Chapter IX

CONCLUSION

9.1 Gender violence is universal that pervade all cultures and all peoples of the world, especially the structured societies irrespective of the degree of development, levels of incomes and wealth or political systems or religious faiths. However, the details of the types, patterns of such violence differ across cultures/civilisations and therefore, the geographical space. However, the problematic of gender and especially gender related violence and crimes (generally referred to, as those against women) are new to geography itself, though never the less, very crucial in new perspectives in which geography finds its engagements in recent times.

On the basis of the finding of the earlier eight chapters this chapter summaries the major outcomes of the study, attempts verification of the hypotheses proposed, generalisation and implications of the study, limitations of the study and the suggests further work in this field.

9.2 Summary of Findings:

The findings of the study have been summarised objective-wise as follows:
(i) **Objective one:**

Dispur, Chandmari and Jalukbari are the areas of high occurrences of *atrocity by husband and in-laws* (498-A IPC). In each of these areas, there are certain pockets inhabited by lower and lower and middle-income families, like Sijubari in Dispur area, Bamunimaidan in Chandmari area, Pandu and Maligaon in Jalukbari area. It was also noticed during the field study that women belonging to this class are comparatively less hesitant to register their cases of atrocity by husbands and in-laws. High concentration of *dowry death and dowry related harassment* (304-B IPC) have taken place in Fatasil Ambari, Jalukbari and Chandmari during the study period (1990-2003). Dispur and Jalukbari records the highest cases of *rapes*. *Molestation and sexual harassment* tends to occur more in densely populated areas like, Ganeshguri area of Dispur, Chandmari and Maligaon area of Jalukbari that remain densely inhabited--which may be one of the reasons of frequent occurrences of these crimes in these areas. Dispur, Geetanagar and Paltanbazar show the highest concentration of *trafficking in women*. Dispur, Jalukbari, Paltanbazar and Chandmari recorded the highest cases of *kidnappings and abductions*. There are more reports of *eve teasing* in Noonmati, Paltanbazar and Fatasil Ambari (on the basis of data from the City, S.P. Office). *Others* forms of crimes include murder cases, which have taken place in varied circumstances, are concentrated in areas like Dispur, Fatasil Ambari and Jalukbari. In case of Jalukbari and Fatasil Ambari, dowry can be attributed as a major cause of murder of women.
(ii) Objective Two:

Jalukbari is considered predominantly an Assamese community residential area, Fatasil Ambari, as a mixed community residential area inhabited by Scheduled Tribes, a variety of Hindi speakers and Bengali speaking communities and Sijubari of Dispur is known as predominantly Bengali speaking (Muslim community) locality. Religion, linguistic and caste/community background of the women and their connections with the domestic violence (Chapter IV) are as follows:

(a) All forms of physical as well as mental violence by husbands and in-laws are high among the Muslims followed by the Hindus (Table 4.1, 4.2, 4.4 and 4.5). Among the Hindu women, attempt to murder both by the husband and the in-laws are high. Sexual abuse (in the form of initiating/forcing wives into prostitution and trafficking!) by husbands is more among the low income Muslim families (Table 4.3). The Hindu women are harassed on all occasions, especially due to dowry or due to illicit relationships of the husbands with other women and the Muslim women (low income families), harassed more due to grabbing away the earnings of the wife by the husband, marital infidelity by the husbands as well as dowry. The Muslim women are more ready to compromise with their situation\(^1\). But the Hindu women prefer to live a separated life or study further to be economically independent.

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\(^1\) It must be noted that the women referred to from the Muslim community are invariably from very low income families and therefore, the findings are related to poor families from the community. For these women, the desperate economic situation does not permit them to live a separated life. Moreover, the nature marriage among the Muslims is quite different and a divorce could be quite easy, at least among the low income families, since it is based on a contract, (though the 'triple Talaak' has been discouraged by All Indian Muslim Law Board in its recent pronouncement)—thus the struggle to keep the marriage in tact than breaking away, as among the Hindus and other communities.
(b) Atrocities of all forms both mental and physical by the husband and in-laws are also high among ethnicities, like the Bengalis followed by Assamese (Table 4.9, 4.10, 4.12 and 4.13). But attempt to burn and murder married women for dowry or other reasons are high among the other linguistic groups (Telugu, Punjabi etc., non-East Indian communities: NEIC). Atrocities due to alcoholism are more prevalent among the Assamese and other linguistic groups (NEIC). Dowry related violence and bigamy/ spousal infidelity are more among the Bengalis and NEIC. Around 50 percent of the Bengali respondents (both Hindus and Muslims) prefer to live with the situation (compromise), whereas the Assamese women prefer to live a separated life.

All forms of violence by husband are high among the Scheduled Castes and low among the Scheduled Tribes couples (Table 4.17 and 4.18). Sexual violence by the husbands are common to general castes/communities; however, violence by in-laws are more common to Other Backward Castes (OBC) and Scheduled Tribes (particularly, in cases of ST women married to non Scheduled Tribe husbands) and are conversely, less among couples from the Scheduled Castes and general population (Table 4.20).

(iii) Objective Three:

Among the localities within the limits of Greater Guwahati Urban area, Chandmari and Dispur are considered as the high income localities, Noonmati, middle income locality and the slum areas of Paltanbazar, low income localities. Study of employment status.
occupational status and economic background of the families in relation to gender crimes indicate the following (Chapter V):

(a) Physical and mental violence both by the husband and the in-laws are high among the employed women (Table 5.1, 5.2, 5.4 and 5.5). The women are generally abused for not being able to perform dual duties of a house-keeper (home-maker!) and as a working woman--her sense of freedom is envied by the in-laws, the husband, suspicious of illicit relationships at work-place and no less, the harassments on the way to work or at work place, if you are young and attractive as a person (!). Sexual violence by husbands is high among the housewives (unemployed with no source of independent incomes). The housewives are harassed more on all occasions or when they go against the will of the husbands/in-laws because of constant dowry demands. A large section of the housewives compromise to the circumstances (especially, women with low level of education) since choices before them are limited—a separated life is fraught with economic and physical insecurity with little long-term support from the parental families, especially that there is no social security system in the country against penury. However, many women with education wish to lead a separated and independent life. One-third of the women want to study further, get a job and become economically independent. Majority of the employed women want to lead an independent life.

(b) Physical and mental tortures by the husbands are high and of extreme severity (breaking limbs, abortions, damaged hearing etc.) among low income self-
employed or wage workers (vendors, wage-workers and the sales-women), and is low among, expectedly, the educated professionals (Table 5.9 and 5.10). Physical violence by the in-laws is common to the former; whereas, mental violence by the in-laws (ignorance, passing sarcastic comments, use of abusive languages etc.) is high with the latter, especially when they oppose the in-laws (Table 5.13). Daily-wager women suffer their husbands’ financial profligacy and illicit relations with other women, so also, among other small-time self-employed women (vendors and the small business women), who suffer at hands of their drunken and polygamous husbands. Among the office goers, the causes are varied: work-stress, exertion, professional frustrations etc (Table 5.14). Majority of the daily-wagers, sales women and small business women prefer to compromise due to the social security provided by the marriage and also for the security of their children. On the other hand, the vendors, office goers and the business women prefer to live a separated life (Table 5.15).

(c) Physical and mental violence by the husbands are high in the low-income families (Rs 24001-50000) and lower middle-income families (Rs 50001-100000) (Table 5.16 and 5.17); but among the very poor households (below Rs 24000) as well as the high income families (above Rs. 100000/ year) sexual violence are nearly non-existent. Mental violence by the in-laws is high in the middle income families and physical violence among the low economic families. Atrocity due to alcoholism increases with towards of respondents with low incomes, whereas atrocity due to dowry increases among respondents in families with middle
incomes of the family but not among the high income families (Table 5.20 and 5.21).

(iv) Objective Four:

As evident from Table 3.15, crimes against women have increased in all the areas of the city except Geetanagar, whereas growth is the highest in Noonmati. The rapid growth of population in this area during the recent period can be attributed as one of the causes. The lowest growth is in Panbazar area because this is largely a business area and resided only by business communities (Marwadis, e.g.), largely upper income class.

The growth of crimes against women (by types) (from 1990 to 2003) is as follows:

(a) Atrocity by husband and in-laws: Reported crimes of this nature show growth in all areas of the city except Geetanagar. The highest growth is reported from Jalukbari (220.83%) and very high growth in Fatasil Ambari, Azara, Noonmati and Pragjyotishpur areas which reported very low crime earlier years. Overall, this crime grew by 40.48 percent in Greater Guwahati (Table 3.13).

(b) Dowry death: There appears to be a spurt in dowry related deaths in all the areas, which earlier reported practically none except in two areas; Fatasil Ambari (8.33%) and Latasil. This is a serious concern and appears the city is falling into the trap of “Indian Mainstream” an epithet for many terrible practices (Table 3.13).
(c) Rape: Noonmati area shows a very high growth (166.66%) of reported rape cases. The overall growth rate of rape in Greater Guwahati is 11.31 percent (Table 3.14).

(d) Kidnappings: Very high growth rates have been observed in kidnappings in areas like Paltanbazar, Azara and Basistha. The average growth rate for Greater Guwahati is 4.91 percent (Table 3.14).

(e) Molestation: Except Geetanagar, Pragjyotispur, Jalukbari and all the other places are showing very high growth of molestation (Table 3.14).

(f) Immoral Trafficking of Women: Jalukbari, Chandmari, Paltanbazar and Dispur appear the principal areas high growth of this crime (Table 3.14).

(g) Others: They are the cases of murder of women under different circumstances. There is substantial growth of murder of women in the city, 45.83 percent, the highest of all the crimes. (Table 3.13)

(v) Objective Five:
The relation of violence against women arising due to modernising forces such as migration from rural to urban areas, employment status of women, nature of families (nuclear or joint) and sexual harassment outside home have been considered and the implications are as follows (Chapter V, VI and VII):
(a) When crimes against women are studied on the basis of the personal incomes of the women respondents it is observed that physical and mental violence by the husbands and the in-laws as well as sexual abuse are high among the low and middle income women (Rs 1201-2400) (Table 5.23, 5.24 and 5.25). Drunkenness, dowry and constant financial harassment by husbands are common to these women. All forms of violence are low among the lower income women (< Rs 600) as well as the high income women (Rs 8000).

(b) Physical violence by the husband is more in the nuclear families and mental violence among the extended families (Table 6.1). Physical violence (in lower proportion) and mental violence by the in-laws (more) are reported among the joint families (Table 6.4 and 6.5). Atrocities by husbands due to work-related stresses, exertion and frustration are more prevalent in the nuclear families (Table 6.7). The women staying in the joint families usually prefer compromises with their situations but majority of the women staying in the joint and the nuclear families want to be economically independent and live a separate life (Table 6.8).

(c) Attempt to murder (by the husband) appears quite frequent as reported by the respondents, those are non-migrants (residents of Guwahati), whereas mental violence is more common among the women who migrated from villages. There are cases, where husbands apparently brought the wives in some guise from village for the motive of making a living by engaging these hapless women in prostitution rackets.
(d) The frequency of occurrences of sexual harassment outside home decreases with the increase of the age of the women (Table 7.4). The unmarried women are more susceptible to sexual harassment in all places and situations, and at the same time, are frequently harassed (Table 7.7 and 7.8) Women belonging to lower income families are sexually harassed more both in the public places and workplaces.

(vi) Objective Six:
Education among women evidently appears to be an important factor for safety in the home environment. Physical violence by the husbands are high among less educated women (metric or below metric), but less among the highly educated (graduates and professionals), as well as illiterates! (Table 6.17) Physical violence by the in-laws also decreases with the increase in the educational level of the women but is the vice versa for mental violence (Table 6.20 and 6.21). Atrocities due to stress and frustration increases with the educational status of the women and though it is not a professional factor. Spousal violence decreases with the higher educational level of the women, related to drunkenness or infidelity, which is common among spouses of low education and low incomes (Table 6.22). However, irrespective of their educational status, women are invariably targets of sexual harassment in the public transport and public places, due to poor law enforcement system, especially the lower rung of police functionaries, who consider eve-teasing, or making sexual gestures to young women is “perfectly legal” in the country and is no business of the law enforcement authority. Sexual harassment at workplaces and the
frequency of occurrences declines with the increase of the educational status of the women because education makes them confident to confront the unsolicited “Romeos” (7.19).

(vii) Objective Seven:

There appears to be a strong relationship between the occurrences of general crimes and crimes against women, when one observes this phenomenon on the basis of number of cases registered in each of these police stations. Dispur records the highest cases of general crimes, at the same time the CAW are also the highest in Dispur (the Capital Township of Assam!). Such association of general crimes and CAW in Paltanbazar, Jalukbari and Chandmari are more or less the same. Though intended, statistical association between the two was not carried forward due to a number of factors related with the data base, but there is no doubt that the two are strongly related (Table 3.16).

9.3 Testing of Hypotheses:

As per the testing of the hypothesis are concerned they were not subjected to testing in a statistical sense, due to the limitation and characteristics of the data, i.e., the total number of respondents for domestic violence are 60 and for violence outside home, 20. Therefore, the approach adopted for verification of the stated four hypotheses was through cross tables and association of different indicators.
9.3.1 Hypothesis One:

"Crimes against women tend to increase or decrease in response to changes in overall crime rates in a society".

This hypothesis stands vindicated when the relationship of occurrences of general crimes and crimes against women are taken into account, data on police station-wise. The areas where the general crimes are high are also record higher levels of crimes against women. Dispur police station registered the highest cases of general crimes as well as crimes against women (CAW) during the study period (1991-2003). Paltanbazar recorded the second highest number cases general cases and ranked third in respect of crimes against women. The relation between the two (general crimes and crimes against women) in Panbazar area is not very strong (rank of general crimes -3 and CAW-6). The cause for showing low registration of CAW in this area is because the All Women Cell (combine reporting) is located within Panbazar PS premises. But again Jalukbari area has a strong relation between the two, general crimes 4th and CWA 2nd.

When we associate the two at the lower end, it is observed that North Guwahati, Pragiyotishpur and Latasil are less crime prone, both general and crimes against women.

9.3.2 Hypothesis two:

"Crime rates and types vary across economic classes".

There are variations of violence against the women across economic classes both in types and extent. Physical and mental violence by the husband are substantially high among the lower middle class families (Rs 24001-50000) and low among the women in high
economic class (> Rs 100000). Sexual violence by the husbands is high among the middle class families (Rs 50001-100000). Physical violence by the in-laws is high among the low income women, whereas it is non-existent among the high income families. But mental violence by the in-laws shows somewhat a different picture. Mental violence is high among the middle income families, but is less among the lower middle class families.

In situation where women have independent incomes, all forms of violence by the husbands (physical, mental and sexual) are high among the lower middle income respondents (Rs. 1201-2500/ month). Physical violence by the husband is low among the very low (monthly income less than Rs 600) and the high income women (+ Rs 8000). On the other hand, mental tortures by husbands are less among the very low income women. Sexual violence by the husband does not exist among the very low and lower income women. Physical and mental violence by the in-laws are high among the lower (middle-class) income women and is the least among the very low income women. Battery by the husband exists among all the income groups but the frequency of occurrences gradually decreases with the income of the women.

Both physical and mental violence by husbands and the in-laws are high among the employed women. Violent forms of physical tortures by husbands are high among the wage workers, vendors and small business women. Battery by the husband exists among the entire occupational groups but the frequency of occurrence decreases with the increase in the occupational status. Physical and mental violence by husband of all forms are lower among the high professionals.
9.3.3 Hypothesis three:

"Types of crimes against women vary along ethnic diversities".

All forms of atrocities (physical, mental and sexual) by the husbands and in-laws are high among the Muslims than the Hindus. But attempts to murder by the husbands and in-laws are higher among the Hindus respondents.

Physical and mental violence (husband and in-laws) are high among the Bengali speaking community and it is like a daily affair for majority of them. Atrocities by the husbands are low among the North-Indian (Hindustani) speaking communities. Sexual violence by husband is more among the Muslims (forced prostitution and trafficking), though among the Hindus it represents other forms.

Among the Scheduled Castes all forms of physical violence as well as mental violence by husbands are high, whereas, it is expectedly low among the Scheduled Tribes. Very few cases of domestic violence among the Scheduled Tribes were reported in the study. On the other hand, there were innumerable cases of atrocities among the Scheduled Castes and the general caste populations. Physical and mental violence by in-laws are high among the Other Backward Castes and low among the Scheduled Castes.

Therefore, there appears to be strong association of ethnicity, culture and pattern of crimes against women; e.g., whereas there are reported dowry cases among the North-Indian communities (Biharis, UPites, Rajasthanis and Punjabis), it is not a prominent factor among the Assamese and Bengali communities, in which case marital infidelity and bigamy emerge as more important factors in spousal discords.
9.3.4. Hypothesis four:

"Modernisation of society intensifies and types of crimes against women".

Education of the women is an important component of the process of modernisation. It was observed during the study that though physical and mental violence by the husbands occurs among all the educational groups but the types and frequency of atrocities vary substantially by educational level. Violence decidedly decreases with the increase of the educational level of the women and also the frequency of occurrences. Except a few exceptions, atrocity by the in-laws also shows a similar trends and it is nearly absent among the high professionals (physical violence). But mental violence apparently, increases with the educational status of the women. Whereas education at one level, opens of economic and social opportunities for women and drastically improves her quality of life (even that of the family), it has to be admitted that it also exposes her, ironically, to sexual harassment in the workplace and also outside the home environment in general. It is not to argue that education is to blame, rather it is failure of the society and polity to protect women who become partners of progress for the entire society.

As compared to rural areas, the urban, fragments the old family structure into nuclear families by necessity, which produces its own ethos of spousal discord, stresses and strains that at times spills over to violence, with no one to help in mending fences. Physical and mental violence (both by husbands and in-laws) are high in the joint families but in the nuclear families the spousal violence is often extreme. Torture or newly wed women is common to joint families due to dowry demand, whereas in nuclear families
husbands' exposure to liquor and other women, loneliness and frustrations of the urban existence are important factors.

Physical and mental violence by the husband and physical atrocities by the in-laws are high among the migrants, especially women migrants from villages. They generally are not confident enough to retaliate and thus, suffer and compromise with violent husbands and atrocious in-laws—suffering often is accepted fact of the urban existence—situation dictated by fate. On the other hand, women who grew up in Guwahati suffer from mental violence by the in-laws, because they are more outgoing in nature; seek for more private space and time, less leaning towards traditional values and way of life etc.

Therefore, no doubt, whereas modernity has positive influences over the woman's life, access to economic opportunities, education, occupations, independence, but it also adds to the dual roles they have to play now, at workplace and at home; stresses and harassments at work and on the way, especially that often the state and the society is blind to their plight, even within the walls of their own homes.

9.4 Larger Implications of the Study:

(i) The first major concern that emerges from the study is that both crime in general and the crimes against women are on the rise in the State of Assam and especially in Guwahati, the largest urban area of the North-East Region. As observed in most industrialised nations, at the time these countries were industrialising and urbanising the average crime rate (per population) rose many times and indeed, these are many times more in many developed countries today, especially
grievous crimes. These are of course dealt with a more responsive and responsible crime administration system and judiciary. This also costs these societies a packet, but is considered necessary and in a way cost of development. In developed countries, whereas there is a judge for every few hundred persons, in our situation, probably one for over 50,000 persons—so both law enforcement and judicial administration suffer.

(ii) However, the moot question is how to deal with crimes against women within the four walls of home that is supposed to be the safest for all. Family is the oldest institution constituted by man on which perhaps stand all other social institutions; and if this institution is called to question, then the entire edifice of society may collapse leading to chaos and disarray. Domestic violence, especially battering of wives is the commonest of all crimes against women to all societies and all communities, the developed and the developing as well. It is also is a problem of the under-belly of the society—sanctity of spousal privacy and space—thus, the least reported. The case in point is Aluwalia case\(^2\) in UK, wherein the spousal murder on the part of the woman in question was considered as an “act in self-defence” thus acquittal of the defendant and British jurisprudence stood corrected. So, part of the problem lies with the law enforcement system that needs a complaint to the effect of marital abuse to be filed by the battered wife and the criminal justice system is “shy of entering into what is considered a purely private sphere”. This of course, needs to be addressed—the story is not of

that of the battered wives of Guwahati, but all such women though the length and breadth of the country—perhaps, the entire humanity.

(iii) Why the wife remains silent about an abusive husband and spiteful in-laws and fears coming to public it three-fold: (a) A sense of shame of carrying what is culturally a sacred private affair to public—women in India (even elsewhere) do not disclose such matters even to their parental families. It is considered as failure of the woman, to deal with her own home and husband. (b) Second, once taken out of the context of home and family, the situation becomes irretrievable, i.e., break down of the marriage itself, which the women are extremely wary about. Culturally, divorced women are not considered normal—they are either of questionable moral character or failures to keep their marriages in tact. Rarely, the husbands are called to question. (c) Third, what alternatives do such women have? By and large, they have no source of their own incomes—it is only in recent times that women started getting education in numbers and opting for professional or work environment. Often, within a few years of marriage, they are saddle with many children who are to be looked after—though Indian courts are sympathetic to maternal custody, they are by and largely reluctant to provide sufficient alimony and maintenance to the divorced wife. The parental families are reluctant to take the responsibility of the married daughter and reluctant to share the parental property and give a share of it to the married daughter—the expenses during the marriage (including any dowry) is considered the share of the daughter, which in most cases are misappropriated by the husband’s family after
separation or one has to go through long civil procedures (not criminal) to retrieve "Streedhan"(!), which is no doubt is "robbery" of one kind.

Therefore, the women either keep silent or "compromises", i.e., she tolerates all the atrocities perpetrated on her for either sake of children or her own precarious economic existence and then, accepts the whole situation as her destiny or the daily battering as a normal spousal relationship—since she has no other such exposure and reluctant to talk about it to friends or relations. As clear in from the study, when women have education and are in some form of employment or earning and have independent incomes, they are more than willing to break out of an abusive family life either to live on their own or start life all over again. So, the crux of the solution to the problem to a great extent lies with women's education and independent economic standing, which will not be forthcoming without education. Education also creates awareness about rights of the women and the general role they play and the responsibilities of the state towards the citizens; thus, makes them confront unreasonable spouses or intimidating in-laws by making them self-confident.

A connected question is also the age at marriage—which necessarily is not a serious issue in the region, except for low income, North-Indian families who prefer marriage of very young girls, as evident in some case studies as well as some young adolescent girls lured into elopement then abandoned after a few months of marriage. Only marriage at the right age can help because the women will be mentally matured to deal with a married, family situation than a girl of impressionable age. Often the families give
consent to such marriages because these are culturally acceptable and economically sensible, "one mouth less to feed".

(iv) From the study also amply clear that in communities where women's work participation is nearly equal to men, there is little spousal discord, i.e., the families in Scheduled Tribes, where wife beating is rare, interference of in-laws totally absent. It is also for the fact, it indicates a truly shared-life between the spouses, both working together to make that life possible. If, it does not work, then the exit is simple and with out much fanfare. When one looks at the general population irrespective of caste or religion, the husband sits on a moral high ground being the "provider" in the family, thus, the one to be heeded on all counts, reasonable or otherwise. Second, the exit out of a messy married life is awfully difficult and becomes a public nuisance for the women, many dread it and prefer to live a life without much interest. The tribal model is simple: men and women work equally; the marital entry is easy, so is the exit there is no burden, there is no dependence of one on the other.

(v) Though not quite explicitly understood from the study itself, there are indications about the spatiality of existence of women in the urban situation. Women who have migrated (in marriage) to the city (Guwahati), especially low income family women, invariably living in slums or poor localities, work at parental houses in their own fields in the villages have now being replaced by work as house-maids or vendors, often travelling great distances and falling prey to eave teasers, or subjected to harassment at the hands of employers in informal sectors. Though
there exist laws against sexual harassment at workplace, it confined to only the organised sector. There is hardly any protection in the informal sectors; especially the worst is the domestic work environment, where child labours as well as sexual exploitation of house-maids are common stories, for millions of women and children, with the law looking at the other way. The young women have no means and guts to come to police stations to file complaint against the employers—in extreme cases, even when young women visit the police station to file a complaint, they are booked under some pretext and there are any number of custodial rapes in this country—a factor that deters women even thinking of visiting a police station.

The other exploitation that came to light is the racketeering in which young girls from villages are married to urban touts for the ulterior motive of using these hapless victims in prostitution rackets and trafficking, especially in poor Muslim families—often the parental families having no idea of what happens to their daughters. This is undoubtedly serious breaches in law enforcement system in the city and must be dealt with heavy hands by the authorities.

Education and work also allows women a different spatial experience in form of movements from home, work and home etc and also, are very often subjected to sexual harassment at workplace. It is also observed that women with education and age are more successful in dealing with such unwarranted overtures, than very young women or those with little education. Thus, the problem certainly is not “work” itself, but better
“construction of the individual woman” as a participant is the question and not as an onlooker or victim in the great enterprise called life itself.

9.5 Future areas of Research Work:

The following are the potential areas for further study in this field, which due to limitations of scope and time could not be carried out during this study itself:

(i) As stated earlier, in-depth investigation of the causes of higher concentration of certain crimes against women in certain localities (area specific) can lead to better understanding of the genesis of the crime against women.

(ii) It will also be challenging to study specifically problems connected with working women (across social and economic classes).

(iii) Spatial variation of status of women can also be studied on the basis of urban, semi-urban and rural women and its relation with crimes against women.

(iv) It must be admitted that the current study was designed to study crimes against women from the “women’s perspective” alone with no intention whatsoever to sit over judgement who is right or wrong. It is clear from most studies from all over the world that the victims whether at home or at work place or outside, in variably are women, though theoretically one cannot discount spousal cruelties perpetrated on men also. Thus, another area that can be explored is the views of family and husbands in cases of separated families not with the intention of coming to a judgement but to understand aspects that may not be reflected from women’s perspective alone.