Valley Vishakapatnam West Tripura West Tripura Kanker Keonjhar Anantnag Nagaur Howrah Gopalganj Yadgiri Subansiri Lower Nuapada Leh Narayanpur Barmer East Godavari Bizapur Bellary Bishnupur Thoubal Hazaribagh Garhwa Kolar Dhule Dimapur Jajpur	Kamrup Dhubri Khandwa Rewa Tonk Sonipat Sidhi Goalpara Palwal Sivagangai Nizamabad Karimnagar Nalgonda Harda Mehsana Karnal Krishnagiri Tikamgarh Sambalpur Pudukottai Patna Raipur Kurukshetra Satna Hissar Dharmapuri Chikmanglur Lucknow Panchkula North Goa Karur Ajmer Panipat Aizwal Chhindwara Shimla Ramban Katni Mandsaur Imphal West Neemuch Tiruppur Nagapattinam	Gandhinagar Pathanamthitta Gurgaon Kottayam Bangalore Rural Gwalior Ernakulam Rural Indore Idukki Bhopal Dibang Valley
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Nagar Hardoi Latehar Bahraich Unnao Ferozpur Sitapur Kohima Baksa Malkangir Khurda Dharwad Rural Vadodhara Rural Garo Hills South Jodhpur Rural Kishanganj Jalandhar Rural Mahoba Bijnor Birbhum Kabri Anglong Kupwara Fatehpur East District Garo Hills West Kaushambi Moradabad J P Nagar Nagpur Rural Faizabad Nowrangpur Nasik Rural Nainital Saraikela Shahjahanpur Jhansi Kargil Auraiya West District Dahod Pune Rural	Darbhangha Vaishali Jalore Buxar Motihari Anantapur Saiha Koppal Dungarpur Latur Morigaon Valsad Fatehgarh Sahib Chirang Bhojpur Bijapur Rohtas Haridwar Coimbatore Rural Tirap Banswara Barwani Hingoli Dakshin Dinajpur Udhamsingh Nagar Bandipora Uttar Dinajpur Guntur Munger Kameng West Muzaffarpur Gondiya Darjeeling Patiala Haveri Amreli Jehanabad Buldhana Koderma Krishna 24 Parganas North	Namakkal Dhar Koriya Dindigul Cachar Ramanathapur am Udaipur Pali Erode Virudhunagar Morena Chitradurga Kanyakumari Ratlam Angul Perambalur Rewari Thirunelveli Rural Jhalawar Rajouri Jammu Villupuram Chhartarpur Damoh Ganganagar Shivpuri Baran Bilaspur Wardha Thanjavur Darrang Durg Sawai Madhopur Faridabad Ariyalur Papum Pare Lahaul-Spiti Narsinghpur Guna Chittorgarh Bundi
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Paschim Midnapur Paschim Midnapur Ahwa-Dang Varanasi Lawngtlai Saharanpur Jamtara Mansa Banka Pakur Senapati Sarguja Nandurbar Pulwama Tarn Taran Sheohar Tapi Tawang Aurangabad Rural Muktsar Chatra Purab Midnapur Ratnagiri Araria Gadchiroli Thiruvallur Kannauj Sindhudurg Jaipur Rural Gumla North District Supaul Mayurbhanj Ri Bhoi Cuttack Sonapur Allahabad Rampur Rayagada Madhepura Sangli	Bhavnagar Jashpur Siang Upper Porbandar Fathehabad Dhanbad Bokaro Solan Belgaum Changlang Satara Panchmahal Karimganj Amravati Rural Dhenkanal Anand Kapurthala Jalna Balaghat Dhamtari Bhadrak Junagadh Davanagere Dindori Churu Jagatsinghpur Kanpur Nagar Aligarh Kutch East G Debagarh Ganderbal Srikakulam Beed Dhemaji Ropar Parbhani Nalanda Ahmednagar Kameng East Balasore Kaithal Mahboobnagar Sheikhpura Kanchipuram	Rohtak Kannur Alwar Rajgarh Malappuram Shahdol Thoothugudi	
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Navsari	Jaisalmer		
Hooghly	Burhanpur		
Bulandshahar	Surendranagar		
Sahebganj	Kabirdham		
Jaintia Hills	Trichy Rural		
Koraput	Champhai		
Muzaffarnagar	Bikaner		
Ramgarh	Kistwar		
Kalahandi	Kulgam		
Anjaw	Raichur		
Samastipur	Sirsa		
N C Hills	Mandi		
Bhagalpur	Budgam		
Madhubani	Mathura		
Gadag	Yamunanagar		
Hoshiarpur	Gulbarga		
Purnea	Nilgiris		
Jamui	Kangra		
Mamit	Chandrapur		
Udalguri	Jind		
Hathras	Kurnool		
Kolhapur	Bhandara		
Palamau	Prakasham		
Giridih	Tinsukia		
Solapur Rural	Golaghat		
Dantewara	osmanabad		
Bettiah	Alirajpur		
Nanded	Ghaziabad		
Bareilly	Poonch		
Siwan	Una		
Baramulla	24 Parganas		
Baramulla	South		
Khasi Hills	washim		
East	Mewat		
Saharsa	Chamarajnar		
	Bharuch		
	Sirohi		
	Thiruvanamalai		
	Sheopor		
	Sontipur		
	Medak		
	Subansiri Upper		
	Doda		
	Vizianagaram		
	Lakhimpur		

		Kullu Murshidabad Puri Kathua Jhunjhunu Singrauli Bhiwani Mahasamund Udhampur Reasi Adilabad Bongaigaon Yavatmal Rajnandgaon Janjgir Madurai Rural Siang West Cuddapah Kolasib Jorhat Salem Rural Dibrugarh Mandla Jalpaiguri Vellore Agra Korba Seoni Betul Umraiya Tumkur Sikar Mahendragarh Ambala Rural Uttar Kannada Anuppur Rajsamand		
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Appendix IV.IV.I. Districtwise Domestic Violence Rates categorised by Range Homogeneity, 2001.

DV01 Cat 1 (0.00-13.98 cases per lakh population)		DV01 Cat 2 (13.99 – 16.55 cases per lakh population)		DV01 Cat3 (16.56 -21.14 cases per lakh population)	
Data Not Available	0	Hanumangarh	15.1732	Jhalawar	17.48081
Leh	0	Junagadh	15.42661	Hyderabad City	18.19099
Kupwara	0	Bhilwara	16.55238	Bundi	18.52548
Anantnag	0			Kota Rural	19.63628
Budgam	0			Chittorgarh	20.55254
Pulwama	0			Ganganagar	21.14257
SBS Nagar	0				
Sirmaur	0				
Chandigarh	0				
Siang Upper	0				
Subansiri Lower	0				
Kameng West	0				
Mon	0				
Tuensang	0				
Mokokchung	0				
Wokha	0				
Zunheboto	0				
Ri Bhoi	0				
Kohima	0				
Garro Hills East	0				
Garro Hills West	0				
Dimapur	0				
Phek	0				
Khasi Hills West	0				
Jaintia Hills	0				
Ukhrul	0				
Senapati	0				
Tamenglong	0				
Banas Kantha	0				
Churachandpur	0				
Chandel	0				
Sabar Kantha	0				
Champhai	0				
Serchhip	0				
Lunglei	0				
Saiha	0				

Lawngtlai	0				
Diu	0				
Daman	0				
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0				
Bastar	0				
Yanam	0				
Andamans	0				
Pondicherry	0				
Mahe	0				
Lakshadweep	0				
Karaikal	0				
Nicobars	0				
Imphal East	0.083571				
Baramulla	0.085486				
Doda	0.096831				
Khasi Hills East	0.151304				
Pashchimi Singhbhum	0.17				
Godda	0.190851				
Thiruvvarur	0.199235				
Vellore	0.201305				
Trichy rural	0.220397				
Lohit	0.229922				
Kargil	0.276597				
Hazaribagh	0.292868				
Aizawl	0.307054				
Garo Hills South	0.326797				
Tirap	0.328928				
Kanchipuram	0.336059				
Aurangabad	0.356574				
Dharwad	0.37				
Srinagar	0.388375				
Kushi Nagar	0.391608				
Madhepura	0.414634				
Salem Rural	0.420045				
Samastipur	0.441853				
Saharsa	0.442254				
Maharajganj	0.444827				
Gumla	0.445511				
Sonbhadra	0.455751				
Thoubal	0.458615				
Mahoba	0.470042				

Bishnupur	0.47992				
Kolasib	0.500303				
Aurangabad	0.51315				
Thiruvanamalai	0.53581				
Jashpur	0.538242				
West	0.543584				
Kathua	0.545371				
Chatra	0.547108				
Dantewara	0.555952				
Kameng East	0.577135				
Poonch	0.625314				
Chamoli	0.629119				
Dhanbad	0.667473				
Thirunelveli Rural	0.67291				
South Goa	0.679008				
Khagaria	0.702931				
Dahod	0.713136				
Sitamarhi	0.733211				
Chitrakoot Dham	0.739992				
Dharmapuri	0.74677				
Imphal West	0.749355				
Kamrup	0.753274				
South	0.760312				
Surat Rural	0.767341				
Sheohar	0.775252				
Gurdaspur	0.776137				
Nagapattinam	0.783832				
Thiruvannamalai	0.792727				
Chamarajnagar	0.794438				
Changlang	0.797308				
North	0.80429				
Buxar	0.807903				
Thiruvallur	0.81				
Mansa	0.823221				
Tawang	0.847806				
Dindigul	0.849188				
Sambalpur	0.855054				
Pakur	0.85511				
Dakshin Kannada	0.860502				
Kabri Anglong	0.860679				
Supaul	0.865762				
Gaya	0.873201				
Sundargarh	0.873996				

North Goa	0.879283				
Deoghar	0.886399				
Garhwa	0.901045				
Purnea	0.943418				
Siddharth Nagar	0.94751				
Jamui	0.952962				
Lahaul-Spiti	0.993258				
Ranchi	1.005363				
Sahebganj	1.005637				
Cuddalore	1.006391				
Lohardagga	1.006801				
North West	1.008387				
North	1.008387				
North East	1.008387				
West	1.008387				
South West	1.008387				
East	1.008387				
Central	1.008387				
New Delhi	1.008387				
South	1.008387				
Ballia	1.013898				
Banka	1.015059				
Nawadah	1.031665				
Sindhudurg	1.035882				
Champawat	1.037668				
Lakhisarai	1.038362				
Haveri	1.042307				
Udupi	1.049231				
Bangalore	1.05551				
Dhamtari	1.061434				
Virudhunagar	1.066065				
Panchmahal	1.069977				
Bageshwar	1.070303				
Udhampur	1.075979				
Thanjavur	1.097856				
Kalahandi	1.09847				
Jhabua	1.147314				
Pauri Garhwal	1.147648				
Tumkur	1.147904				
Theni	1.158188				
Gadag	1.165836				
Rudra Prayag	1.173941				
Thane Rural	1.176362				

Raigarh	1.177574				
Siwan	1.17892				
Shrawasti	1.190081				
Jehanabad	1.210448				
Subansiri Upper	1.210566				
Almora	1.216366				
Ganjam	1.233929				
Gorakhpur	1.23811				
Fatehgarh Sahib	1.239682				
Rajouri	1.241506				
Erode	1.252373				
Bokaro	1.256144				
Sant Kabirnagar	1.267404				
Nayagarh	1.272388				
Deoria	1.278086				
Pithoragarh	1.297889				
Nowrangpur	1.299517				
Palamau	1.302446				
Kullu	1.310372				
Darbhangha	1.314708				
Chandoli	1.318727				
Tehri Garhwal	1.322867				
Araria	1.328171				
Giridih	1.34791				
Bhagalpur	1.348233				
Ghazipur	1.371815				
Nalanda	1.378174				
Malkangir	1.388343				
Dumka	1.402022				
Chitradurga	1.405235				
Ahmadabad	1.415451				
Kolar	1.41952				
Coimbatore Rural	1.435676				
Purba Champaran	1.45				
Bahraich	1.469926				
Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadoh	1.47				
Uttar Kannada	1.477493				
Mirzapur	1.480594				
Karur	1.496228				
East	1.497715				
Pashchim Champaran	1.5				

Begusarai	1.50381				
Villupuram	1.508594				
Jaunpur	1.51674				
Siang East	1.521791				
Mysore Rural	1.527057				
Mumbai (Suburban)	1.527744				
Mumbai	1.527744				
Jammu	1.531371				
Kanyakumari	1.531592				
Koppal	1.532495				
Pratapgarh	1.562332				
Azamgarh	1.582013				
Bellary	1.594858				
Bhabhua	1.603477				
Bhojpur	1.60489				
Gajapati	1.605514				
Dindori	1.606599				
Balrampur	1.624513				
Ramanathapuram	1.627647				
Papum Pare	1.639304				
Namakkal	1.673963				
Madhubani	1.67819				
Gonda	1.687527				
Barwani	1.694961				
Kodagu	1.700814				
Solapur Rural	1.731894				
Katihar	1.741592				
Muktsar	1.758215				
Baragarh	1.782616				
Navsari	1.789399				
Ernakulam Rural	1.792454				
Nalbari	1.799231				
Seoni	1.800091				
Howrah	1.801971				
Sangrur	1.816343				
Faizabad	1.851189				
Basti	1.854842				
Moga	1.899751				
Raichur	1.916441				
Belgaum	1.921934				
Vadodhara Rural	1.922125				
Tinsukia	1.941634				
Boudh	1.96				

Sivagangai	1.990728				
Ferozpur	2.023358				
Mahasamund	2.034276				
Lalitpur	2.045546				
Raigarh	2.054477				
Morena	2.071935				
Chennai	2.07959				
Madurai Rural	2.081684				
Pudukottai	2.101259				
Bilaspur	2.101729				
Puri	2.107565				
Saran	2.144549				
Shivpur	2.172752				
Cuddapah	2.17811				
Koderma	2.20263				
Jharsuguda	2.222806				
Nilgiris	2.230558				
Amritsar	2.239285				
Siang West	2.242152				
Mau	2.247576				
Bagalkot	2.259833				
Badaun	2.269805				
Davanagere	2.270859				
Uttar Dinajpur	2.279881				
Munger	2.285118				
Thoothugudi	2.310667				
Dhenkanal	2.312354				
Fatehpur	2.325003				
Bidar	2.329648				
Sitapur	2.339169				
Bolangir	2.342966				
Nuapada	2.387458				
Narmada	2.396949				
Darrang	2.415045				
Mahendragarh	2.420861				
Hassan	2.439493				
Bankura	2.453413				
Jalaun	2.475159				
Purbi Singhbhum	2.48				
Dibrugarh	2.503645				
Pune Rural	2.507136				
Keonjhar	2.517942				
Bhadrak	2.524463				

Tikamgarh	2.549464				
Gulbarga	2.555158				
Jalpaiguri	2.57764				
Medinipur	2.59				
Banda	2.601907				
Sarguja	2.636791				
Sonepur	2.644717				
Nagpur Rural	2.646991				
Auraiya	2.6551				
Rewa	2.669125				
Rohtas	2.693055				
Hamirpur	2.714319				
Ratnagiri	2.730471				
Jagatsinghpur	2.773184				
Udhamsingh Nagar	2.805892				
Barmer	2.816013				
Dhalai	2.816142				
Rewari	2.831381				
Khargaon	2.832837				
Kanker	2.84207				
Faridkot	2.844478				
Mandya	2.853652				
Sheopur	2.859722				
Etawah	2.86286				
Murshidabad	2.886355				
Golaghat	2.888155				
Hardoi	2.903505				
Kaushambi	2.913033				
Datiya	2.917675				
Jajpur	2.934729				
Kolkata	2.937539				
Khandwa	2.977				
Jhansi	2.980061				
Kabirdham	2.993746				
Hoshangabad	3.013101				
N C Hills	3.014691				
Kottayam	3.019994				
Sheikhpura	3.044708				
Kokrajhar	3.05488				
Hoshiarpur	3.061315				
Patna	3.065957				
Sibsagar	3.13767				
Valsad	3.142739				

Korba	3.162608				
Mainpuri	3.173384				
Satna	3.190732				
Raisen	3.199562				
Bhiwani	3.204863				
Sultanpur	3.224741				
Sangli	3.251373				
Chamba	3.254594				
Ropar	3.255061				
Morigaon	3.263099				
Una	3.272559				
Darjeeling	3.273112				
Shimla	3.276115				
Uttarkashi	3.277822				
Bijapur	3.283492				
Kolhapur	3.311514				
Ambedkar Nagar	3.338635				
Mandsaur	3.351288				
Bongaigaon	3.351992				
Kendrapara	3.354058				
Rayagada	3.368993				
Rajgarh	3.402481				
Jaisalmer	3.409759				
Varanasi	3.4196				
Nainital	3.49583				
Anantapur	3.506957				
Sidhi	3.513089				
Alappuzha	3.540272				
Raibareilly	3.574444				
Khiri	3.575357				
Rajnandgaon	3.584721				
Rampur	3.586765				
Vaishali	3.592895				
Kurnool	3.598249				
Kasargod	3.598604				
Chhartarpur	3.639328				
Bangalore Rural	3.667259				
Etah	3.679388				
Gautam Budh Nagar	3.687928				
Panna	3.697356				
Muzaffarpur	3.70111				
Harda	3.724579				
Ahwa-Dang	3.748748				

Bhind	3.756933				
Raipur	3.762103				
Jorhat	3.769937				
Kannauj	3.792147				
Perambalur	3.848912				
Allahabad	3.849189				
Chikmanglur	3.856588				
Bhatinda	3.859562				
Kangra	3.883408				
Narsinghpur	3.8981				
Rohtak	3.935634				
Malda	3.940777				
Fategarh	3.948019				
Mayurbhanj	3.987936				
Prakasham	4.020366				
Sonipat	4.090918				
Mathura	4.097341				
Balasore	4.099762				
Kapurthala	4.152303				
Kinnaur	4.251028				
Debagarh	4.257446				
Betul	4.276883				
Angul	4.298234				
Kanpur Dehat	4.306816				
Kishanganj	4.396967				
Sihore	4.41834				
Koriya	4.434386				
Bharuch	4.450424				
Nagaur	4.480267				
Shahjahanpur	4.500649				
Dhar	4.500873				
Moradabad	4.513271				
Firozabad	4.513974				
Khammam	4.523975				
Burdwan	4.524681				
Ghaziabad	4.528069				
Srikakulam	4.544858				
West Tripura	4.609969				
Baghpat	4.61086				
Jalandhar	4.619657				
Dibang Valley	4.62578				
Balaghat	4.62827				
Kannur	4.649317				

Karauli	4.684768				
Vidisha	4.69191				
Faridabad	4.708405				
Pathanamthitta	4.726843				
Surendranagar	4.730231				
Ratlam	4.799271				
Mahboobnagar	4.800033				
Jabalpur	4.86565				
Gwalior	4.921853				
Sikar	4.924844				
Chittoor	5.018854				
Purulia	5.019878				
Dungarpur	5.085574				
Unnao	5.098277				
Shajapur	5.139132				
Warangal	5.144787				
Shimoga	5.154806				
Nagaon	5.15547				
Damoh	5.166295				
Umraiya	5.168975				
Kandhamal	5.194376				
Bhavnagar	5.236817				
Bijnor	5.258302				
East Godavari	5.263781				
Birbhum	5.283838				
Barpeta	5.322362				
Bhandara	5.339983				
Katni	5.356302				
Dhemaji	5.362413				
Dausa	5.390782				
Vishakapatnam	5.488297				
Palakkad	5.50147				
Yamunanagar	5.503874				
Koraput	5.505503				
Jind	5.51929				
Guna	5.519668				
Solan	5.593769				
Amravati	5.638319				
Hailakandi	5.649582				
Gopalganj	5.667465				
Muzaffarnagar	5.719709				
J P Nagar	5.736898				
Nandurbar	5.74289				

Nadia	5.783713				
24 Parganas North	5.805388				
Saharanpur	5.822505				
Sontipur	5.828085				
Udaipur	5.898655				
Gadchiroli	5.908518				
Karimganj	5.919784				
Jhunjhunu	5.92207				
Mandla	5.926847				
Nalgonda	5.931991				
Barabanki	5.934737				
Jalore	5.935373				
Cuttack	5.937395				
Chhindwara	5.948251				
Rajkot Rural	5.951958				
Mandi	6.027665				
Dakshin Dinajpur	6.031887				
Durg	6.173419				
Dehradun	6.239554				
Coochbehar	6.292467				
Kozhikode Rural	6.298081				
Amreli	6.336815				
Bhopal	6.382933				
Thissur	6.556314				
Satara	6.57424				
Yavatmal	6.589998				
Haridwar	6.633559				
Kheda North	6.652946				
Hissar	6.787382				
Ludhiana	6.792334				
Janjgir	6.831477				
Hamirpur	6.864551				
Adilabad	6.872982				
Karimnagar	6.89239				
Patan	6.905333				
Idukki	6.93664				
Bulandshahar	6.945469				
Ujjain	6.994229				
Gondiya	6.995878				
Hooghly	7.014512				
Ariyalur	7.045048				
Medak	7.078395				
Kollam	7.078734				

Dewas	7.160094				
Osmanabad	7.175501				
Shahdol	7.215755				
Nasik Rural	7.22897				
Chandrapur	7.258458				
Krishna	7.25911				
Fathehabad	7.27773				
Hathras	7.335159				
Latur	7.402832				
Dhubri	7.410172				
Wayanadu	7.430001				
Vizianagaram	7.706111				
Nanded	7.706886				
Malappuram	7.750717				
Gurgaon	7.769732				
Alwar	7.774865				
24 Parganas South	7.804029				
Karnal	7.848166				
Kanpur Nagar	7.853409				
Aligarh	7.853527				
Beed	7.865818				
Mamit	7.963686				
Meerut	8.007044				
Sagar	8.045057				
Dholpur	8.068076				
Sawai Madhopur	8.146406				
Churu	8.177753				
Indore	8.178595				
Goalpara	8.23201				
South Tripura	8.382414				
Sirsa	8.418044				
Dhule	8.587503				
Neemuch	8.769127				
Nellore	8.781127				
Khurda	8.788774				
Jamnagar	8.874755				
Banswara	8.901903				
Guntur	8.920877				
Kurukshetra	8.924786				
Agra	8.930692				
Buldhana	8.958647				
Sirohi	8.96832				
Bareilly	9.018156				

Bikaner	9.058868				
Gandhinagar	9.067372				
North Tripura	9.082555				
Wardha	9.136954				
Jodhpur Rural	9.273152				
Lucknow	9.274819				
Jaipur East	9.287058				
Pilibhit	9.421444				
Patiala	9.593839				
Jalgaon	9.603578				
Parbhani	9.862442				
Pali	9.925554				
Mehsana	10.10234				
West Godavari	10.13089				
Rajsamand	10.1649				
Bharatpur	10.16923				
Washim	10.19392				
Lakhimpur	10.4982				
Nizamabad	10.54404				
Ahmadnagar	10.69137				
Kaithal	10.78075				
Akola	10.91864				
Ajmer	11.12313				
Panchkula	11.17181				
Panipat	11.336				
Kutch	11.55869				
Anand	11.79403				
Tonk	11.88441				
Ambala	12.02668				
Jhajjar	12.08197				
Jalna	12.25496				
Bilaspur	12.32087				
Ranga Reddy	12.34467				
Porbandar	12.54203				
Hingoli	12.93306				
Baran	13.76886				
Cachar	13.98				

Appendix IV.IV.II. Districtwise Domestic Violence Rates categorised by Range Homogeneity, 2011.

DV11 Cat 1 (0.00-8.50 cases per lakh population)		DV11 Cat 2 (8.51 -9.44 cases per akh population)		DV11 Cat 3(9.45 – 15.43 cases per lakh population)		DV11 Cat 4 (15.44 – 19.98 cases per lakh population)		DV11 Cat 5 (19.99- 40.89 cases per lakh population)	
Leh	0.00		8.58	Jalgaon	9.44	Junagadh	15.52	Rajsamand	21.04
Pulwama	0.00	Palwal	8.66	Bulandshahar	9.46	Hissar	15.69	North Tripura	22.05
Ramban	0.00	Damoh	8.73	Ujjain	9.58	Dhemaji	15.84	Pali	22.20
North District	0.00	East Godavari	8.78	Raichur	9.66	Jamnagar	15.85	Tonk	22.56
Tawang	0.00	Kutch East G	8.79	Kodagu	9.68	Dholpur	15.97	Barpeta	23.05
Kameng East	0.00	Kurukshetra	8.88	Shahdol	9.76	Malappuram	16.10		23.11
Tirap	0.00	Mathura	8.90	Bhadrak	9.83	Karimganj	16.20	Bongaigaon	23.28
K/Kumay	0.00	Kurnool	8.97	washim	9.83	Alwar	16.32	Nizamabad	23.40
Upper Dibang Valley	0.00	Tinsukia	8.99	Rewari	9.89	Hooghly	16.34	24 Parganas North	23.59
Mon	0.00	Mahendragarh	9.00	Amreli	9.93	Sirohi	16.44	Goalpara	24.07
Mokokchung	0.00	Anand	9.14	Patan	10.12	Adilabad	16.49	Bhilwara	24.36
Zunheboto	0.00	Chittoor	9.17	Gwalior	10.14	Malda	17.07	Hanumangarh	25.30
Wokha	0.00	Bhopal	9.24	Panchmahal	10.19	Churu	17.13	Baran	25.38
Phek	0.00	Vishakapatnam	9.25	Fathehabad	10.26	West Tripura	17.38	Ajmer	25.71
Tuensang	0.00			Kozhikode Rural	10.33	West Tripura	17.38	Jhalawar	26.50
Longleng	0.00			Dhule	10.47	Dakshin Dinajpur	17.68	Bundi	26.61
Kiphire	0.00			Osmanabad	10.50	Golaghat	17.75	Jalpaiguri	27.72
Kohima	0.00			Kamrup	10.50	Uttar Dinajpur	17.80	Nagaon	28.52
Peren	0.00			Gandhinagar	10.61	Howrah	17.90	Cachar	29.81
Senapati	0.00			Sonipat	10.67	Jorhat	17.98	24 Parganas South	29.97
Tamenglong	0.00			Banswara	10.72	Karimnagar	18.51	Darrang	33.35
Chandel	0.00			Dausa	10.75	Coochbehar	18.54	Nadia	34.63
Mamit	0.00			Sikar	10.79	Bikaner	18.98	Hyderabad City	34.78
Kolasib	0.00			Srikakulam	10.83	West Godavari	19.04	Ganganagar	35.80
Champhai	0.00			Kota Rural	10.83	Hailakandi	19.21	Dhubri	36.61
Lunglei	0.00			Darjeeling	10.85	Bharatpur	19.38	Chittorgarh	36.95
Lawngtlai	0.00			Kokrajhar	10.90	Idukki	19.96	Murshidabad	40.89
Saiha	0.00			Guntur	10.95				
Garو Hills East	0.00			Nellore	10.96				
Khasi Hills West	0.00			Kaithal	11.11				
Jaintia Hills	0.00			Rohtak	11.12				
Tehri Garhwal	0.11			Hassan	11.24				
Shopian	0.13			Meerut	11.41				
Bharuch	0.13			Mandya	11.43				

Shrawasti	0.15		Balasore	11.45				
Gonda	0.17		Sirsa	11.68				
Dimapur	0.18		Nagaur	11.71				
Ukhrul	0.18		Morigaon	11.73				
Churachandpur	0.24		Lakhimpur	11.74				
Bandipora	0.25		Faridabad	11.77				
Chamoli	0.26		Mehsana	11.92				
Budgam	0.31		Karauli	12.05				
Balrampur	0.31		Parbhani	12.09				
Khunti	0.31		Indore	12.19				
Kulgam	0.31		Yamunanagar	12.24				
Reasi	0.32		Pathanamthitta	12.36				
Ganjam	0.37		Chirang	12.72				
Anantnag	0.40		Jhajjar	12.83				
Dahod	0.44		Porbandar	12.87				
Thiruvallur	0.45		Medak	12.91				
Ganderbal	0.45		Thissur Rural	12.92				
Lohit	0.46		Paschim Midnapur	12.94				
Kanchipuram	0.46		Paschim Midnapur	12.94				
East District	0.47		Lucknow	13.03				
Kargil	0.47		Panipat	13.11				
Narayanpur	0.48		Khammam	13.16				
Sundargarh	0.49		Sontipur	13.24				
Baramulla	0.50		Ahmednagar	13.26				
Baramulla	0.50		Karnal	13.31				
Serchhip	0.51		Mewat	13.37				
Champawat	0.51		Panchkula	13.42				
Ri Bhoi	0.52		Kottayam	13.45				
Nagapattinam	0.52		Kolkata	13.51				
Godda	0.53		Alapuzha	13.52				
Kupwara	0.54		Sibsagar	13.58				
Faizabad	0.59		Palakkad	13.73				
Nilgiris	0.63		Jhunjhunu	13.76				
St. Ravidas Nagar	0.65		Purab Midnapur	13.80				
St. Ravidas Nagar	0.65		Udaipur	13.80				
Namakkal	0.66		Nalbari	13.91				
Kushi Nagar	0.66		Kannur	14.06				
Garo Hills West	0.67		Wayanadu	14.15				
Thanjavur	0.68		Krishna	14.29				
Garo Hills South	0.70		Ambala Rural	14.30				
Uttarkashi	0.71		Beed	14.39				
Perambalur	0.71		Shimoga	14.78				
Deoria	0.72		Sawai Madhopur	14.80				
Barwani	0.72		Trivandrum Rural	15.01				
Pauri Garhwal	0.73		Vizianagaram	15.06				
West District	0.73		Dibrugarh	15.15				
Kameng West	0.79		Kasargod	15.17				

Subansiri Lower	0.80			Kollam Rural	15.24				
Almora	0.80			Dhalai	15.25				
Chaibasa	0.84			Jalna	15.43				
Thane Rural	0.87								
Pithoragarh	0.90								
Bageshwar	0.90								
South District	0.91								
Alirajpur	0.91								
Thiruvarur	0.92								
Palamau	0.93								
N C Hills	0.93								
Sonbhadra	0.95								
Surat Rural	0.97								
Araria	0.97								
Gumla	0.98								
Siang East	1.01								
Valsad	1.04								
Sant Kabirnagar	1.05								
Ballia	1.05								
Erode	1.05								
Thiruvanamalai	1.05								
Maharajganj	1.06								
Sindhudurg	1.06								
Ramanathapuram	1.08								
Jaunpur	1.13								
Chatra	1.15								
Trichy Rural	1.16								
Bettiah	1.17								
Ghazipur	1.17								
Dantewara	1.19								
Subansiri Upper	1.20								
Khiri	1.22								
North Goa	1.22								
Dharwad Rural	1.25								
Shahjahanpur	1.25								
Siddharth Nagar	1.26								
Jhabua	1.27								
Simdega	1.28								
Ranchi	1.28								
Imphal West	1.29								
Narmada	1.30								
Bizapur	1.31								
Latehar	1.33								
Coimbatore Rural	1.33								
Karur	1.35								
Bahraich	1.36								
Pudukottai	1.38								
Nagpur Rural	1.39								
Basti	1.39								
Banka	1.41								

Chamba	1.41								
Salem Rural	1.42								
Sarguja	1.43								
Vellore	1.44								
Badaun	1.49								
Kolar	1.50								
South Goa	1.51								
Rudra Prayag	1.51								
Lalitpur	1.53								
Madhepura	1.53								
Bhabhua	1.54								
Sitamarhi	1.54								
Bishnupur	1.54								
Samba	1.57								
Changlang	1.57								
Muzaffarpur	1.58								
Aizwal	1.58								
Azamgarh	1.59								
Raibareilly	1.61								
Nawadah	1.61								
Imphal East	1.61								
Sheohar	1.63								
Kanker	1.65								
Khasi Hills East	1.65								
Arwal	1.66								
Ariyalur	1.68								
Chitrakoot Dham	1.68								
Motihari	1.69								
Sonepur	1.69								
Gadchiroli	1.71								
Supaul	1.72								
Ramgarh	1.72								
Saraikela	1.72								
Samastipur	1.74								
Khagaria	1.74								
Kanshiram Nagar	1.74								
Hardoi	1.74								
Rajnandgaon	1.76								
Tapi	1.78								
Begusarai	1.78								
Sultanpur	1.79								
Gaya	1.79								
Shajapur	1.81								
Gurdaspur	1.81								
Krishnagiri	1.84								
Jhansi	1.87								
Ahmedabad Rural	1.88								
Siwan	1.95								
Bhagalpur	1.95								
Nainital	1.96								
Ranga Reddy	1.99								

Jalaun	1.99								
Dhanbad	2.01								
Cuddalore	2.02								
Rohtas	2.03								
Purnea	2.04								
Dhamtari	2.04								
Kathua	2.05								
Katihar	2.07								
Pune Rural	2.10								
Khargaon	2.10								
Kabirdham	2.11								
Hamirpur	2.11								
Hamirpur	2.11								
Saharsa	2.12								
Amritsar Rural	2.14								
Seoni	2.15								
Villupuram	2.16								
Vadodhara Rural	2.16								
Koraput	2.17								
Banda	2.20								
Baksa	2.25								
Dakshin Kannada	2.27								
Dakshin Kannada	2.27								
Hazaribagh	2.27								
Warangal	2.28								
Warangal	2.28								
Dhenkanal	2.29								
Nuapada	2.29								
Tarn Taran	2.32								
Fatehpur	2.33								
Udhampur	2.40								
Madurai Rural	2.42								
Ferozpur	2.43								
Moga	2.44								
Papum Pare	2.45								
Auraiya	2.46								
Khandwa	2.47								
Ratnagiri	2.48								
Mahasamund	2.49								
Malkangir	2.50								
Gajapati	2.54								
Muktsar	2.55								
Mansa	2.55								
Sangrur	2.56								
Ropar	2.58								
Chandoli	2.59								
Jalandhar Rural	2.61								
Ahwa-Dang	2.63								
Jehanabad	2.64								
Mandla	2.65								
Mainpuri	2.66								

Mirzapur	2.67								
Barabanki	2.68								
Bhind	2.68								
Raipur	2.74								
Balaghat	2.74								
Harda	2.75								
Giridih	2.75								
Kabri Anglong	2.75								
Pratapgarh	2.77								
Pratapgarh	2.77								
Mahoba	2.78								
Sitapur	2.78								
Kishanganj	2.78								
Shimla	2.78								
Thoothugudi	2.80								
Tikamgarh	2.81								
Rajgarh	2.82								
Fatehgarh	2.83								
Virudhunagar	2.83								
Siang Upper	2.83								
Kaushambi	2.83								
Tiruppur	2.84								
Jamui	2.90								
Sangli	2.91								
Raigarh	2.95								
Raigarh	2.95								
Sheopur	2.96								
Vaishali	2.98								
Guna	2.98								
Solan	2.99								
Gondiya	3.00								
Kullu	3.04								
Kangra	3.05								
Mau	3.10								
Saran	3.14								
Kolhapur	3.14								
Madhubani	3.14								
Anjaw	3.15								
Nalanda	3.15								
Shivpuri	3.17								
Lahaul-Spiti	3.17								
Betul	3.22								
Munger	3.22								
Unnao	3.22								
Rayagada	3.24								
Bhatinda	3.24								
Dumka	3.25								
Bagalkot	3.33								
Udupi	3.34								
Sivagangai	3.36								
Fatehgarh Sahib	3.39								
Nowrangpur	3.41								
Debagarh	3.41								
Bareilly	3.42								

Burhanpur	3.43								
Dhar	3.43								
Thoubal	3.47								
Jodhpur Rural	3.49								
Firozabad	3.52								
Jaisalmer	3.53								
Umraiya	3.57								
Durg	3.59								
Korba	3.59								
Srinagar	3.61								
Buxar	3.61								
Sambalpur	3.62								
Ambedkar Nagar	3.63								
Jashpur	3.64								
Dindori	3.64								
Etawah	3.69								
Dharmapuri	3.72								
Bilaspur	3.72								
Saharanpur	3.73								
Chhartarpur	3.74								
Jaipur Rural	3.76								
Datiya	3.77								
Bhojpur	3.78								
Sahebganj	3.80								
Jamtara	3.83								
Allahabad	3.86								
Faridkot	3.89								
Mandi	3.90								
Koderma	3.91								
Bolangir	3.96								
Kinnaur	3.96								
Etah	3.96								
Jammu	4.10								
Solapur Rural	4.10								
Poonch	4.12								
Panna	4.13								
Gadag	4.13								
Sidhi	4.14								
Nayagarh	4.15								
Tumkur	4.16								
Siang West	4.16								
Bellary	4.16								
Dibang Valley	4.16								
J P Nagar	4.24								
Chennai	4.24								
Pilibhit	4.28								
Sheikhpura	4.30								
Lakhisarai	4.30								
Morena	4.31								
Haveri	4.32								
Pakur	4.33								
Varanasi	4.34								
Amravati Rural	4.36								

Haridwar	4.41								
Ashok Nagar	4.46								
Navsari	4.49								
Katni	4.49								
Boudh	4.53								
Hoshiarpur	4.54								
Deoghar	4.56								
Kandhamal	4.59								
Kistwar	4.62								
Aurangabad	4.71								
Anantapur	4.72								
Bhandara	4.72								
Thirunelveli Rural	4.74								
Kapurthala	4.74								
Rewa	4.75								
Chhindwara	4.81								
Gopalganj	4.83								
Mandsaur	4.85								
Koppal	4.87								
Kannauj	4.89								
Kendrapara	4.91								
Garhwa	4.91								
Cuttack	4.92								
Rampur	4.92								
Yadgiri	4.97								
Gorakhpur	5.03								
Kanyakumari	5.04								
Uttar Kannada	5.08								
Raisen	5.11								
Nandurbar	5.12								
Moradabad	5.12								
Bidar	5.17								
Dindigul	5.17								
Satna	5.22								
Nasik Rural	5.25								
Angul	5.29								
Sihore	5.39								
Jharsuguda	5.41								
Udalguri	5.41								
Chitradurga	5.42								
Doda	5.45								
Wardha	5.48								
Mayurbhanj	5.53								
Patiala	5.63								
Ernakulam Rural	5.64								
Neemuch	5.65								
Davanagere	5.69								
Satara	5.72								
Mahboobnagar	5.72								
Chamarajnagar	5.75								
Chandrapur	5.76								
Patna	5.77								

Singrauli	5.86								
Gulbarga	5.92								
Kalahandi	5.96								
Udhamsingh Nagar	6.00								
Hathras	6.01								
Sagar	6.08								
Belgaum	6.12								
Jajpur	6.18								
Bijapur	6.18								
Muzaffarnagar	6.19								
Bilaspur	6.20								
Bokaro	6.21								
Khurda	6.31								
Bankura	6.44								
Narsinghpur	6.44								
Dehradun	6.46								
Cuddapah	6.51								
Vidisha	6.63								
Anuppur	6.63								
Bhavnagar	6.70								
Janjgir	6.73								
Puri	6.77								
Ramanagar	6.77								
Bijnor	6.78								
Purulia	6.79								
Burdwan	6.83								
Darbhanga	6.87								
Baghpat	6.88								
Akola	6.91								
Bhiwani	6.93								
Surendranagar	6.95								
Keonjhar	6.96								
Rajouri	7.11								
Kheda North	7.15								
Ratlam	7.19								
Rajkot Rural	7.22								
Chikmanglur	7.24								
Prakasham	7.31								
Jind	7.32								
Aurangabad Rural	7.32								
Yavatmal	7.33								
Buldhana	7.37								
Nalgonda	7.40								
Theni	7.41								
Jalore	7.55								
Una	7.55								
Gurgaon	7.55								
Nanded	7.60								
Ghaziabad	7.60								
Gautam Budh Nagar	7.60								
Kanpur Nagar	7.63								

Aligarh	7.64								
Agra	7.66								
Hoshangabad	7.73								
Bangalore Rural	7.87								
Dewas	7.91								
Jagatsinghpur	8.03								
Hingoli	8.07								
Barmer	8.09								
Latur	8.11								
Sas NGR	8.21								
Baragarh	8.24								
Jabalpur	8.34								
Birbhum	8.40								
Dungarpur	8.47								
Koriya	8.50								

Appendix V.I .Citywise Rates of Domestic Violence, 2001 and 2011.

Citywise Rates of Domestic Violence, 2001

Category 1 1.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population	Category 2 6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population	Category 3 15.36 – 24.53 cases per lakh population	Category 4 24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population	Category 5 ≥ 33.73 cases per lakh population
Delhi Belgaum Tirunelveli Mumbai Faridabad Salem Asansol Chennai Trichy Hubli Dharwad Madurai Coimbatore Kolkata Surat Amritsar Varanasi Pune Gorakhpur Bengaluru Allahabad Jalandhar	Patna Mysore Solapur Bhopal Jabalpur Navi Mumbai Raipur Gwalior Kochi Vadodhara Guwahati TVPM City Indore Durg Nasik Ahmedabad Nagpur Udaipur Bhavnagar Kanpur Amravati Moradabad Ludhiana Aurangabd Lucknow Gulbarga Meerut Bikaner Thane	Jaipur Kozhikode Bharatpur Rajkot Aligarh Hyderabad Vishakapatnam Bareilly Agra	Jodhpur Ajmer Kota	Vijaywada

Citywise Rates of Domestic Violence, 2011

Category 1 1.01 – 6.17 cases per lakh population	Category 2 6.18 – 15.35 cases per lakh population	Category 3 15.36 – 24.53 cases per lakh population	Category 4 24.54 – 33.72 cases per lakh population	Category 5 ≥ 33.73 cases per lakh population
Dhanbad Tirunelveli Ranchi Mumbai Srinagar Mangalore Trichy Chennai Salem Mysore Bengaluru Varanasi Hubli Dharwad	Surat Madurai Raipur Solapur Nagpur Ludhiana Ghaziabad Pune Coimbatore Jamshedpur Allahabad Amritsar Navi Mumbai Nasik Jalandhar Delhi Aurangabd Bareilly Kanpur Jabalpur Bhopal Kolkata Amravati Patna Faridabad Vadodhara Meerut	Indore Gwalior Bhavnagar Gulbarga Agra Ujjain Lucknow Thane Aligarh TVPM City Hyderabad Gorakhpur Rajkot Kochi Moradabad Vishakapatnam Guwahati Udaipur Bikaner Ahmedabad	Belgaum Jaipur Jodhpur Thrissur Durg	Tirupathi Ajmer Kozhikode Kota Warangal Rajamundhry Bharatpur Asansol Kollam Guntur Malppuram Vijaywada

Appendix V.II. Citywise Rates Violence Against Women 2001 and 2011

.Citywise Rates Violence Against Women 2001

Category 1 5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population	Category 2 18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population	Category 3 33.66 – 49.29 cases per lakh population	Category 4 49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population	Category 5 ≥ 64.92 cases per lakh population
Mumbai Hubli Dharwad Surat Kolkata Delhi Salem Coimbatore Asansol Mysore Amritsar Jalandhar Ahmedabad Bengaluru Solapur Vadodhara Trichy Pune Chennai Navi Mumbai Tirunelveli Madurai Nasik	Patna Kochi Aurangabd Varanasi Nagpur Guwahati Allahabad Jaipur Bikaner TVPM City Ludhiana Gorakhpur Rajkot Indore Belgaum Bhopal Kanpur Hyderabad Thane Raipur Kozhikode Gwalior Gulbarga Amravati Jabalpur Bhavnagar Faridabad	Lucknow Bareilly Udaipur Meerut Moradabad Agra Vishakapatnam Ajmer Kota	Bharatpur Jodhpur Aligarh Durg	Vijaywada

Citywise Rates Violence Against Women 2011

Category 1 5.42 – 18.03 cases per lakh population	Category 2 18.04 – 33.65 cases per lakh population	Category 3 33.66 – 49.29 cases per lakh population	Category 4 49.29 – 64.91 cases per lakh population	Category 5 ≥ 64.92 cases per lakh population
Mangalore Dhanbad Tirunelveli Surat Chennai Mysore Hubli Dharwad Ranchi Varanasi Mumbai Coimbatore Madurai Bengaluru Trichy Solapur Salem Nasik Allahabad Nagpur Ghaziabad Amritsar	Pune Ludhiana Vadodhara Jalandhar Navi Mumbai Jamshedpur Bhavnagar Aurangabd Srinagar Hyderabad Rajkot Patna Kanpur Raipur Meerut Kolkata Amravati Ahmedabad Bhopal Lucknow Delhi Bikaner Vishakapatnam Faridabad	Gulbarga Bareilly Indore Gwalior Thane Jodhpur Jabalpur Ajmer Udaipur Agra Jaipur Ujjain Moradabad Kochi Gorakhpur	Belgaum Aligarh Kota Tirupathi TVPM City	Thrissur Warangal Bharatpur Guwahati Rajamundhry Asansol Kozhikode Guntur Malppuram Kollam Durg Vijaywada

Appendix V.III. Citywise Rates of Total Crimes, 2001 and 2011.

Citywise Rates of Total Crimes, 2001

Category 1 25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population	Category 2 267.53 – 561.64 cases per lakh population	Category 3 561.65 -855.76 cases per lakh population	Category 4 ≥ 855.77 cases per lakh population
Asansol Amritsar Faridabad Surat Solapur Chennai Jalandhar Kolkata Allahabad Varanasi Belgaum Nasik Mumbai Mysore Hubli Dharwad Meerut Ludhiana Kanpur Gorakhpur Moradabad	Delhi Salem Bareilly Aurangabd Bikaner Trichy Vishakapatnam Ahmedabad Lucknow Pune Hyderabad Tirunelveli Aligarh Coimbatore Bhavnagar Patna Madurai Agra Vadodhara Jodhpur Ajmer Nagpur Navi Mumbai Rajkot Raipur Gulbarga Thane Amravati Udaipur TVPM City Guwahati	Kota Durg Kozhikode Jabalpur Gwalior Bengaluru Bharatpur Bhopal Vijaywada Indore	Kochi Jaipur

Citywise Rates of Total Crimes, 2011

Category 1 25.45 – 267.53 cases per lakh population	Category 2 267.53 – 561.64 cases per lakh population	Category 3 561.65 -855.76 cases per lakh population	Category 4 ≥ 855.77 cases per lakh population
Dhanbad Srinagar Amritsar Varanasi Mangalore Surat Ludhiana Solapur Hubli Dharwad Bhavnagar Ghaziabad Allahabad Jalandhar Kanpur Ranchi Hyderabad Bikaner Mumbai	Madurai Tirunelveli Nasik Meerut Rajkot Vishakapatnam Aurangabd Bareilly Nagpur Moradabad Lucknow Delhi Mysore Vadodhara Salem Bengaluru Faridabad Chennai Ahmedabad Gulbarga Trichy Jodhpur Kota Pune Aligarh Agra Kolkata Ajmer Jamshedpur Amravati Gorakhpur Navi Mumbai Warangal Asansol Thane	Patna Coimbatore Jaipur Raipur Guntur Rajamundhry Udaipur Jabalpur Vijaywada Belgaum Bhopal Gwalior Indore Ujjain	TVPM City Bharatpur Kozhikode Tirupathi Guwahati Thrissur Kollam Malppuram Durg Kochi

Appendix V.I.R.. Religious Composition of Cities, 2001.

City	C	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Buddhists	Jains	Other Religions	Religion not stated
Guntur	H	514,461	388,198	96,121	26,446	193	33	2,225	39	1,206
Hyderabad	H, M	3,637,483	1,969,118	1,552,966	80,888	9,754	753	14,444	1,084	8,476
Rajamundhry	H	315,251	291,576	13,284	8,127	238	18	1,661	13	334
Tirupathi	H	228,202	210,443	14,811	2,291	139	15	382	24	97
Vijaywada	H	851,282	735,396	74,049	35,199	444	54	4,130	130	1,880
Vishakapatnam	H	982,904	904,665	39,544	33,149	1,883	306	1,353	172	1,832
Warangal	H	530,636	431,824	83,282	13,015	901	36	153	29	1,396
Guwahati	H	809,895	688,067	102,832	6,459	3,470	1,181	7,429	149	308
Patna	H	1,366,444	1,182,600	172,600	4,224	4,144	331	1,840	253	452

Durg	H	232,5 17	202,0 41	13,59 6	3,525	3,466	3,710	6,067	37	75
Raipur	H	605,7 47	517,6 58	51,25 8	9,285	11,03 4	5,422	10,59 9	153	338
Ahmedabad	H	3,520 ,085	2,853 ,494	476,6 20	32,91 7	8,801	2,064	141,6 07	2,678	1,904
Bhavnagar	H	511,0 85	433,2 19	59,87 8	1,058	374	38	16,29 7	113	108
Rajkot	H	967,4 76	869,4 79	72,23 9	2,320	667	124	22,18 9	121	337
Surat	H	2,433 ,835	2,038 ,090	299,6 95	6,665	2,933	8,739	73,56 8	3,605	540
Vadodhara	H	1,306 ,227	1,112 ,356	146,5 50	17,49 1	6,289	453	21,49 1	1,005	592
Faridabad	H	1,055 ,938	952,6 51	63,12 8	6,563	28,34 5	594	4,448	131	78
Srinagar	M	898,4 40	32,32 5	853,2 94	1,201	10,89 0	417	263	7	43
Dhanbad	H	199,2 58	176,4 24	17,46 9	1,728	2,307	23	704	541	62
Jamshedpur	H	573,0 96	464,8 47	48,94 9	14,56 1	27,08 0	457	1,271	15,68 1	250

Ranchi	H , M , O	847,0 93	535,7 84	146,8 61	70,32 3	5,879	537	2,088	85,05 1	570
Bengaluru	H	4,301 ,326	3,263 ,652	685,2 26	272,3 33	4,687	1,999	64,36 9	2,576	6,484
Belgaum	H	399,6 53	300,5 51	73,47 8	4,835	360	256	18,25 5	1,067	851
Gulbarga	H , M	422,5 69	240,9 86	157,7 52	3,430	205	14,50 4	2,218	1,243	2,231
Hubli Dharwad	H , M	786,1 95	539,7 60	200,9 13	25,43 3	1,065	674	12,07 6	4,045	2,229
Mangalore	H , M	399,5 65	282,2 35	58,32 2	57,44 3	247	138	959	125	96
Mysore	H	755,3 79	562,8 56	157,5 21	23,00 8	373	868	8,927	522	1,304
Kochi	H , M , C	595,5 75	259,8 96	103,0 93	230,0 99	581	150	1,008	193	555
Kozhikode	H , M	436,5 56	260,0 90	151,9 91	23,57 4	32	24	607	35	203
Kollam	H , M , C	361,5 60	207,4 57	82,12 4	71,30 5	26	9	39	15	585

Malppuram	H , M	170,4 09	46,92 0	119,9 92	3,408	10	19	-	9	51
Thrissur	H , C	317,5 26	173,6 83	16,43 3	126,7 96	17	24	25	80	468
TVPM City	H	744,9 83	536,7 36	87,43 0	118,9 49	160	77	57	127	1,447
Bhopal	H , M	1,437 ,354	982,9 08	383,1 19	18,93 4	10,93 7	19,62 2	21,19 3	234	407
Gwalior	H	827,0 26	732,1 84	70,48 3	2,820	5,492	1,540	14,08 8	112	307
Indore	H	1,474 ,968	1,191 ,553	184,6 61	9,757	20,76 5	8,353	58,63 6	551	692
Jabalpur	H	932,4 84	745,2 73	132,0 84	16,62 6	11,45 3	3,463	22,94 2	417	226
Ujjain	H	430,4 27	332,6 12	79,68 7	2,271	2,542	867	12,25 4	29	165
Aurangabd	H , M , B	873,3 11	453,4 49	252,6 10	9,357	3,171	137,6 62	15,67 2	888	502
Amravati	H , M , B	549,5 10	357,0 04	114,2 41	2,353	1,203	68,75 3	5,572	115	269

Mumbai	H , M	11,97 8,450	8,073 ,225	2,223 ,471	446,4 06	69,60 1	625,7 71	478,3 60	57,31 5	4,301
Nagpur	H , B , M	2,052 ,066	1,455 ,345	213,2 24	25,13 0	15,84 7	318,2 80	19,36 1	3,446	1,433
Nasik	H	1,077 ,236	919,3 40	87,74 1	13,35 4	4,905	36,73 7	13,49 6	1,337	326
Navi Mumbai	H	704,0 02	563,2 12	55,79 1	20,58 4	9,326	47,46 0	6,868	561	200
Pune	H	2,538 ,473	2,027 ,556	236,6 99	59,01 6	11,05 9	134,0 10	60,35 3	7,511	2,269
Solapur	H	872,4 78	664,0 33	168,5 24	7,198	990	20,30 2	9,039	916	1,476
Thane	H	1,262 ,551	962,7 97	192,7 24	27,93 6	4,726	50,55 2	21,08 7	2,265	464
Amritsar	H ,S	966,8 62	495,8 60	2,929	11,83 8	453,4 66	1,157	1,108	245	259
Jalandhar	H ,S	706,0 43	512,1 20	5,694	7,045	174,9 33	2,979	2,776	236	260
Ludhiana	H ,S	1,398 ,467	904,2 33	31,37 2	8,794	437,6 00	1,600	14,44 4	186	238
Ajmer	H	485,5 75	405,3 93	53,69 3	6,367	5,223	526	14,27 1	80	22

Bharatpur	H	204,5 87	188,8 38	7,565	249	5,412	8	2,414	-	101
Bikaner	H	529,6 90	416,3 45	86,70 4	1,052	5,179	58	20,24 0	8	104
Jaipur	H	2,322 ,575	1,806 ,092	423,6 63	9,859	17,25 7	773	64,03 7	337	557
Jodhpur	H	851,0 51	654,1 82	159,9 70	4,052	4,304	262	27,94 6	52	283
Kota	H	694,3 16	550,7 86	113,1 57	2,968	8,080	143	18,97 0	98	114
Udaipur	H	389,4 38	284,6 40	58,04 0	2,335	3,301	69	40,83 0	39	184
Chennai	H	4,343 ,645	3,573 ,356	379,2 06	331,2 61	2,470	1,891	45,61 1	1,819	8,031
Coimbatore	H	930,8 82	782,7 74	74,71 4	68,25 8	437	130	2,845	138	1,586
Madurai	H	928,8 69	800,7 80	75,38 2	51,36 4	139	37	640	90	437
Salem	H	696,7 60	629,8 48	47,26 6	17,72 9	206	54	940	126	591
Tirunelveli	H , M	411,8 31	288,1 99	80,40 4	42,84 7	14	-	215	5	147

Trichy	H	752,066	564,218	101,255	85,379	80	31	488	237	378
Agra	H	1,275,134	1,049,128	187,716	4,931	8,774	9,602	13,630	53	1,300
Aligarh	H, M	669,087	383,759	274,607	2,667	3,888	1,125	2,803	31	207
Allahabad	H	975,393	759,666	205,004	5,286	2,892	339	1,331	229	646
Bareilly	H, M	718,395	421,211	281,852	5,651	8,641	385	411	36	208
Ghaziabad	H	968,256	807,609	132,592	6,131	12,901	1,261	7,048	165	549
Gorakhpur	H	622,701	485,942	128,475	5,133	2,017	593	254	42	245
Kanpur	H	2,551,337	1,980,506	514,702	11,099	34,270	2,970	5,889	456	1,445
Lucknow	H	2,185,927	1,586,228	560,606	10,502	20,253	2,633	3,977	366	1,362
Meerut	H, M	1,068,772	656,457	385,850	4,087	8,905	1,243	11,431	25	774
Moradabad	H, M	641,583	321,213	310,936	3,511	3,719	144	1,687	9	364

Varanasi	H , M	1,091 ,918	741,0 42	343,2 38	2,360	2,817	424	1,366	136	535
Asansol	H	475,4 39	368,6 21	92,99 3	5,183	6,129	254	153	1,403	703
Kolkata	H	4,572 ,876	3,552 ,274	926,7 69	40,21 8	15,59 9	6,445	20,85 9	2,179	8,533
Delhi	H	9,879 ,172	7,969 ,247	1,158 ,248	97,05 3	491,3 78	16,06 9	144,0 33	1,713	1,431

(Figures represent Number of Persons)

Appendix V.I.F. Citywise Occupational Structure 2001.

	Area Name	Industry	Trade and Transport	Services
1	Hyderabad (M Corp.)	24.99	37.27	37.74
2	Visakhapatnam (M Corp.)	32.28	31.59	36.13
3	Vijayawada (M Corp.)	28.11	45.71	26.18
4	Guwahati (M Corp.)	18.20	35.90	45.91
5	Patna (M Corp.)	21.48	35.35	43.17
6	Durg (M Corp.)	33.55	37.30	29.15
7	Raipur (M Corp.)	29.65	38.58	31.77
8	Ahmadabad (M Corp.)	42.37	35.08	22.55
9	Bhavnagar (M Corp.)	46.32	32.12	21.56
10	Rajkot (M Corp.)	44.44	33.94	21.62
11	Surat (M Corp.)	62.95	23.55	13.50
12	Vadodara (M Corp.)	35.28	33.01	31.71
13	Faridabad (M Corp.)	46.62	26.68	26.71
14	Dhanbad (M)	19.89	44.24	35.86
15	Jamshedpur (NA)	48.43	26.67	24.90
16	Bangalore (M Corp.)	36.10	30.74	33.15
17	Belgaum (M Corp.)	36.15	34.58	29.27
18	Gulbarga (M Corp.)	26.43	37.25	36.32
19	Hubli-Dharwad (M Corp.)	30.26	39.03	30.70
20	Mysore (M Corp.)	31.53	36.20	32.27
21	Kochi (M Corp.)	30.51	35.95	33.54
22	Kozhikode (M Corp.)	29.80	40.30	29.90
23	Thiruvananthapuram (M Corp.)	24.44	32.05	43.50
24	Bhopal (M Corp.)	29.35	30.90	39.74
25	Gwalior (M Corp.)	31.46	32.70	35.84
26	Indore (M Corp.)	36.01	35.22	28.77
27	Jabalpur (M Corp.)	38.22	31.18	30.60
28	Ujjain (M Corp.)	34.27	33.24	32.50
29	Aurangabad (M Corp.)	39.07	31.45	29.48
30	Amravati (M Corp.)	28.78	37.62	33.60
31	Greater Mumbai (M Corp.)	35.23	34.92	29.85
32	Nagpur (M Corp.)	31.37	36.82	31.81
33	Nashik (M Corp.)	42.51	28.59	28.90
34	Navi Mumbai (M Corp.)	38.87	33.11	28.02

35	Pune (M Corp.)	35.81	28.68	35.51
36	Solapur (M Corp.)	53.29	26.32	20.39
37	Thane (M Corp.)	36.42	32.59	30.99
38	Amritsar (M Corp.)	35.33	36.25	28.42
39	Jalandhar (M Corp.)	37.97	30.73	31.30
40	Ludhiana (M Corp.)	53.58	25.54	20.88
41	Ajmer (M CI)	28.43	39.63	31.94
42	Bharatpur (M CI)	30.25	35.45	34.30
43	Bikaner (M CI)	28.10	24.42	47.48
44	Jaipur (M Corp.)	40.21	28.94	30.85
45	Jodhpur (M Corp.)	33.76	31.55	34.70
46	Kota (M Corp.)	34.12	36.07	29.81
47	Udaipur (M CI)	27.94	36.84	35.21
48	Chennai (M Corp.)	26.10	32.26	41.64
49	Coimbatore (M Corp.)	37.26	29.31	33.43
50	Madurai (M Corp.)	33.32	37.14	29.54
51	Salem (M Corp.)	47.46	26.78	25.75
52	Tirunelveli (M Corp.)	40.30	30.00	29.70
53	Tiruchirappalli (M Corp.)	29.24	38.11	32.65
54	Agra (M Corp.)	37.95	31.26	30.79
55	Aligarh (M Corp.)	46.70	24.87	28.43
56	Allahabad (M Corp.)	21.20	32.84	45.96
57	Bareilly (M Corp.)	36.77	34.71	28.52
58	Gorakhpur (M Corp.)	22.97	40.56	36.48
59	Kanpur (M Corp.)	33.29	34.37	32.34
60	Lucknow (M Corp.)	27.86	31.81	40.33
61	Meerut (M Corp.)	39.05	34.06	26.89
62	Moradabad (M Corp.)	48.99	27.09	23.92
63	Varanasi (M Corp.)	46.96	28.17	24.87
64	Asansol (M Corp.)	30.64	41.46	27.91
65	Kolkata (M Corp.)	24.64	37.20	38.17
66	N.D.M.C. (M CI)	12.67	18.86	68.47