Gender Based Violence in India: An Analysis of National Level Data for Theory, Research and Prevention

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Gender Based Violence in India:
An Analysis of National Level Data for Theory, Research and Prevention
A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts in International Crime and Justice

John Jay College of Criminal Justice
City University of New York

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ABSTRACT

Gender based violence is a human rights violation, both the causes and impacts of which crosses personal, societal and cultural boundaries. Various initiatives to address the problem of gender-based violence have resulted in many countries attempting to quantify the extent of such crimes. The purpose of this present study is to examine nature and extent of GBV in India for prevention policy actions. The National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) of India publishes a consolidated list of reported crime happenings in the country every year. Recognizing gendered aspect of certain crimes, the NCRB maintains a separate chapter on incidences of crimes against women reported to the police in India since 1992. Using case study design, this study provides a comprehensive analysis of the NCRB data understanding – the various categories of crimes against women in India over the past 25 years. The findings are highly relevant in thinking about the appropriate social and situational prevention measures informed by criminological theories.

Key words: Gender-Based Violence, Crimes against women in India, Crime prevention
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**INTRODUCTION**.................................................................................................................................................7

- Gender Based Violence (GBV). ...............................................................................................................................7
- International recognition of GBV ...........................................................................................................................7
- Measuring GBV .........................................................................................................................................................9
- GBV in India ..........................................................................................................................................................12

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE** .................................................................................................................................16

- Understanding Gender Based Violence: Global view ...............................................................................................16
  - Prevalence of GBV ..................................................................................................................................................16
  - Theoretical explanations of GBV ...........................................................................................................................18
  - Response to GBV around the world ......................................................................................................................23
- Gender Based Violence in India ............................................................................................................................24
- Categories of GBV ...................................................................................................................................................26
  - Intrafamily Violence .............................................................................................................................................27
  - Interpersonal Violence .........................................................................................................................................33
  - Societal/General Violence .....................................................................................................................................38

**THE PRESENT STUDY** ..............................................................................................................................................43

**METHODOLOGY** .....................................................................................................................................................46

- Research Design ....................................................................................................................................................46
- Research Questions ................................................................................................................................................48
- Data Collection ......................................................................................................................................................49
- Subjects of the study .................................................................................................................................................52
- Data Analysis .........................................................................................................................................................53
- Ethical concerns ......................................................................................................................................................54
- Limitations .............................................................................................................................................................54

**FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS** ......................................................................................................................................55

- Data ...........................................................................................................................................................................55
- Place specific categorization ...................................................................................................................................56
- Motive specific categorization ................................................................................................................................58
- Culture specific categorization ...............................................................................................................................60
- Trends in Crimes Against Women in India .............................................................................................................64
Trends in Serious Offences ........................................................................... 65
Trends in other offences ........................................................................... 66
Patterns in crimes against women ............................................................ 67
Bivariate correlational analysis ................................................................. 68
Explaining increased reporting of crimes against women in India .......... 68
DISCUSSION .......................................................................................... 71
Theoretical Discussion ........................................................................... 71
Policy Discussion .................................................................................. 75
Individual Level .................................................................................... 75
Family level ........................................................................................... 77
Community level ................................................................................... 78
Society level .......................................................................................... 79
Future Research Discussion ................................................................ 80
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ............................................. 83
REFERENCES ....................................................................................... 85

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Offences against women in Crime in India Report .......................... 51
Table 2: Crimes Against Women in India (1992 – 2016) ............................ 64
Table 3: Facilitators of increased reporting of crimes against women ........ 69
Table 4: Bivariate correlation analysis ...................................................... 70

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Ecological Model ................................................................. 20
Figure 2: Risk factors in GBV ............................................................... 22
Figure 3: Place specific categorization .................................................. 57
Figure 4: Motive specific categorization ................................................. 59
Figure 5: Culture specific categorization ............................................... 61
Figure 6: Serious crimes against women ............................................... 65
Figure 7: Other crimes against women .................................................. 66
Figure 8: Most reported Crimes Against Women - 2016..............................................................67
Figure 9: Crime Opportunity Structure – CAW Triangle...............................................................72
Figure 10: Ecological model for GBV in India........................................................................74
INTRODUCTION

Gender Based Violence (GBV)

Gender Based Violence (GBV) is an egregious violation of human rights, yet it is one of the most widespread and tolerated forms of cruelty targeted at individuals based on their socially ascribed gender. Preventing gender-based violence has become one of the major challenges to the Criminal Justice Systems worldwide. One of the primary responsibilities to tackle GBV is vested upon the state. Establishing a strong policy framework plays a vital role in preventing GBV and in delivering appropriate response to the crime. Understanding GBV through a comprehensive analysis is important in framing effective policies for ending gender related crimes. Looking into various categories of gender-based crimes in India, using the country’s annual crime data from National Crime Record Bureau, this study examines the nature, trends and pattern of GBV in the country over a period of 25 years. With the help of existing criminological theories and literature this paper identifies social and situational policy frameworks that could be adopted in preventing GBV in India. The case study approach used in this paper thus provides a comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence in India.

International recognition of GBV

As a part of the increased focus on human rights issues following the Second World War, the world saw an escalation in the discussions of the equal rights for women. CEDAW (Convention on all Forms of Discrimination Against Women) was initiated by the United Nations in the 1970s with a focus on providing equal rights for every woman. However, the issue of gender-based violence gained global attention during the 1990s; especially after the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) in 1993 (Russell, Lerch,
& Wotipka, 2018). Sexual abuses and harassment began to be viewed as acts that are rooted in patriarchal ideology to exert male dominance over women rather than meager acts of violence (Crenshaw, 1991).

The first ever international attempt to officially define gender-based violence was made at this United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in 1993 which defined violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threat of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.”

The past three decades saw an unprecedented gain in international and national activities concerning gender-based violence including various treaties, conferences, and resolutions in the international level and constitutional provisions in the national level (Russell, Lerch, & Wotipka, 2018). At a global level, various treaties initiated by the United Nations asserted the state’s obligation to prevent, investigate and punish all forms of violence against women. In addition to the treaties, several protocols and policy instruments also offered directions to tackle the issue of violence against women. Furthermore, there were considerable efforts in the regional level directed at addressing violence against women like the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women, African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, Dhaka Declaration for Eliminating Violence Against Women in South Asia. At a country level, many states legislated laws specifically targeted at tackling various forms of violence against women (United Nations, 2007).
International community recognizing gender-based violence as a violation of human rights encouraged women around the world to come forward and report such crimes. However, gender-based violence remains as an underreported and unrecognized crime in many parts of the world even today (Russo, & Pirlott, 2006). As there were initiatives to address the issue of gender-based violence through treaties and conferences, there were also attempts to measure and quantify the extent of occurrence of gender-based violence. Even though many countries began recognizing the issue of violence against women in its legislation, quality information or data on the prevalence of such crimes remained inadequate or unavailable. Measuring the prevalence of gender-based violence can be more complicated than quantifying the occurrences of other crimes due to delicate and sensitive personal and cultural factors involved in the crime (Smith, 1994).

Measuring GBV

The dearth in the available data on the magnitude of the gender-based violence does make cross-national comparisons difficult. However, the attempts to quantify occurrences of violence against women have increased considerably in the last decades. According to the United Nations (2015), one or more surveys have been conducted in 102 countries between the years 1995-2014 focusing on the issue of violence against women.

Major sources of data for measuring the incidences of gender-based violence are official administrative records which include crimes that are recorded by the institutions of Criminal Justice Systems in each country. Even though it is widely criticized that only a minuscule of the actual number of incidences gets reported in the administrative records, it is the most common source of data available to measure gender-based violence. These administrative data are collected from criminal justice institutions on an annual basis and usually include yearly report of incidences of crime. In the United States, the Uniform Crimes report (UCR) is one of the
widely used and primary sources of national estimates of the nature and extent of criminality. The UCR provides data on the number of people arrested and crimes known to the law enforcement agencies for the following eight categories of serious violent and property crimes like murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, arson. In addition to the report on the number of offenses known to the police, the FBI also collects other data about these offenses, such as the locations of robberies, time of day of burglaries, and types of larcenies. (United States Department of Justice, 2017). However, The Uniform Crime Report does not provide a classified report on the Gender Based Violence (GBV) in the country. The UCR report is also based on the hierarchy rule, where only the most serious type of crime is reported at a multiple offense incident. For example, if a person rapes and then murders the victim only the murder is reported. Thus, in many countries, official crime report does not provide the real account of gender-based violence as such.

Then there are population-based victim surveys that attempt to collect detailed information on specific types of offenses. Victim surveys gather some information about crime characteristics such as when and where the crime occurred, whether a weapon was used, and whether there was any known relationship between victim and offender. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is an example of victim-based surveys conducted in the United States. Even though this report allows researchers to establish theoretical explanations for how often crime originates from social interactions between victims and offenders, these surveys like the UCR are limited in its scope. This is because it represents only a meager portion of all crimes and do not provide a classification on gender-based violence in the country (Cantor & Lynch,
Such surveys usually require more resources and finance that it becomes unfeasible and unaffordable for developing countries with large populations (United Nations, 2006).

Another example of the survey that is used to estimate the extent of victimization is the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS). This survey was made to build an internationally comparable database on people’s experience with crime and victimization in various countries. Victimization surveys like the ICVS helps in understanding the victim characteristics and its relations to a crime, it also helps in understanding the difference between officially recorded crimes and the rate of victimization to an extent. However, the ICVS also has limited crime data and do not categorize crimes against women\(^1\) taking a gender and culture specific approach.

Self-Reported Surveys (SRS) are another source of crime data that helps researches in analyzing prevalence and trend of criminality in a region. Self-Reported Surveys are an unofficial source of crime data. These reports help researchers to find data without relying on official records. The researchers ask the respondents questions about their criminality during a specific period. But these self-reported surveys cannot provide a country wide report and are mostly limited to juvenile crime studies because young individuals are more likely to open about their deviant behaviors than adults (Cantor & Lynch, 2000).

Generally, data available on the incidences of gender violence are insufficient and cannot provide a reliable understanding of the entire situation in a country. Presently, the major multi-country researches carried out addressing the issue of gender-based violence are by the World Health Organization International Violence against Women Surveys (IVAWS), the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice

\(^1\) Even though the word gendered based violence is an umbrella term used to represent violence targeted at specific gender including sexual and gender minorities, it is often interchangeably used with the word crimes against women.
Research Institute (UNICRI). Cross-national analysis of gender violence studies reported to date also provides a distorted and fragmented information on gender-based violence globally.

The disparity in the results from various reports conducted in the same country also questions the reliability of such statistics. This might be due to the different methodologies and designs they use to carry out each survey. Even though gender-based violence is common around the globe, there are not many countries that have adapted gender-based classifications into their official reports or surveys. Since gender-based violence reportedly has many categories; it is important to recognize and classify these crimes accordingly.

The categorization of gender-based violence in a region should also include gendered violence that is resulting from the region’s unique cultural and traditional system. When culture and the traditional norms provide certain degree of protection to its people, the same cultural norms and tradition can encourage use of violence and support discrimination of different kinds. For example, the traditional beliefs of a patriarchal society provide men the right to control women through, which makes women susceptible victims of domestic violence and sexual abuse (Illika, 2005; Amoakohene, 2004; Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005). In India for example, women used to perform the act of Sati from ancient times; It is an act of throwing themselves into the funeral pyre of their husband in order to prove her loyalty and their sanctity of their relationship (Kumar, & Kanth, 2004). Bride burning in India is another form of culture specific gender-based violence targeted at women in the Indian subcontinent where newly married women are burned to death when the groom’s family is not satisfied with the dowry- a form of customary gift provided from the bride’s family during the time of marriage (Natarajan, & Ciobanu, 2011, p.51).
As we see here, the crime types vary according to the cultural and traditional context of the region; therefore, the responses to such crimes should also identify the cultural factors that are interwoven in the phenomenon. This also includes identifying and categorizing crimes against women that are resultant from certain cultural norms. Taking India as an example, this paper investigates the nature, trend, pattern of gender-based violence.

**GBV in India**

Even though gender-based violence are categorized as physical, sexual, verbal and mental abuse in most of the countries, gender-based violence can be deeply interwoven with the situational and cultural set up of a region. It is necessary to understand the cultural aspects of the region for explaining, preventing and controlling various forms of gender-based violence from happening. This study uses a case study approach to provide a comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence in India not only by examining trends, categories and pattern but also by identifying cultural and situational preventive measures using criminological theories.

Gender-based violence data about India appear to be one of the most inconsistently represented figures in many international reports on GBV. Given India’s large population and its complex cultural and social system, ranking India into a list of countries is seemingly challenging (Purkayastha, Subramaniam, Desai, & Bose, 2003). The image of developing countries like India is marred with the issue of violence against women through media portrayal and organizational reports in the international level. Even though it is true that countries like India has been facing various forms of gender-based crimes at different parts of the country, it is necessary to understand how the country had been trying to tackle with the issue. It is also significant to study what initiatives the Indian government has taken so far in recognizing certain
offences as crimes against a particular gender. The present research intends to provide a deep understanding of GBV in India by analyzing various data resources available in the country.

Gender-based violence in India gained international attention after the brutal gang-rape of a young girl in India’s capital city in 2012 (Himabindu, Arora, & Prashanth, 2014). Even though many newspapers and Non-Profit Organizations reported about the occurrence of rapes in the country, attempts from the international community to quantify gender-based violence in the country remained minimal. Most of the researches on GBV in India also focused on intimate partner/Domestic Violence and Rape (Hacket, 2011; Visaria, 2008). Other than the international uproar on incidences of rape in the country, there are hardly any attention is given to other forms of gendered violence happening in India (Roychowdhury, 2013). This research paper serves as a reference point to understand the reality of the problem of gender-based violence in India.

Over the years, there were many attempts from the part of the Indian government to formulate numerous legislative measures to tackle the issue of gender-based violence in the country. National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) of India publishes a consolidated list of reported crime happenings in the country every year. This also includes occurrences of crimes against women that are reported at regional level police stations. The NCRB has recognized the gender aspect of certain crimes and have classified some offences in the under the chapter-Crimes Against Women. This comprises a wide categorization of offences including categorization based on situational, motivational and cultural factors. These crimes include Dowry Deaths, Abetment of Suicides of Women, Causing Miscarriage Without Women’s Consent, Deaths Caused by Act Done with Intent to Cause Miscarriage, Acid Attack, Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives, Kidnapping & Abduction of Women, Human Trafficking, Rape, Attempt to Commit Rape, Unnatural Offences, Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her

By analyzing available resources like NCRB on the gender-based violence in India, this study research offers to interpret the significance of methodologies used in such statistics and provide policy implication to prevent gender-based violence in India. This study also analyzes the nature, trends and pattern of gender-based violence in India over 25 years and explain how situational, motivational and culture specific categorizations of crimes against women plays into developing significant policies in tackling the issue. While global approach is important in sensitizing the GBV, it is important to study the problem in local scenario in order to provide effective prevention prescriptions. Analyzing the trends in gender-based violence in India will also help in delivering a better picture on the reality of such gendered offences.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Understanding Gender Based Violence: Global View

Prevalence of GBV

There is a growing body of international research which is beginning to provide overviews on prevalence of gender-based violence around the globe. Various researchers in the past decades have attempted to record the magnitude of violence against women, but significant gap in the literature on gender-based violence still exists.

Both men and women experience violence. The meaning of violence is shaped differently for men and women because of their gender. Men are more likely to be victims of physical assault in public places as a result of war, gang activity, and street violence; whereas women are more likely to be victims of sexual violence by someone they know. According to The World Health Organization - World Report on Violence and Health (2002), one in every 3 women experiences sexual violence from their intimate partner and one in every four adolescent girls had a forced first sexual experience. World Health Organization consolidated data surveys conducted on of sexual violence around the globe and found that in the crime surveys carried out in United States of America, near to 15% of women reported to have been raped in their lifetime.

Another study conducted by World Health Organization in 2013 on global estimates of violence against women found that around 35% of women worldwide have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by intimate partners and/or non-partners. The report was developed by WHO in collaboration with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the South African Research Council. Over the globe, around thirty percent of woman in relationships have
been victims of intimate partner violence. The report also states that out of all murders in the world today, 38% are committed by intimate partners; whereas 7% of women in the world were reported to be sexually assaulted by non-partners.

Ellsberg and Heise (2005) summarized 80 population-based surveys from 50 countries and analyzed the effects of gender-based violence on women. The study found that between 10% and 60% of women who were ever married had experienced at least one event of violence by the intimate partner and one half of ever partnered women in many countries have experienced some form of sexual violence by an intimate partner.

According to official data from 24 countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean, a total of 2559 women were victims of femicide (Gender Equality Observatory for Latin America, the Caribbean and Spain, 2018). This data was obtained by quantifying the number of homicides of women over 15 years of age as a result of gender-based violence.

The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) collected and consolidated national and state level data on sexual violence, intimate partner violence and stalking in United States of America. The survey report of 2010 found that nearly one in five women and one in seventy-one men are raped in United States at some point in their lives. More than half of the female victims reported to have been raped by an intimate partner. At the same time, one in six women in the United States reported that they have been victims of stalking once in their lifetime (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, & Stevens, 2011).

An issue brief produced by the inter parliamentary union in October 2016 analyzed quantitative and qualitative data provided by 55 women parliamentarians in 35 countries on their experiences of harassment and intimidation and violence. 88% of the women parliamentarians
reported to have been experienced psychological abuses and 44.4% of them reported to have received threats of death, rape, beatings and abduction. 65.5% of all the respondents from the 35 countries have undergone sexist remarks during their parliamentary term (Inter Parliamentary Union, October 2016).

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights conducted a survey which interviewed 42,000 women from 28 countries across European Union in 2014. The survey reported the women’s experiences of sexual, physical and psychological violence of various kinds. One in 10 women has experienced some form of sexual violence since the age of 15. Similar number of women has also experienced cyber harassments since the age of 15, these include sexually explicit unwanted emails and SMS messages, and offensive content on the social media. The study also found that certain characteristics of these women including their sexual orientation, disability status, ethnicity and humanitarian crisis affects the vulnerability to violence.

**Theoretical explanations of GBV**

Evidence from the existing literature suggests that gender-based violence is a phenomenon that is widely present in all countries and regions. This raises a question on what factors make gender-based violence a common phenomenon. What factors increase the risk for the victims of gender-based violence? How does patriarchal culture tolerate or neutralize the violence against women?

Sykes and Matza in 1957 derived a theory of neutralization which explained that internalization of social norms and delinquent subcultures encourages individuals to define crime as acceptable. Sykes and Matza describe five techniques of neutralization that could be
associated with gender-based violence too. In many circumstances crimes against women are being tolerated, encouraged or are seen acceptable because of underlying patriarchal subculture that support the use of violence against women.

Johnson, Ollus, & Nevala, (2007) states that gender-based violence becomes a deeply entrenched problem in almost all societies in the world because practices that tolerates or encourages such violence are institutionalized in the culture and also in the legal system. The insufficient policies to tackle the violence perpetrated against women are due to the lower socioeconomic position of women. Johnson, Ollus, & Nevala, (2007) further argues that even when legal codes that punishes violence against women exist in many countries, societal and cultural attitudes reinforce gender inequality forbid women from accessing the criminal justice system.

An ecological framework developed by Lori Heise in 1998 analyzed various risk factors that cause gendered violence. Heise pointed out that gender-based violence has multiple interactive factors rather than single or individual factor. Heise’s ecological theory explained that even though patriarchal structure of a society provides partial answer to the violence against women, Heise questioned that why only few male members in a patriarchal community choose to perpetrate violence when every individual in the society are exposed to the gender inequality and patriarchy. Through an ecological framework, Heise (1998) conceptualizes gendered violence (See Figure 1) as a multifaceted phenomenon interwoven with personal, situational and socio-cultural factors.

![Figure 1: Ecological model (Source: Heise, 1998)]
The innermost circle represents the individual factors that influence a person’s decision making and behavior. The next circle is the familial or relationship space to indicate abuses that take place within familial or intimate relationships. The adjacent circle encompasses community institutions, such as place of work, neighborhood, networks and religious groups.

The Routine Activities Theory propounded by Cohen and Felson in 1979 explained various types of crime victimizations with the help of three elements that converge in time and space. According to Routine Activities Theory, a motivated offender and a suitable target should converge in time and space in the absence of a capable guardian for a direct victimization to take place. Crimes that are usually seen associated with RAT theories are the ones such as burglary, larceny and theft.

The gender aspect of crime is seldom considered by researchers in criminological and victimological studies. However, Mangai Natarajan (2016) in her study assessed the problem of “eve teasing” (sexual harassment) of young women during the commute to college in India and associated it with Routine Activities Theory while formulating prevention strategies. Natarajan (2016) recommended that introducing policies that addresses “opportunity structures” can prevent occurrences of specific offences like eve teasing during the commute to and from college. Natarajan (2016) emphasizes that women’s increased contact with potential male perpetrators in the absence of capable guardians can lead to possible gendered crime opportunities.

Savard, Kelley, & Merolla (2017) in their research also attempted to investigate the relationship between gendered spaces and crime victimization with the help of Routine Activities Theory. They argued that some individual’s routine activities in gendered spaces might increase their exposure to motivated offenders which might in turn increase their risk of victimizations.
The Rational Choice Theory that was put forward by Cornish and Clarke (1986) explained that crime choices depend upon rational decisions made by the perpetrators after assessing the risks and benefits involved in committing the offense.

In a very detailed theoretical model provided by Natarajan (2002) in her study on domestic violence among immigrants from India elucidated how husbands utilize the lower risk situations when choosing to victimize their spouses. The Rational choice theory is also utilized by victimologists in explaining victim’s decision making in when it comes to tolerating and reporting gendered offenses targeted at them (Natarajan, 2002; Fattah 1991).

Various victimologists has looked at gender-based violence through the lens of the concept of “legitimate victim” where a male dominated society create an environment for women to take a role of culturally approved victim. Inferior position in the society like the gender of the person plays a major role in determining who the legitimate victim is. These legitimizations of victimhood through the society often create a sense of tolerance of victimization in the victim and others (Weis & Borges, 1973; Fattah, 1991; Natarajan 2002).

Feminists theories on gender-based violence is also in line with the victimological explanations. Radical/liberal feminists theory proposes that rape is an act or power/social control than of sexual gratification. Sanday (1981) conducted a research on 95 tribal societies and found that the societies which were associated with male dominance and female subordination were more prone to rape than the societies which prioritized respect towards women. In a normative feminist perspective Catherine MacKinnon in 1989 contradicted the earlier feminists’ theories about gender-based violence while asserting that violence and sex must be viewed more mutually definitive than exclusive. Mackinnon believe that aggression against people holding lower power delivers a form of sexual gratification to the perpetrator.
By the help of existing theories on gender-based violence, it could be understood that gender-based violence is a result of interaction between patriarchal attitudes and opportunity structure in multiple spaces. The risk factors associated with gender-based violence is thus structured below in the Figure 2.

This theoretical literature provides a valid evidence for framing policies and law to combat GBV. Even then considerable gap in the knowledge base regarding gender-based violence persist. As the UN Secretary General rightly pointed out in 2006, prevailing data and research studies until today have largely concentrated on domestic violence, rape, and female genital mutilation; whereas many other categories of gender-based violence goes unreported such as sexual harassments of various kinds, femicide and human trafficking of women and children (United Nations Secretary General, 2006). Most of the researches that provide


Figure 2: Risk factors in GBV
international comparisons on gender-based violence is centered on health consequences of GBV on women. The researchers also talk about the importance of gender equality. Gender equality is important in bringing a long-term solution to the issue of violence targeted at women. Since gender discrimination is deeply rooted in the cultural and societal set up of a region, changes in patriarchal attitude demands time and constant efforts, meanwhile adopting short term prevention strategies for crime against women is necessary. There are little criminological researches that provide tangible solutions to the problem.

**Response to GBV around the world**

Various efforts have been initiated across the world in response to preventing gendered violence. The prevention programs implemented in different countries adopted different approaches to the problem. Countries like South Africa, Kenya and Ecuador focused on community intervention and economic empowerment of women, such as micro finance programs and cash transfers. These programs reported significant reduction in intimate partner violence (Kim, Watts, Hargreaves, Ndhlovu, Phetla, Morison, & Pronyk, 2007; Abramsky, Devries, Kiss, Nakuti, Kyegombe, Starmann, & Michau, 2014).

A study on Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle and low-income countries, by the World Bank along with Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg (2005) evaluated intervention programs from different middle- and low-income countries. They study found that most of these programs focuses on single sector like health education or communication. The study found it challenging to measure effectiveness of a program because some of the successful programs means increased reported incidences of gender-based violence (Bott, Morrison, & Ellsberg, 2005).
Gender Based Violence in India

There exists a considerable body of literature on gender-based violence in India, however most of the studies were either outdated or specifically focused on certain aspect of gender-based violence. Newer research that empirically studies the trends and prevalence of GBV in a cultural context that focuses on prevention implications is nearly none.

For example, the study conducted by Seethal Ranjan in 2013 has discussed a range of crimes that are targeted at women in India. The study also analyses data from the National Crime Records Bureau statistics. However, this research cannot be considered as conclusive because the range of categories crime against women that is incorporated in the study has vastly increased after 2013 in India with the special report of Justice Verma Committee which recommended a series of amendments for existing definitions and laws on offences against women in the
country. The Crime against Women section of the National Crime Records Bureau Report, Crime in India significantly increased the number of categories on offences against women since then.

Mukherjee, Rustagi, & Krishnaji, in 2001, also employ similar methodology by utilizing the data from the Crime in India statistics from the NCRB. The study empirically evaluated the regional patterns of crime against women in India. The authors found that serious crimes like rape and sexual assaults were mostly concentrated at the central district regions of India mainly in various parts of Madhya Pradesh. Mukherjee, Rustagi, & Krishnaji (2001) also explored the correlation between socio-economic factors like sex ratio, female literacy rate and female employment to the reported crime incidences. They found that there is no relationship between the female literacy rate and the crime incidences; According to them the only crime that was related to sex ratio was the incidences of dowry deaths. Mukherjee, Rustagi, & Krishnaji (2001) also argued that there is a positive relationship between female work participation and occurrences of rape, molestation and sexual harassment. These results from the study or its interpretation is expected to be different in the present study due to changes happened over time in the NCRB statistics.

Study by Mangoli and Tarase (2009) analyzed the trends in Incidents of Crime against Women during 2003-2007 and Percentage variation in 2007 over 2006 and found that the crime against women has considerably increased from 7.6% to 8.8% over the five years. Like the previous researches this research also suffers from the limitation of being outdated and lacks inclusion of the extensive categories of the crime against women that the NCRB report now provides.
Charlotte Watts and Cathy Zimmerman (2002) have also investigated the magnitude of the problem of violence against women at a global scale. They asserted that the violence against women has increased over the years globally. The authors but primarily focused on the most common or severe forms of violence against women like intimate partner violence, trafficking, exploitation for labor and prostitution, female infanticide and so on. Watts and Zimmerman (2002) has also addressed the need for including the other forms of violence against women like dowry deaths, acid attacks, female genital mutilations etc. Like the previous researches Charlotte and Zimmerman also conducted the study years ago; this also calls for the need of additional studies conducted in the area of gender-based violence.

**Categories of GBV**

In the global conversation on prevention of crimes against women, categorizations of gender-based violence usually are not provided an important thought. This paper also highlights the importance of categorization of gender-based violence because, identifying and recognizing what all manifest a gendered crime is important in developing strategies that will prevent gender-based violence. GBV is a phenomenon widespread around the world, it also takes wide range of forms depending upon the region, space, identity and culture of the individuals involved in the victimization. As much as it is important to recognize the gendered aspect of certain crimes it is equally important to differentiate each gendered crime recognizing the motivation and distinctive situational and cultural characteristics of each crime.

Recognizing gendered aspect of some crimes, the National Crime Records Bureau of India also segregated a separate chapter that provides data on incidences of crimes against women in India from the year 1992. The Bureau have distinctively recognized and recorded various categories of crimes targeted at women that will help in developing specific crime prevention measures. The
categories of gendered crimes that are recorded in the NCRB report are further discussed in this chapter.

**Intrafamily Violence**

**Dowry Deaths**

Dowry is a form of gift – usually a valuable property or money brought into the husband’s family by a woman when he is married. Receiving or providing dowry in India is punishable by Article 304 B of Indian Penal Code defines Dowry deaths as death of a woman caused by burns or any kind of bodily injury that occurs in other than normal circumstances within the first 7 years of marriage and if it could be proved that she was subjected to any form of cruelty by the husband or his relatives before her death then they will be punishable under the section 304 B – “Dowry Death” of the Indian Penal Code.

A very detailed theoretical understanding of the incidences of Dowry deaths in India was provided by Natarajan in 1995. The problem of dowry deaths was explained by key criminological and victimological theories like Routine activity and Rational Choice by incorporating not just the sociocultural aspects of the problem but also detailing the decision-making process and the situational circumstances that leads to the murder of the bride by the husband’s family. Natarajan (1995) reasons with a multi-factor model that, the patriarchy in the society, the living situations of the bride, the character of the husband, the behavioral vulnerability of the bride and the support from the families can contribute to the occurrence of dowry related deaths in the country. Referring to the criminological theories of Routine activity and rational Choice, Natarajan (1995) argues that reducing such opportunities must be considered as a crime prevention strategy when dealing with dowry related deaths.
Vindhya (2000) examined court case records (n = 340) for crimes (e.g., cruelty, dowry deaths, abetment to suicide, and homicides) that occurred during the period from 1988 to 1992 in Andhra Pradesh, the fifth largest state in India. Fifty-two percent of the cases were found to be attributed to dowry-related violence, and 30% were due to factors such as suspicion of infidelity and alcohol, and 18% were a combination of both. This study has also employed past data and is majorly focused on cases from one state of the country. Research based on a set of current empirical data is necessary to deeply understand the problem of dowry deaths inclusive of other categories of crime against women in India.

*Abetment of Suicide of Woman*

Abetment of suicide is an offence under section 306 & 107 of the Indian penal code, 1860. A woman may be driven to commit suicide due to excessive demands for dowry. However, it may be difficult to prove that the death was a dowry death. In such cases, these provisions can be used to punish the offender. The Indian Penal Code of 1861 defines Abetment of Suicide of a woman as instigating someone to commit suicide or conspiring to make a person commit suicide or intentionally helping a person to commit suicide.

Ahmad (2008) explores the issue of Abetment of suicides of woman in India. According to him at least one woman commits suicide due to dowry related reasons in India. Ahmed states that the root cause of bride burning, as well as other forms of domestic violence against women, lies in their subordination and their frequent powerlessness within their husbands' family following marriage. Thus, cases of bride burning can and do occur without dowry being the causal factor, although dowry is possibly the single largest cause. Even though Ahmad (2008) provide a sociocultural background to the concept, the study is more focused on the legislative aspect of the issue rather than its trend or prevalence.
In a study of the relationship between partner violence and mental health among 1,922 Indian women, victims of DV were found to be 2.44–2.60 times at higher risk for suicide attempts. The study was a part of a larger study that randomly selected women between 15 to 49 years old with at least one child 18 years old or younger, from communities in Chile, Egypt, India, and the Philippines (N = 3974). (Vizcarra, Hassan, Hunter, Munoz, Ramiro, & De Paula, 2004).

_Causing miscarriage without the consent of the woman_

Legal provisions regarding Causing Miscarriage without woman’s consent under section 313 of Indian Penal Code, 1860. Section 313 of the Indian Penal Code provides that “Whoever commits the offence defined in the last preceding section without the consent of the woman, whether the woman is quick with child or not, shall be punished with imprisonment for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.” Section 313 of the Code is in continuation of Section 312. In the offence under Section 312, the pregnant woman’s consent is inherent. In the offence under Section 313, there is no consent of pregnant woman, hence only the person who causes the abortion is punished and the woman is not punished while in Section 312 the woman who causes herself to miscarry is also punished.

There is hardly any literature that studies the trends and prevalence of the offence of causing miscarriage of women in India. However, Jejeebhoy (1998) examined the linkages between wife-beating and one health-related consequence for women, their experience of fetal and infant mortality. Jejeebhoy utilized survey data from a total of 1842 women between ages 15-39 who are from two culturally distinct areas of India, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The author found that the Indian women's experience of infant and fetal mortality is powerfully
conditioned by the strength of the patriarchal social system. Even though the study does not provide a complete picture on the extend of the miscarriages carried out without the consent of the women this is the only study which had at least emphasized the association between wife beating that directly lead to fetal losses. The study also suggested that the association between wife beating and miscarriages are stronger in Uttar Pradesh were women are acutely powerless than in Tamil Nadu were women have some form of autonomy.

As there is a great dearth in existing literature that covers the prevalence of miscarriages without the consent of woman in India, the present research is also significant in filling the gap.

*Death caused by act done with intent to cause miscarriage*

As per Section 314 of the Indian Penal Code of 1860, when an act is done with the intention of causing miscarriage, but which act results in death, then it is an offence liable for punishment up to 10 years. As per this provision, it is enough if the intent is only to cause miscarriage and not death. The explanation to Section 314 provides that it is not even essential that the offender should know that the act is likely to cause death.

Just like the research on the prevalence of the miscarriages without the consent of woman in India, there are little studies conducted on death caused by act done with intent to cause miscarriage. Researchers Barreto, Oona, Campbell, Davies, Fauveau, Veronique Filippi, Graham, & Toubia (1992) carried out a study exploring the methodological dilemmas encountered in previous studies regarding induced abortions and deaths due to induced abortions. According to them maternal death is the most extreme consequence of unsafe abortion however lack of studies conducted on the issue is appalling. The article concludes with a discussion of
approaches for improving the accuracy, completeness, and representativeness of information on induced abortions, especially in developing countries.

Decades after the article claiming the importance of research about death caused due to induced abortion was published, there is still no scientific studies conducted analyzing the prevalence of the same. Now that there is adequate data collected by NCRB on the death caused by act done with intend to cause miscarriage, it is high time that a study is conducted on the subject.

*Cruelty by husband or his relatives*

Section 498-A of the Indian Penal Code describes that if a husband or the relative of the husband of a woman subjects such woman to cruelty, he shall be liable to punishment for three years and fine. The term “cruelty” signifies any willful conduct driving the woman to commit suicide or to cause grave injury or danger to life, limb or health of the woman, harassment of the woman with a view to coercing her or any person related to her to meet any unlawful demand for any property or valuable security.

Most of the studies conducted on cruelty by husband or his relatives are categorized together with dowry related issues or domestic violence. Hackett in 2011 conducted a study on domestic violence and cruelty by husbands and his relatives using the National Crime Records Bureau data. The study conducted a multivariate analysis of the data on domestic violence and cruelty to derive pattern of the crime rates in such offenses. Hackett (2011) found that the places with higher social developmental chances were more likely to have cruelty offenses because of changing gender roles.

*Female Feticide and Infanticide*
Feticide and infanticide are century old problem around the world wherever patriarchy and gender inferiority are prevalent. Feticide and Infanticide could be considered as the cruelest form of gender-based violence because it denies a girl the right to be born. The gender selective abortions have resulted in massive gap in the sex ration in India. Sec 315 of the Indian penal code criminalizes Feticide and section 316 of the Indian Penal code criminalizes Infanticide.

In order to put an end to gender selective abortions, Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act had was passed in India in 1994.

The Indian penal code of 1860 and the Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act were in place to reduce the prevalence of female feticide however, the practice found ways to misuse various loop holes in the law and is still existing in various parts of the country (Tandon & Sharma, 2006). Patriarchal attitude rooted in the complex set of social, cultural and economic norms causes girl children to be viewed as a burden or a liability. This discrimination towards girl children results in infanticides which is still widespread in the country (Tandon & Sharma, 2006).

According to a study conducted by Sahni, Verma, Narula, Varghese, Sreenivas, & Puliyel (2008), hospital records on 321,991 deliveries from 11 decades indicate that sex ratio fell significantly after 1980 when ultrasound machines for antenatal sex determination became available. If the first child was a girl, then the sex ration of second children were shown wider gaps.

Infanticide and Feticides are presently not included in the chapter on crimes against women in India, but the data on infanticide and feticide are provided in the chapter on crimes
against children in the annual report Crimes in India of the National Crime Records Bureau of India.

_Honor Killings_

Honor killings are carried out around the world influenced by the old concepts of superiority and inferiority by birth, gender, age or occupation that has been ruling over the minds of certain section of people in the society. Honor killings are defined as the killing of individuals who are assumed to have deviated from sexual norms imposed by society. Most of the victims of honor killings are individuals who are at the lower strata of power hierarchy, like women (Faqir, 2001; p.66).

There are presently no legal codes that explicitly criminalizes honor killings in India but are generally penalized under the legal codes that criminalizes murder under the Indian Penal code of 1980. Meettoo and Mirza (2007) claim that there is nothing honorable in the honor killings, but honor is falsely invoked as motivation for such killings.

The crime in India statistics started collecting data on honor crimes from the year 2014.

_Interpersonal Violence_

_Acid Attacks_

Until 2013 amendment to Section 326 of the Indian Penal Code (voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means), there had been no specific legislation to deal with cases of acid attack cases in the country. Since the amendment, accused in acid attacks can be prosecuted under section 326A in case of grievous injury and 326B in cases of relatively lesser injuries to victims. The minimum punishment under 326A is 10 years, while the maximum
is life imprisonment; under 326B, the minimum punishment is five years imprisonment, which can extend up to 7 years.

Though acid attack is a crime which can be committed against any man or woman, it has a specific gender dimension in India. Most of the reported acid attacks have been committed on women, particularly young women for spurning suitors, for rejecting the proposal of marriage, for denying dowry etc. The attacker cannot bear the fact that he has been rejected as seek to destroy the body of the women who have dared to stand up to him.

Previous studies on Acid attacks have almost exclusively focused on the acid violence incidences in Bangladesh. Even then there is no adequate official data on the extend of such violence in Bangladesh. On the other hand, when National Crime Records Bureau of India acknowledges the gender dimension of acid attacks in the country and have compiled and categorized incidences of acid attacks under the title crime against women in India, there seems few studies conducted on analysis the trends and patterns of same.

Chandrashekar and Johnny (2007) carried out a study to interpret the psychological condition of victims of acid attacks and their agony. The study also tries to explain the criminal motives of the perpetrators of acid attack. The study emphasizes that a frustrated individual who is experiencing dejection or hostility will resort to acid throwing as an act of vengeance. Another explanation is that an egoistic motivation in the perpetrator will make him objectify the woman. A rejection from the woman will make him attack in a way that will permanently deform her so that no one else will possess something he could not possess. Chandrashekar and Johnny (2007) also find that a seductive motivation will also lead a person assault the victim in case rejection of a sexual demand put forward by the perpetrator. The study has also investigated the increase in
reported incidences of acid attack over the years 2011-2015 and found that there is a drastic increase in the occurrence of acid attacks in the 5-year period in India.

*Kidnapping and Abduction of Woman*

According to the gravity of the offence and its nature the Indian penal code sections 359 to 369 punishes a person for kidnapping and abduction of an individual. Kidnaping is a word used to describe the act of illegally taking way a child from its lawful guardian, while abduction means forcefully or fraudulently taking an adult away. According some reports, Kidnapping and Abduction of women are one of the fastest growing crimes in India (Collaco, 2013, June 14). Even then there are no studies conducted on analyzing patterns of Kidnapping and Abduction of women in India.

*Rape*

Rape is one of the most talked about topic when it comes to gender-based violence in India. The Sections 375,376,376A, 376B, 376C and 376D of the Indian penal code defines and punishes rape of various kinds.

Singh (2016) analyzed the extent of a few heinous crimes against women in India using the crime against women statistics from the NCRB between the years 1991 to 2014. Singh found that rape cases increased at about 5.9% over the years. The study also found that teenage girls in India are the group most vulnerable to rape in India.

Fatal gang rape of a girl in 2012 in the nation capital Delhi and the mass outrage that followed it had resulted in a formation of a judicial review committee headed by former Supreme Court judge Justice J.S. Verma. The Verma committee made various recommendations to be incorporated into the legal code of the criminal justice system regarding crimes against women.
These recommendations resulted in a landmark shift in the jurisprudence regarding gendered violence in India called the Criminal Law amendment Act of 2013 it expanded the definition of rape to sexual assault, from penal vaginal penetration to penetration of any object. It also incorporated changes in the Indian penal code regarding stalking, sexual harassment, trafficking and acid attacks etc. The amendment also made it a punishable offence if any public servant failed to register a complaint on sexual offenses (Lodhia, 2015). These changes could possibly have made large contributions to the data on crimes against women in India. As a result, it is very important to investigate the more recent trends and patterns in crime against women in India.

*Attempt to commit rape*

An attempt to commit rape is punishable by the Indian penal code under section 511 IPC. The Indian judiciary clearly differentiates an attempt to rape with that of preparation to rape using the degree of determination from the part of the perpetrator to commit the offence. In the case where the act does not go beyond the degree of preparation it usually considered under section 354 of IPC which outraging the modesty of woman.

*Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her Modesty*

- Assault on Women,
- Sexual Harassment,
- Assault on Women with Intent to Disrobe,
- Voyeurism,
- Stalking

The section 354 IPC of the Indian Penal code states that Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any woman, intending to outrage or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby
outrage her modesty, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which
may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

With the Verma Committee report on the sexual offences against women, major changes
occurred in this section of the Indian Penal Code. Sexual harassment, assault with intention to
disrobe, Voyeurism and Stalking became subsection under IPC 354. Since these are
comparatively new additions to the IPC there are little studies conducted on the pattern and
trends of these offences.

Until the 2014 changes the crime was termed as eve-teasing which included cat calling,
lewd remarks and inappropriate sexual contact. According to Natarajan (2016) the word eve
teasing trivializes the act of sexual harassment. Through rapid assessment of eve teasing of
female college students in public spaces, Natarajan (2016) identifies that the eve teasing has
much larger physical, psychological and social repercussions than what the word eve teasing
conveys. By conducting group discussions with college students, interviews with police officers
from stations nearby the campuses and safety audits of the campus surroundings, the study
suggested various precautionary measurements to reduce the crime.

In a study conducted on attitude of sexual harassment of women in India, by Menon &
Kanekar in 1992, 772 students from the University of Bombay underwent an experiment where
they were asked to respond to a hypothetical situation of sexual harassment. The study found that
the male respondents blamed the victims more than the female respondents. Menon & Kanekar
(1992) in their study found clear distinction between male and female attitudes towards sexual
harassment. The study also found that the individuals who do not take any action their harassers
are more likely to be blamed for their victimization (Menon & Kanekar; 1992). Even though this
study explains the attitudes of individual towards sexual harassment there are no studies
conducted detailing the patterns of the newly inserted crimes in the category of crime against women in India.

There are hardly any studies conducted on stalking and voyeurism in India, since these terms are comparatively new to the criminal justice system. As the country is proactively identifying newer categories of gender-based violence it is important to conduct more researches on those crimes that lead to effective policy suggestions.

_Societal/ General Violence_

*Human Trafficking*

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act of 2013 amended section 370 of the Indian Penal Code defined trafficking as whoever, for the purpose of exploitation recruits, transports, harbors, transfer or receives, a person or persons using threat, or force, or any other form of coercion, or abduction, or fraud, or deception or abuse of power, or inducement, recruited, transported, harbored, received, commits the offence of trafficking.

There are numerous studies existing on human trafficking; however, there are hardly any studies that are carried out by approaching human trafficking from gender-based violence perspective in India. According to Deane (2010) human trafficking affects women’s choices in complicated ways and is influenced by various socio-economic and cultural factors. The study claim that actual estimates of the human trafficking is not existent since human trafficking is interwoven by many other illegal activities like forced and false marriages, selling of minors into prostitution, abusive domestic servitude, various sexual abuses etc. Using crime against women data from the National Crime Records Bureau in the present study will help in not just estimating
the reported incidences of human trafficking but also in holistically analyzing human trafficking as a gender-based violence.

*Unnatural offences*

According to the section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, any individual whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with a man women or animal shall be punishable by imprisonment for life. This section of the Indian Penal Code which was adopted from the English common law in 1861 had led to many debates in India for its homophobic nature. After various judicial reviews over the years the section 377 was repealed by the Supreme Court of India on September 6, 2018.

*Special and Local Laws*

Special and local laws (SLL), that are enacted from time to time to deal with specific social and economic problems affecting women, also punish certain crimes and offences.

*Dowry Prohibition Act, of 1961*

The dowry prohibition was enacted into the Indian Law in order to curb the practice of providing and receiving dowry in connections with marriages conducted in India. Jeyaseelan, Kumar, Jeyaseelan, Shankar, Yadav, & Bangdiwala (2015) examined the prevalence and risk factors for dowry demand and dowry harassment and its psychosocial correlates across different social strata in India. In a survey that was carried out among 9938 women in various parts of the country during 1998-99, they found that dowry system was very prevalent in the urban-non-slum areas and rural villages than in the urban areas. The study also found that most of the groom’s families were dissatisfied with the dowry they received.
A detailed analysis of the reported incidences of offences that comes under the Dowry prohibition act of the 1961 in the NCRB data enables us to provide a in depth understanding of the patterns of prevalence of dowry system in India.

Immoral Traffic Prevention Act

The special law that was targeted at combatting sex trafficking was previously known as the suppression of immoral trafficking Act (SITA), it was later amended as immoral trafficking prevention act (ITPA) in 1978 and later in 1986. The ITPA toughened penalties for trafficking in children and are tough on traffickers and pimps while protecting victims. The ITPA also offers rescue shelters for the victims of trafficking. Ghosh in 2009 conducted a comparative study by analyzing incidences reported under the ITPA between the years 1998 and 2006. Ghosh (2009) found that there was a drastic reduction in the reported incidences under ITPA between 2002 and 2006.

Protection of Women from Domestic Violence

The protection of women from domestic violence Act was enacted in 2005, this special act along with other legal provisions provides constitutional protection to the victims of domestic violence of various kinds. According to this Act any harm, injury to health, safety, life or wellbeing or any other act threatening or coercion by any adult member of the family will constitute domestic violence.

Fernadez in 1997 explored how the relatives especially mother in laws of the contributes to the domestic violence by analyzing 15 case studies of domestic violence incidences reported from Bombay. The study found that generational superiority of the mother in laws along with
economic dependency of the daughter in laws contributes to domestic violence (Ferenadez, 1997).

More recent study on domestic violence in India was conducted by Natarajan in 2006. The study proposed a problem-solving model in identifying analyzing and solving domestic violence cases in India. The model suggested better trainings for law enforcement that is sensitive to traditional and cultural dynamics involved in the problem of domestic violence. This approach appears to encourage more abused women in various parts of the country to seek the protection of the police officials (Natarajan, 2006). By analyzing the nature, trends and pattern of offences reported under the Domestic Violence prevention act of 2006 will help in strategizing similar prevention policies against such offences.

Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986

The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act of 1986 prohibits indecent representation of women through advertisements or in publications, writings, paintings, figures or other manner of indecent representations primarily in the print media. The definition of decency in the Act is deeply rooted in the cultural fabric of the country. After the amendment of the Act in 2012 the scope of the Act expanded to that of digital communication media covered in the IT act as well.

Publishing or Transmitting of Sexually Explicit Material (Sec 67A IT Act)

This Act also known as the Information Technology Act of 2000 punishes individuals for publishing/ transmitting sexually/obscenely explicit content in electronic form under section 67, 67A, 67 B of the Act. In an era were social media sites and internet is vastly used for various purposes including crime, this act will put a check on the content transmitted through the
electronic media. The acts punishable under this section include sexting, voyeurism, revenge porn etc. According to Halder and Jayashankar (2016) India is one of the fastest growing economies with increased internet users every year. In the book on cyber-crimes against women in India, Halder and Jayashankar (2016) explain how various crimes have moved from physical space to cyber space, like stalking, blackmailing, etc. To have a better understanding on the cyber based crimes against women it is necessary that we analyze various trends in the reported incidences of such crimes.

By analyzing the existing literature on gender-based violence in India, it was found that there are little studies that holistically explain the pattern, trends and prevalence of gender-based violence in India. Even though there exist concrete official data on the incidences of crimes targeted at women in the country, there are not many studies that employed the NCRB data to analyze the trends of such crimes over the years. It is evident from the existing literature that the gender-based violence takes various forms. To have complete understanding of the phenomenon of gender-based violence it is important to research on all the possible manifestations of violence against women which is nearly none. While a global approach is important in sensitizing the issue of gender-based violence, it is equally important to develop a culturally relevant approach in understanding the pattern of gendered crimes. This is where the present study takes its relevance.
THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study intends to investigate the nature, pattern and trends of gender-based violence through a case study approach by utilizing secondary data on crimes against women in India. This study utilizes the official annual crime database of the National Crime Records Bureau of India which provides information on more than 20 categories of crimes committed against women in India from the year 1992. This study is one of its kinds to provide a long-term trend analysis of wide-ranging crimes against women in India and is expected to be a reliable source of evidence to the issue of gender-based violence. The paper employs multiple criminological theories to explain the findings from the study. This provides an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the nature and pattern of gendered crimes and explains how such crimes are interwoven with the socio-cultural fabric of the country.

The present study therefore aims to:

- Examine reported incidences of crimes against women in India.
- Develop better understanding on the nature, pattern and trends of gender-based violence in India over the years.
- Analyze how culturally significant categorization of crimes-against-women help in formulating preventive policies.
- Contribute to filling the existing literature gap in research on gender-based violence in India, by producing a publishable article.

Even though gender-based violence is present across various regions around the world, there has been little studies conducted on the same. As mentioned earlier, most of the existing literatures on gender-based violence are primarily focused on one or two types of gendered
crimes like domestic violence or rape. However, gender-based violence also takes subtler forms like eve teasing and voyeurism; it is also seen manifested in the form acid-attacks and cyber-crimes where crimes take new opportunity structures; in some cases, crimes against women are deeply interwoven with the culture where it is present in the form of dowry deaths, female genital mutilation and female infanticides. To understand how women become victims of some forms of crime, it is important to study various dimensions of such crimes. The paper includes wide categories of gendered-offences which help in providing a complete understanding of gender-based violence.

It is also evident from the past researches that most of the existing studies conducted on crimes against women were intended for exploring medical consequences of violence targeted at women. This study not only takes a cultural approach in analyzing the nature of gender-based violence but also provides evidence on various risk factors by examining the trends and prevalence of crimes against women in India. This wholistic approach towards gender-based violence consequently results in being the criminological reference point for future researches.

Although there are official data on the reported incidences of crimes against women, it is important to analyze those data for the purpose of formulating strategies that will prevent such crimes from happening in the future. At present, there is little research that has utilized official crime reports on violence against women and put forward prevention prescriptions. Therefore, the present study is significant in looking at incidences of gender-based violence through a cultural lens and prescribing prevention policies. At the same time, examining the nature, trends and prevalence of gender-based violence in India and there by proposing prevention strategies will help in adapting similar action-oriented research in other countries.
The present studies not only employ quantitative data on reported gendered crime incidences but also uses criminological theories to propose policy recommendations. This case study approach provides a comprehensive understanding of the problem of GBV in India. Simply using administrative data for complicated social phenomena like GBV is insufficient to understand the problem of gender-based violence in its totality; instead it requires in-depth analysis of various causes and factors that distinguishes such crimes from other crimes. The present research that employs multiple data sources thereby becomes important in providing facts and explanations to gender-based violence in its entirety.
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The present study utilizes a case study design on GBV in India. The rationale behind employing a case study approach in the present study is that it is one of the best approaches to understand the complexities of the issue of gender-based violence in the most complete way possible (Stake, 1994). What makes this study unique is that this case study approach will utilize multiple criminological theories and the findings from the NCRB data on crime against women in India to explain the nature, pattern and trend of gender-based violence in the country. According to Yin (1984, 2003) wide range of data sources must be utilized in order to understand a case in its totality. The multiple sources that will be utilized in the present research will provide a most possible understanding of gender-based violence.

The multiple sources used in a case study approach is very important in framing patterns that are common to the cases and in exploring theories related to the phenomenon in the study (Chetty, 1996). According to Yin (1984) the case study approach investigates a phenomenon in its real-life context. By combining data from multiple sources, the case study approach may result in qualitative, quantitative or mixed evidences (Eisenhardt, 1989). Deriving cross case patterns is one of the most important characteristics of case study approach. Cross case comparisons help in revealing subtle similarities and differences between cases and that enables the researchers to go beyond initial impressions (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Ragin, & Becker (1992) in their explorations on case study approach, found that the generalizability of cases could be increased by carefully selecting the data for the study. Such selection provides deeper clarifications to causes and consequences behind a problem. The cross-
case comparisons and the ability to provide a wholistic understanding of the phenomenon makes case study approach apt for international country specific research.

The quantitative analysis of the data on incidences of crimes against women in India helps in developing an understanding on the trends and pattern of various categories of crimes against women. Trends and patterns of each categories of offences committed against women are also compared with other categories of crimes against women. This study there by provides information on what form of gender-based violence have increased or decreased over the years in India. The categories of crimes that are analyzed in this study are: Dowry Deaths, Abetment of Suicides of Women, Causing Miscarriage Without Women’s Consent, Deaths Caused by Act Done with Intent to Cause Miscarriage, Acid Attack, Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives, Kidnapping & Abduction of Women, Human Trafficking, Rape, Attempt to Commit Rape, Unnatural Offences, Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her Modesty (Assault on Women, Sexual Harassment, Assault on Women with Intent to Disrobe, Voyeurism, Stalking), Insult to modesty of Women, Female Infanticide, Feticide, Honor killings and the offences covered under Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, Publishing or Transmitting of Sexually Explicit Material (Sec 67A IT Act), Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986.

Various criminological theories from existing literature are then used to analyze the problem of gender-based violence in India. This approach is an effective source of information to deeply understand the nature of gender-based violence in the country. The findings of the study also provide detailed information on various categories crimes against women. Case study approach helps in capturing a wide range of perspectives on the GBV issues, especially on how gender-based violence is interwoven with the countries socio-cultural set up. Subsequently,
resulting in prescribing effective prevention strategies to tackle the issue of gender-based violence. Even though quantitative research provides brute facts to certain crimes, Theoretical explanations help uncover the intricacies and causalities involved in complex crimes like GBV (Wright, & Bouffard, 2016).

Multiple data sources are used in researches that investigates complex social phenomena (for example: crime or in the present study gender based violence to be specific), where one particular source of data will be insufficient in understanding the phenomenon in its totality (Creswell, Plano, Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003; Greene & Caracelli, 1997) Adapting such a case study approach for the present study results in more meaningful and complete research than employing usual research designs that employs singular data sources. Moreover, the research style provides more freedom to the researcher in utilizing all available sources without confining the study to one conventional or traditional design (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Research Questions

The purpose of this present study is to examine nature and extent of GBV in India for prevention policy actions.

The present study primarily answers the following research questions:

- What is the long-term trend in crimes against women in India over the past years?
- What is the nature and pattern of gender-based violence in India?
- How does categorization of crimes against women provide effective preventive prescriptions for such crimes?

The answer to the first question, on long term trends of gender-based violence in India is obtained by examining the official crime data over the years from the National Crime Records
Bureau of India. These long-term trends of each crime against women in India are then compared with other crimes against women to understand the nature and pattern of crimes against women in the country. The data thus obtained is then interpreted using existing theories in criminology.

Addressing these questions helps in formulating preventive strategies for crimes that are targeted at women not only in India but also in other countries. Understanding the nature and trend of the crimes against women also sheds light on where the future researches should be conducted on.

**Data Collection**

The present study utilizes secondary data to carry out the research. The data for the present research is collected from the annual reports of National Crime Records Bureau of India. The one and only official source of crime statistics in India is the Crime in India report which is a consolidated annual crime indicator of the whole country. The reporting of annual crime statistics started in 1953 by the Intelligence Bureau of India. Only a few crimes, particularly crimes which were then considered most serious (cognizable) were included in the report. Thus, when India started to consolidate its crime data, gendered crimes were not a part of it. Gradually, the Crime In India (CII) report began to publish data on victims of rape in 1971.

The responsibility of publishing Crime in India statistics was transferred to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) in 1986 with its establishment. Recognizing the gendered aspect of certain crimes, the NCRB designed a new chapter known as Crimes Against Women (CAW) in 1992 this included data on crimes like rape, kidnapping and abduction for various purposes, dowry deaths, torture, molestation and eve teasing and some other offences that comes under the special and local laws (SLL) like the Commission of Sati Prevention Act of 1987, Dowry

By the year 1994, the NCRB began to publish data on Crimes Against Children which also included information on incidences of feticides and infanticides. The Crime against Women chapter was also updated by replacing the section eve teasing with incidences of sexual harassment in the same year. The chapter also incorporated data on the importation of girls under IPC section 366 B. The offences that come under Special and Local Law – Child Marriage Restrain Act of 1979 was also consolidated the same year. In the year 2008 a separate chapter on human trafficking was introduced in the crime in India statistics.

Extensive improvements were made to the chapter on crime against women in the year 2014, which could be the consequence of extreme pressure from activists and women’s movement as an aftermath to the Nirbhaya incident of 2012 and legislative amendments by Verma committee in 2013. The chapter 5, crimes against women of the Crime in India report of 2014 included data on Rape, Attempt to commit rape, Kidnapping & abduction of women in order to murder, for ransom, to compel her for marriage, Dowry deaths, Assault on woman with intent to outrage her modesty including Sexual harassment, Voyeurism, Insult to the modesty of women at office premises, at places related to work, in public transport, Cruelty by husband or his relatives, Importation of girl from foreign country (up to 21 years of age), Abetment of suicide of women and other offences included in Special local laws included in The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986, The Commission of Sati Prevention Act, 1987, The Protection of women from domestic Violence Act, 2005, The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956. The reports include all the incidences of offences registered at all the police stations in India. These reports are publicly available from
the website of National Crime Records Bureau. The present research focuses on data on the following crimes against women in India (See Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offences Against Women</th>
<th>Legal Code</th>
<th>Year included in CII Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Dowry Deaths</td>
<td>IPC Sec 304 B</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Abetment of Suicides of Women</td>
<td>IPC Sec 306</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Causing Miscarriage Without Women’s Consent</td>
<td>IPC Sec 313</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Deaths Caused by Act Done with Intent to Cause Miscarriage</td>
<td>IPC Sec 314</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Acid Attack &amp; Attempt to Acid Attack</td>
<td>IPC Sec 326 A &amp; IPC Sec 326 B</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives</td>
<td>IPC Sec 498 A</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Kidnapping &amp; Abduction of Women</td>
<td>IPC Sec 363</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Kidnapping &amp; Abduction</td>
<td>IPC Sec 363</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 K &amp; A in order to Murder</td>
<td>IPC Sec 364</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Kidnapping for Ransom</td>
<td>IPC Sec 364 A</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4 K &amp; A of women to compel her for Marriage</td>
<td>IPC Sec 366</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Human Trafficking</td>
<td>IPC Sec 370 &amp; 370 A</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Rape</td>
<td>IPC Sec 376</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1 Rape</td>
<td>IPC Sec 376</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2 Gang Rape</td>
<td>IPC Sec 376 D</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3 Custodial Rape</td>
<td>IPC Sec 376 C</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Attempt to Commit Rape</td>
<td>IPC Sec. 376/511</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Unnatural Offences</td>
<td>IPC Sec 377</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Assault on Women with Intent to Outrage her Modesty</td>
<td>IPC Sec 354</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1 Assault on Women</td>
<td>IPC Sec 354</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2 Sexual Harassment</td>
<td>IPC Sec 354 A</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3 Assault on Women with Intent to Disrobe</td>
<td>IPC Sec 354 B</td>
<td>2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4 Voyeurism</td>
<td>IPC Sec 354 C</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5 Stalking</td>
<td>IPC Sec 354 D</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Insult to the modesty of women</td>
<td>IPC Sec 509</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offences</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dowry Prohibition Act</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Immoral Traffic (Prevention)</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>Procuring/Inducing a person for sake of Prostitution (Sec.5)</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>Detaining a person in remises where prostitution is carried on (Sec.6)</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>Prostitution in the vicinity of Public Places (Sec.7)</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>Seducing or Soliciting for Prostitution (Sec.8)</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>Other Sections under ITP Act</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Publishing or Transmitting of Sexually Explicit Material</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986</td>
<td>SLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Infanticide</td>
<td>IPC Sec 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Feticide</td>
<td>IPC Sec 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Honor Killings</td>
<td>IPC Sec 299, 300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Offences against women in Crime in India Report

The data collected from the Crime in India report is then correlated with data on development factors like Human Development Index of the country and Education Index and representation of women in police in India to provide reasoning to nature of reporting of crimes against women. The findings from the present study are then explained through various criminological theories.

**Subjects of the study**

The data for the present research is primarily collected from the official annual crime report from the National Crime Records Bureau of India. This report is consolidated by collecting data on reported crime incidences from 14,359 police stations in 29 states and 5 union
The qualitative part of the study also involves interpreting findings of the research with other criminological theories. This study does not involve directly contacting any subjects.

**Data Analysis**

In this case study approach, the data analysis involves trend analysis, bivariate analysis and theoretical interpretation. As we have identified the secondary data source which is the Crime in India annual report the National Crime Records Bureau, the data on crimes against women from the year 1992 was entered to the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). A descriptive trend analysis of the data was conducted by the help of SPSS and frequency distribution of each offence was obtained. After analyzing frequency distribution of each category of crimes against women, the results were then compared to the data from the previous years. This helps in analyzing the long-term trends gender-based violence in India. The trends on each category of crime are then compared to the trends of other crime categories.

Frequency distribution of various categories of crimes was also obtained. Trend analysis of serious and non-serious crimes against women was carried out controlling for the population to understand an overall trend in the crimes against women over the past 25 years. After obtaining the trends in crime rate, the present study carried out a bivariate correlational analysis. The bivariate correlational analysis was conducted by comparing rate of crimes to developmental factors like Human development Index and Educational Index. A bivariate correlational analysis was also carried out to understand the relation between Rate of reported incidences and the representation of women in police.

As explained earlier, the present study then uses various criminological theories to interpret the findings from the quantitative data. This step is expected to provide a detailed
understanding of nature and pattern of crimes against women in India. These theories can uncover causal mechanisms related to gender-based violence and thereby help in strategizing effective plans for crime prevention (Wright, & Bouffard, 2016).

Employing multi-faceted approach in the analysis of secondary data in the present study helps in delivering a comprehensive understanding of the issue of gender-based violence. The study therefore provides a quantitative evidence to gender-based violence supplemented by criminological theories. The study is then followed by effective policy recommendations in preventing gender-based violence.

**Ethical concerns**

Since the present study was conducted using publicly available government data, there is no direct ethical concerns for the present research. Human subjects are not involved in the present study and hence confidentiality and privacy concerns are not applicable.

**Limitations**

The major limitation of utilizing official data is that a large proportion of crime incidences often go unreported or underreported especially when it comes to crimes against women and crimes that are sexual in nature. However, the National Crime Records Bureau of India’s Crime in India statistic is so far the best available resource on crimes against women in India which incorporates a large variety of cases. Definitions and legal codes on crime in India is undergoing changes every year, this can also affect the understanding of trends on crime against women over the years. However, the present study has tried to minimize such limitations by employing multiple sources from existing literature to further interpret the results obtained from the official sources.
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Data

The National Crimes Records Bureau of India (NCRB) has been collecting and consolidating data on Crime In India (CII) from the year 1953. Recognizing the gendered aspect of certain crimes, the NCRB provides a separate chapter on crimes against women since 1992. This chapter includes various categories of crimes against women and sub-categories of certain crimes. The various categories of crimes against women as introduced by NCRB over the years is shown below:

- **1971** - Rape
- **1992** – Rape, Dowry Deaths, Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives, Kidnapping & Abduction of Women, Dowry Prohibition Act, Immoral Traffic (Prevention), Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986
- **2014** - Rape, Dowry Deaths, Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives, Kidnapping & Abduction of Women, Dowry Prohibition Act, Immoral Traffic (Prevention), Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986, Infanticide, Feticide, Sexual Harassment, Human Trafficking, Abetment of Suicides of Women, K & A in order to
Murder, Kidnapping for Ransom, K & A of women to compel her for Marriage, Attempt to Commit Rape, Voyeurism, Stalking, Insult to the modesty, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, Honor Killings.


As of 2016, India accounts for 21 categories and numerous sub-categories of crimes against women including the crimes covered under Indian Penal code (IPC) and the Special and Local Laws (SLL). The categorization of these gendered crimes is based upon the places where the crimes occurred, the motive behind the crimes and culture specificity of the crimes.

**Place specific categorization**

Certain crimes against women that are recorded by the National Crimes Record Bureau are further classified according to the places in which the crime occurred. For example, the 2015 report on Crimes against women has sub divided the categories on “Insult to modesty of women” based on places in which it occurred, like places of work, offices, public transport and other
places. Categorization in terms of places of occurrence of crime will enable policy makers to develop situational crime prevention strategies.

Figure 3: Place specific categorization

The sexual harassment of women at workplaces in India was not considered as an offence until 1997. The issue was first brought into public attention by an NGO called Vishakha through a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) that challenged the verdict of Rajasthan High Court on a gang rape case. In this case, Bhanwari Devi a Rajasthan government employee was brutally gangraped for her efforts to curb the practice of child marriages. A group of villagers were accused of the gang rape and were found not guilty by both the trial court and the high court of Rajasthan. A group of activists from Vishakha took the case to the Supreme Court. For the first time, the
Supreme Court of India recognized the legislative inadequacy concerning harassment laws and found sexual harassment at workplace as a violation of human rights.

**A Case of Sexual Harassment at Workplace:**

In April 2019, 28-year-old Human Resource executive of a company filed a complained at the local all women police station against her manager of sexually harassing and molesting her. The manager had asked the victim to work overtime and had stopped her travel facility when she refused to do so. Later, the manager called the victim to his office and molested her and threatened to fire her from the job and kill her when she resisted his sexual advances (Yadav, 2019).

**A Case of Sexual Harassment in Train:**

On February 9, 2019 a 26-year-old man molested a woman who was travelling in a local train in Mumbai. The perpetrator entered the women’s compartment in which the victim was travelling, closed one of the doors of the compartment and held the victim’s hand. The woman then jumped out of the train to escape from the molester but injured her arms and head. The victim filed a complained to the local police. Using CCTV footages in the train stations and the streets, the police captured the molester (Mahale, 2019).

Like the case mentioned above, sexual harassments at workplace has its unique detrimental effects on the victim’s work performance and livelihood. Place specific categorization of offences thereby helps in enacting laws and policies required to tackle the concerned offences. Place specific categorization of CAW therefore helps in highlighting the places which are detrimental to women, situational crime prevention strategies could be adopted to at risk areas by these categorizations.

**Motive specific categorization**

The National Crimes Record bureau has also categorized some crimes based on the motive behind committing such crimes. For instance, the 2016 report incorporates subcategorization of incidences of kidnapping and abduction cases for various purposes like for
marriage, for ransom, for murder, for forced begging etc. (See figure 4). Such motive specific sub categorization of crimes against women will help in enacting distinctive laws and in establishing justice.

Figure 4: Motive specific categorization
Box 2: Cases of motive specific crimes against women

If not for this categorization based on motive of the offences, one would assume that women are being kidnapped for ransom or for rape. However, the motive specific categorization reveals that an alarming number of women are being abducted or kidnapped into marriage. Similar motive specific categorization also helps in identifying problem areas where preventive policies could be focused.

Culture Specific Categorization

Even though gender-based violence is common to most of the countries and regions in the world, certain crimes targeted at women are unique to specific regions and are interwoven with the cultural fabric of that region. Therefore, it is important to categorize culture specific crimes committed against women. For example, the 2016 report on crimes against women recorded 7621 cases on dowry deaths and 206 incidences of Acid attack cases (See Figure 5). Dowry is a gift that is in the form of money or property given to the groom’s family by the bride’s family during a marriage. Newlywed women in India undergo various forms of torture and abuses if they do not meet, the dowry demands made by the husband’s family, which
eventually gets them killed or coerce them to commit suicide. This cultural practice of dowry system and the offences associated with it is unique to the Indian sub-continent. Acid on the other hand is a substance that is easily available in the household of the country for cleaning and other purposes. This substance is used as a weapon in many instances and poured at women when they deny a marriage or love proposal. Distinguishing culture specific crimes will enable the policy makers to prescribe prevention strategies that are effectively rooted in the cultural setup of the country.

Figure 5: Culture specific categorization
Although paying and receiving dowry in India is illegal, the practice of dowry remains widespread across the country. Even though the practice of marriages is evolving from the traditional arranged marriages to the modern form, families continue make dowry demands. This practice is derived from the cultural attitudes that view women to be of lesser value than men. A dowry is meant to offset the financial burden women and girls bring to the new family through marriage.

**Cases of Dowry Deaths:**

In April 2019, a 27-year-old woman from Kerala (South India) was starved to death because her family was unable to pay the dowry of 2 lakh rupees. It was found from the autopsy that the woman only weighed 20 kgs and was reduced to a bag of skeleton when she died. The couple had got married in 2013. The bride’s family had provided the groom with some gold ornaments during the wedding and promised to pay Rupees 2 lakh later. However, they failed to pay the expected dowry and the groom’s family tortured the bride for five years resulting in her death (Deswal, 2019).

In yet another case, 22-year-old Rukhsana and her one-year-old daughter was burned to death in West Bengal by her husband and family over unfulfilled dowry demands. Rukhsana was married to Ansari in 2017. After continuous harassment from the in laws Rukhsana’s mother went to meet her and take her back home. However, Ansari did not allow her mother to meet her. Rukhsana and her daughter was found burned to death the next day (Hindustan Times, 2019).

Earlier on July 15, 2018, Anissia Batra a 37-year-old woman jumped from the terrace of her apartment committing suicide. Anissia who was working as a flight attendant was married to Mayank Singhvi in 2016. Soon after their marriage, Singhvi began to physically and emotionally abuse Anissia over dowry (Times of India, 2018).

Acid attack incidences in the country are also not uncommon. Following the increased incidences of acid attacks, Supreme Court in 2013 passed a ruling regulating the sale of concentrated acid in shops and making it mandatory to demand identity records of customers who buy acids. However, the implementation of the rule is still a distant reality (Gill & Dias, 2016).
**Cases of Acid Attacks:**

On April 19, 2019 four men from Bihar poured acid on a 17-year-old girl, after a failed attempt to molest her. The incident took place in the evening when the victim was at her house. Four men, including her neighbor barged into the house through the terrace and attempted to gang rape her keeping the victim’s mother under gun point. The girl tried to escape and shouted for help. Annoyed by their failure to rape the girl, the men poured acid on the victim’s face and fled the scene. The victim had once complained about the harassment by the same men. The attack is considered to be an act of revenge against the victim (Times of India, 2019).

The story of yet another acid attack survivor is equally upsetting. Aarti Thakur in her early twenties was attacked thrice by her landlady’s son for turning down a love proposal. In 2011, the son of the land lady expressed his love interest for Aarti. Aarti, turned down the proposal. The first attack happened soon after that incident. She was stabbed on the face while she was returning from work in an IT company by a man who had covered his face. Even though she filed a complained at the police station, the case was filed as an attempt to robbery. She was stabbed again a second time even after changing her residence to another location. Finally, on January 30, 2012 a man hired by the landlady’s son threw acid (that costed Rs.5/8 cents) on Aarti, burning her cheek, forearms and neck. The damage to her face was comparatively lesser because she was wearing a scarf to hide her scars from the previous attacks (Gill & Dias, 2016).

Box 3.2: Cases on culture specific crimes (Acid Attacks)

The crimes targeted at women have created an environment that is unsafe to be born as a girl child resulting in female feticides and infanticides across the country. Even though determining the sex of the fetes is considered illegal in the country, if offered a certain price, many clinics in India conducts tests that reveal the gender of the fetus.

**Cases of Female Feticide:**

An inter-state female feticide racket was disclosed in March 2017, when investigators from Maharashtra found 19 abandoned fetuses dumped in plastic bags in a sewer near to a homeopathic clinic. The police were investigating the death of a 26-year-old woman, who had undergone abortion at the same clinic. An investigation into the doctor who had no license to terminate pregnancies exposed the interstate racket that carry out sex-selective abortions (Srivastava, 2017).

Box 3.3: Cases on culture specific crimes (Female Feticides)
Trends in Crimes Against Women in India

Using the NCRB data on crimes against women since 1992, the reported incidences of various gendered offences for the past 25 years were obtained. The numbers of incidences of various crimes against women over the past years are given below in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dowry Deaths</th>
<th>Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives</th>
<th>Kidnapping &amp; Abduction of Women</th>
<th>Rape</th>
<th>Assault on Women</th>
<th>Insult to the Modesty of Women</th>
<th>Indecent Representation of Women</th>
<th>Feticide</th>
<th>Infanticide</th>
<th>Total Crimes against Women</th>
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<td>12077</td>
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<td>11242</td>
<td>20985</td>
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<td>9966</td>
<td>1562</td>
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<td>2007</td>
<td>8093</td>
<td>75930</td>
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<td>20737</td>
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<td>10950</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>2008</td>
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<td>81344</td>
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<td>21467</td>
<td>40413</td>
<td>12214</td>
<td>1025</td>
<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>8383</td>
<td>89546</td>
<td>25741</td>
<td>21397</td>
<td>38711</td>
<td>11009</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>203804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>8391</td>
<td>94041</td>
<td>29795</td>
<td>22172</td>
<td>40613</td>
<td>9961</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>213585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>8618</td>
<td>99135</td>
<td>35565</td>
<td>24206</td>
<td>42968</td>
<td>8570</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>228650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>8233</td>
<td>106527</td>
<td>38262</td>
<td>24923</td>
<td>45351</td>
<td>9173</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>244270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>8083</td>
<td>118866</td>
<td>51881</td>
<td>33707</td>
<td>70739</td>
<td>12589</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>309549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>8455</td>
<td>122877</td>
<td>57311</td>
<td>36735</td>
<td>82235</td>
<td>9735</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>337922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>7634</td>
<td>113403</td>
<td>59277</td>
<td>34651</td>
<td>82422</td>
<td>8685</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>327394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>7621</td>
<td>110378</td>
<td>64519</td>
<td>38947</td>
<td>84746</td>
<td>7305</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>338954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Crimes Against Women in India (1992-2016)
Trends in Serious Crimes Against Women

Trends in crime rates of various serious offences committed against women like dowry deaths, rape, and cruelty by husbands were obtained by controlling for 100,000 populations.

Figure 6: Serious crimes against women

It is visible from the graph that almost all the offences against women that are recorded by the National Crimes Records Bureau have increased over the years. The Rate of total crimes against women reported in the country has increased tremendously from 19.42 in 1992 to 57.80 in the year 2016. Rate of rape incidences recorded in the country also show an increased trend, 2.72 in the year 1992 to 6.64 in the year 2016. Rate of cruelty by husband increased from 4.8 in 1992 to 18.8 in 2016. The rate of rape incidences almost remains the same over the last 25 years.
Even though most of the serious offences portrays an increased trend, crime rates have risen considerably after the year 2012.

*Trends in Other Crimes Against Women*

The trends in rate of other crimes against women like kidnapping and abduction, Sexual assault, Dowry related offences and Immoral trafficking offences were also generated using the existing NCRB data.

![Figure 7: Other Crimes Against Women](image)

It was found that the rate of sexual assaults on women have increased significantly over the years. However, the reported incidences of sexual assaults on women have noticeably escalated since 2012. To be specific the rate of assaults on women increased from 7.7 in 2012 to 14.01 in 2014. It was also found that the rate of kidnapping and abduction incidences have steadily increased over the past decade. Like many other offences mentioned before, kidnapping
and abduction incidences also show a considerable increase since the year 2012. Dowry related cases have also shown a steady increase after the year 2005. Even though almost all the crimes against women show an upward trend over the past 25 years, the cases registered under the Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act seems to have declined considerably.

**Patterns in Crimes Against Women**

The following are the most reported crimes against women in 2016.

![Bar chart showing the most reported crimes against women in 2016.](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Count (2016)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruelty by Husband or his Relatives</td>
<td>110378</td>
<td>18.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Harrassment &amp; Eve teasing</td>
<td>92051</td>
<td>15.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping &amp; Abduction of Women</td>
<td>64519</td>
<td>11.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape &amp; Attempt to Rape</td>
<td>44676</td>
<td>7.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowry Deaths &amp; Dowry Act, 1961</td>
<td>17304</td>
<td>2.95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: Most reported Crimes Against Women – 2016

Cruelty by the husband and his relatives was found to be the most reported crime against women in 2016. There were more than 110378 cases of domestic violence incidences reported in the country in 2016. The other most reported crimes against women are Sexual harassment, Kidnapping and abduction, Rape and Attempt to Rape, and Dowry related offences.
Facilitators of increased reporting of crimes against women in India

It is well known fact around the world that many women do not report their victimization to police. Over the years, India is making efforts to empower women to report crimes. The population of India has been exponentially increasing over the past few decades, so much as to which India is the second most populated country in the world with 1.3 billion people in it. Population of India in 1992 was only 89.7 million, which escalated to 113.54 million in 2005 and 131.92 in 2016. This drastic rise in population could have influenced the rise in number of reported incidences of crimes against women. More number of people in the country will also mean more victims and more perpetrators. While we can attribute the increased reporting is due to increased population, there are many other factors that help women to report in the recent year. They are as follows:

Increased development: The country has undergone immense developmental changes since its independence in 1947. The Human development index and the education index of the country have considerably improved over the years. Increased development and education empower more women to come forward and report crimes than before.

Increased Women Police Stations and Women Police Personnel: The representations of women in the police force have noticeably increased over the years. India was one of the first countries to introduce All women police station in the world in 1973. According to Natarajan (2005) introduction of women police stations in Tamil Nadu, a southern state in India increased the reporting of crimes against women cases. As, of today India has more than 600 all women police stations. The numbers of women personnel have also increased considerably. Women police and women police stations have facilitated the women, who were afraid to approach traditional police stations to come forward and report the crimes that are committed against them.
Increased awareness: Even though almost all the reported crimes against women have increased over the years due to the above-mentioned reasons, there is a significant surge in the reporting of such incidences after the year 2012. The year 2012 is a milestone year in the history of the country’s crimes against women. This is due to the increased sensitivity and awareness among the public and the police concerning gender-based violence after the brutal rape and sexual assault of a girl in a bus in the country capital in 2012. This incident which is referred to as the “Nirbhaya” (Braveheart) case received significant media and international attention. The Nirbhaya case also lead more women to come forward and report the crimes committed against them. At the same time, understanding the seriousness of the issue, police officials were encouraged to record such crimes.

Table 3: Facilitators of increased reporting of crimes against women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>CAW Rate</th>
<th>EDI</th>
<th>HDI</th>
<th>Women Police Strength</th>
<th>Women Police Stations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>31.33</td>
<td>0.429</td>
<td>0.535</td>
<td>43519</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>33.18</td>
<td>0.441</td>
<td>0.545</td>
<td>51464</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>37.32</td>
<td>0.452</td>
<td>0.556</td>
<td>54586</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>39.45</td>
<td>0.464</td>
<td>0.564</td>
<td>52322</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>41.05</td>
<td>0.466</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>65456</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>34.27</td>
<td>0.478</td>
<td>0.581</td>
<td>71756</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>38.99</td>
<td>0.494</td>
<td>0.591</td>
<td>93877</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>41.65</td>
<td>0.507</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>97518</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>52.78</td>
<td>0.515</td>
<td>0.607</td>
<td>105325</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>57.62</td>
<td>0.532</td>
<td>0.618</td>
<td>110872</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>55.82</td>
<td>0.542</td>
<td>0.627</td>
<td>122912</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>0.556</td>
<td>0.636</td>
<td>140184</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bivariate Correlation Analysis

Controlling for the population, a bivariate correlation analysis was carried out in order to explain the increased reporting of crimes. Correlation of number of women police stations, number of women personnel in police, human development index and the Education Index with the crime rate of crimes against women in India was tested. The results of the bivariate correlation analysis are illustrated in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women Police Stations</th>
<th>Women Police Personnel</th>
<th>Human Development</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r = .895, p &lt; .01</td>
<td>r = .894, p &lt; .01</td>
<td>r = .908, p &lt; .01</td>
<td>r = .922, p &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Bivariate Correlation Analysis

It was found that the all the four variables- number of woman police stations, number of women police personnel, human development index, and education of the country is significantly correlated to the rate of crimes against women to a large effect.
DISCUSSION

Theoretical Implications

The existing literature and the results from the present research establish that the gender-based violence in India is a result of convergence of patriarchal culture with situational factors. In order to tackle the issue of crimes against women effectively, it is important that we address both patriarchal culture and the situational factors that facilitate such crimes.

As Johnson, Ollus, & Nevala, (2007) points out, gender-based violence is deeply rooted in the societal culture that fortifies gender inequality and patriarchy. Cultural practices in a patriarchal society, not only tolerates but also encourages certain crimes like dowry system, female feticide, infanticide and acid attacks. Power structure and rigid gender roles in marital relationships in a patriarchal society significantly contribute to domestic violence or Intimate Partner Violence. Patterns of GBV revealed by the present research highlights how certain crimes against women in India are interwoven with the cultural fabric of the country.

For example, more than half of all kidnapping and abduction cases in the country account for incidences where women are abducted for the purpose of marriage. These incidences are unique to regions where bride’s consent is hardly sought for marriage. Additionally, the abnormally high reporting of kidnapping and abduction cases for marriage is also a result of the complaint given by a girl’s family, when she elopes with a person against the will of her parents. Offenses like kidnapping and abduction which may appear to be discrete to gender and culture, may reveal associations to the patriarchal structure with careful categorizations and analysis.

While culture of patriarchy constructs the basis for many crimes against women, the changing nature of the society produces opportunities for newer forms of gendered crimes. As the countries progress socio-economically through education and employment of women, they
become exposed to spaces which were traditionally dominated by men. This exposure in turn creates crime opportunity for victimization of women which could be explained by the Situational Crime Prevention Theory propounded by Felson and Clarke in 1994.

Felson and Clarke (1994) through Situational crime prevention theory, consolidated various criminological theories like the routine activity theory, rational choice theory and crime pattern theory and explained how opportunities creates crime. Daily routine activities, exposure to potential offenders and the motivation of the offenders, generate various crime opportunities. The present research revealed how certain spaces like places of work and public transport creates opportunities for sexual harassment of women. Out of all the incidences of sexual harassment reported in India during 2015, more than 833 incidences happened at places of work and 315 incidences were at public transports. Be it offenses that take place within the familial set – up like domestic violence, dowry related deaths and torture or offenses that happen in public spaces like sexual harassment, rape and abduction; all these offenses occur during the course of daily
routine activities of the offenders and victims. Just like for non-gendered offences, the sexual offenders also seize opportunities to commit crimes that may present them with possible rewards like sexual gratification, power gratification, satisfaction derived from revenge or monetary rewards.

The situational structure also explains the occurrences of acid attacks on women and dowry deaths in the country. Accessibility to acids in the country makes it a readily available weapon for offenders. Acids becomes choice of weapon for many offenders who faces rejection from women not only because its availability but also because pouring acid disfigures the face and body of the victims and they may face similar rejections themselves (Natarajan, 2014).

While the traditional patriarchal structure of a society encourages and tolerates gender inequality and violence, urbanization and modernization bring about newer crime opportunities, making women vulnerable to newer forms of crime. Therefore, comprehensive approach should be taken in addressing gendered violence. To provide an over-all solution to the issue of GBV it is necessary to integrate macro level cultural and feminist theories to micro level opportunity structure/situational crime prevention theories. This comprehensive approach towards gender-based violence could be better explained through the Ecological model proposed by Heise in 1998.

The ecological framework recognizes four different levels of environment that contribute to gender-based violence 1) Individual 2) Family and Relationships 3) Community and 4) Society. Recognizing and identifying the risk factors at each level will help in framing prevention strategies that can be used at each level to address these factors. The risk and preventive factors in each level constantly influences the other levels (Heise, 1998). The
ecological framework of Crime Against Women can be better explained by the following figure.


Figure 10: Ecological model for GBV in India
Policy Implications

A critical analysis of the gender-based violence in India reveal that the reported incidences of crimes against women in the country are on a rise for the past 25 years. In the light of the ecological framework this section discusses the finding of the study in view of generating effective policy recommendations. For each of the levels of the ecological framework and crime against women in India, we can consider sets of crime prevention interventions.

At Individual Level

Acid attacks, kidnapping and abduction of women, rape, attempt to commit rape, assault on women, sexual harassment, assault on women with an intend to disrobe, voyeurism, stalking are all offenses that are interpersonal in nature and will primarily benefit from interventions at the individual level. Recognizing the gendered aspects of these crimes and enacting laws is the primary step to combatting crime against women. Acid attacks, stalking, voyeurism, are all offences that were recently enacted into legislation and was incorporated into the NCRB Crime in India statistics.

In the year 2016 alone, there were 206 cases of acid attacks reported in the country, at the same time an alarming 110378 incidence of kidnapping and abduction cases were reported. Various kinds of assaults on the modesty of women that were reported in the year 2016 was 84746. Even though these numbers display alarming proportions of the crimes against women, the sub categorization of some of these crimes have helped us to understand these crimes a little better. One of the interesting findings was that a major share of the kidnapping and abduction incidence that occurred in the country was carried out for the purpose of marriage. On the other hand, there were more than 833 sexual harassment cases that occurred at places of work whereas
the three 315 incidences that happened in Public transport. A critical analysis of these data discloses possibilities of intervention for preventing the occurrence of such offences in the future.

The individual level intervention could be further classified by policies targeted at potential offenders and vulnerable victims. At the individual level many factors can influence a person becoming a victim or a perpetrator of gender-based violence. These factors can be personal experiences, behavioral factors, access to resources, perceptions about gender, internalization of power inequalities etc.

The following could be the interventions targeted potential perpetrators of gender-based violence on an individual level

- Intervention programs that are catered to individuals at risk, especially those who have experienced abuses or neglect as a child.
- Prenatal counseling to individuals.
- Educational programs
- Developing employability
- Behavioral therapy treatments
- Increase the risk of getting arrested for commission of offenses
- Deny/ regulate access to substances like concentrated acid and kerosene.

The interventions targeted at potential victims of gender-based violence on an individual level:

- Economic, political and social empowerment of women.
- Provide information on referrals to individuals at risks and for the survivors
- Legal aid and services to victims.
At Family level

The problem of gender-based violence within family in India is complex and deeply internalized to a considerable extent. A marriage in India is not only a personal relationship between a man and a woman but rather constructs deep interconnections between various individuals in two families. Dowry plays a vital role in deciding how these relationships are going to be towards each other. This study found that dowry deaths and cruelty by husband and relatives are one of the most reported crimes in India. Families in some part of India are expected to conduct various expensive ceremonies for daughters in the families which would not be conducted for boys. At same time boys are individuals who are likely to earn for families in most cases. Families thereby must spend most of the money on daughters who would later be married off to another family and will not bring any monetary benefit to her own family. Families therefore often decide to kill the girl child than to take up such heavy expenses leading to female feticides and infanticides.

A woman’s closest social circle influences individual’s behaviors considerably. Members of this closest circle, like family and intimate partners may also result in being perpetrators themselves especially in crimes like gender-based violence. Domestic violence, dowry deaths, forced miscarriages, honor killings, female infanticides and feticides are offences were family members of the victims contribute to the victimization considerably. Prevention interventions at this level would be focused on family-oriented prevention programs, education programs focused on reducing family conflicts and encouraging healthy relationships.

- Educating women
- Reorganization of gender roles in families
• Providing more financial independence to women in families.
• Stricter implementation of laws on dowry
• Counseling for pregnant women and their partners
• Sensitization of gender related issues among families.
• Using media to generate positive images on women
• Education and encouraging positive parenting
• Allowances for educating girl children in the families
• Reduce the cost for raising daughters
• Develop equal opportunities to work for women in the families
• Make elderly parent support a responsibility of married daughters as well

At Community Level

The settings such as neighborhoods, religious groups, schools, work organizations are also associated with victimization and crimes to a certain level. At this level discriminatory norms and practices of the community contribute considerably to the perpetuation of gender-based violence. Cultural and religious validation to many of these norms legitimizes and create tolerance towards violence against women. Human trafficking, honor killings, dowry related violence, sexual harassment at work and public spaces and acid attacks can be prevented using community level interventions. The interventions at this level mostly focus on mobilizing communities, to identify, endorse and defend the rights of the women.

Some of the policy interventions at the community level may include:

• Identify at-risk communities and address those risks
• Develop the women friendly neighborhood
Engage different segments of the community.

Invest in community level GBV prevention efforts

Encourage education and employment of girls at community level.

Educate the community that there is no “honor” in honor killings.

Rethink and reconstruct discriminating religious and traditional customs in the communities.

Educate on positive bystander intervention

Create gender neutral spaces

Improved street lighting

Increase police presence at public spaces and transports

Ensure equal pay for woman in par with men

Set up sexual harassment redressal cells at workplaces.

Make public transports safer for women with collective responsibility programs for community.

At Society Level

Social factors influence whether crimes against women are tolerated or encouraged. Cultural norms that approve gender-based violence as a suitable reaction to gendered conflicts appears to be a significant contributor to the existence of crimes against women. The prevailing systems at international and national level can help in monitoring and combatting crimes against women.

The interventions that could be taken at the society level include:

- Addressing legal issues and fall backs at the national level.
• Implementing existing laws in an effective manner
• Creating all women police stations to help women report crimes better
• Creating better education and employment opportunities for women
• Training government officials and politicians on human rights and women’s rights.
• Encourage recording of crimes at police stations
• Limit/restrict availability of substances that could be used for gender-based violence such as acid/kerosene.
• Developing a culture of victim support
• Increase representation of women in Criminal Justice System

Future research implications

Even though this research has tried to provide a comprehensive understanding of gender-based violence against woman, there is considerable scope for further research on the subject. Ranging from methodologies used in the studying gendered violence to widening definition of GBV, there are many areas in the field of gender-based violence that remain untouched by criminal justice researchers. The following are the research gaps that could be addressed in the future research on gender-based violence:

 Broaden the definition of GBV to include violence against sexual minorities: While the united nations has included the violence against sexual /gender minorities under the definition of gender-based violence, we are yet to know if those violence are derived from the similar motivations and rationale as that of violence against women. There are hardly any studies that has approached homophobic and transphobic violence in terms of GBV. Data on the prevalence of violence against gender / sexual minorities are equally scarce. More and better research on
prevalence and effects of violence motivated by gender identity and sexual orientation needs to be studied across different cultural and geographical locations, especially from countries like India.

Accuracy in data on GBV: Existing data on prevalence of gender-based violence remains insufficient or incomplete around the globe. Even though the National Crimes Records Bureau of India compiles the recorded cases of crimes against women, most of the incidences go under reported or under recorded. For example, in the present study we found that cities like Patna in Bihar reported no incidences of sexual harassment in the year 2016, which appeared to be very unrealistic number to be real. Strategies on improving data accuracy and coordination should be identified through future research.

Harmonize the data on GBV: Across the globe the definitions and the data collection methods on gendered violence remain dissimilar and varied. Encouraging use of common definitions and implementing comparable data collection methods will benefit international entities to carry out cross-country analysis of GBV. The global studies conducted on gendered violence today mostly rely on perceptions of gender experts or self-reported studies to rank countries on the extend of violence against women, these studies without adequate comparable data may result in adverse consequences than intended positive outcome.

Research on “what works”: There is limited data on effectiveness and down falls of existing intervention programs for prevention and identification of crimes against women. The evidence on what all programs work in reducing gender-based violence is yet to be explored.

Predicting GBV: Even though situational crime prevention researches speak about potential crime opportunities, research identifying or predicting warning signs for gender-based violence
is very rare. The psychological components of internalization of gendered violence and the resilience to such violence needs to be tested in further research. Investment in more research could be done to determine cross country comparisons of motivating factors in gender related violence.

*Crimes against women in humanitarian crises and armed conflicts:* Prevalence and extent of gender-based violence in conflict areas seldom gets accounted in the official crime reports. Research on gendered violence in fragile states and regions of armed conflicts must be encouraged. Overall spectrum and context of violence against women in humanitarian settings are hardly explored.
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no ideal type of data source for researching on gender-based violence, official data, victimizations surveys and self-reported surveys, all have its flows when it comes to measuring gender-based violence. However, the data collected by the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB) in India appears to be a model approach towards collecting official data on gendered violence for other countries. Considering India’s large population and its complex cultural and social system it could be challenging to quantify the extent of crimes against women in the country. Having said that, comparing with the existing administrative data sources in other developed countries, like the Uniform Crimes Report (UCR) from the United States that only compiles a partial reality of the gender-based violence in the country, NCRB provides a much larger account of gendered crimes.

Although women can be victims of all types of crimes like theft, murder etc., the NCRB recognizes the gendered context of certain offences and have set up a chapter on crimes against women to provide both extreme forms of gender abuses like rape or domestic violence and accounts subtler forms of gendered crimes like voyeurism, eve teasing etc. In a global context, adapting similar steps in recognizing the crimes against gender when quantifying and measuring crimes would help in understanding the various forms as well as addressing them. Further, the data available in public domain could not only benefit the individual countries in planning strategies and crime prevention, but also will be a good source of cross-national comparison on gender-based violence.

The NCRB chapter on Crimes against women has multiple categories of gendered crimes. These include place specific, motive specific and culture specific categorization. Categorizations of crimes against women by NCRB have also evolved over the years.
Categorizing gendered violence is important to criminologists and policy makers for identifying areas of future research and intervention. Exploring various categories of crimes against women in India uncovered cultural, motivational and situational factors that influence crimes against women in the country. The findings of the study recommend implementing similar categorizations to national official crime records of other countries to obtain a better understanding on situational and cultural factors that contributes to such crimes.

The present study indicates that increased number of women police stations and women police personnel facilitated more women to report crimes that are committed against them. It was also found that empowerment of women through increased human development and education could have also positively impacted the reporting. Countries where women are hesitant to report crimes committed against them, will gender sanitized measures such as women police stations and employing more women in law enforcement.

Gender based violence is a complex phenomenon involving multiple causal and facilitating factors. A comprehensive understanding of GBV demands investigating the long-term trends, pattern and nature of such crimes. While the culture of patriarchy creates basis for tolerance towards gendered violence, changing forms of the society creates newer crime opportunities making women vulnerable targets of gendered crime. Gender Based Violence can be prevented by addressing both patriarchal culture and the opportunity structure at different levels of intervention. While a comprehensive cultural and social change may take a long time to transpire, it is crucial to bring about immediate practical solutions to crimes against women through situational crime prevention at different levels.


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