

## CHAPTER 7

### Conclusion

Crimes against women are widely prevalent around the world. It is the result of the inequality that exists between men and women in the society. Women are victimized in the childhood, adolescence or adulthood. This involves not only direct physical and mental harm but also it affects the overall quality of life. In India, crimes against women have been aggravated by the people's belief in cultural practices that make women vulnerable to abuse. Assam is no exception to this unfortunate situation. It is in this context that the problem of crimes against women has been taken up for enquiry in Kamrup Metropolitan District, one of the districts of Assam. Having examined the phenomenon of crimes against women for the period 2008-2013 in Kamrup Metropolitan District of Assam, this chapter summarizes the discussion of the previous chapters.

**Chapter 1** *Introduction* begins with a general discussion on the phenomenon of crimes against women besides putting forward the theoretical base of the study, research questions and methodology. The Literature Review has provided the rationale for the present study, which is hoped to contribute significantly to the field on crimes against women for having fulfilled its objectives of analysing the trends of crimes against women, examining the forms and causative factors of domestic violence and suggesting remedial measures to eliminate instances of the same. The plan for chapterization has also been included in this section of the work.

**Chapter 2** *Crimes against Women: Global, National and State Perspectives* discussed the meaning and concept of crimes against women as well as the forms of

crimes against women that take place in the private as well as public places. It further delved into the problem at international as well as national level in the context of discussing the problem in the state of Assam, Kamrup Metropolitan District, in particular.

**Chapter 3:** *Women in Patriarchy* provided the theoretical and conceptual background to understanding crimes against women. It showed how social institutions like family religion, education, politics, economy and the media perpetuate and reinforce the patriarchal ideology and as such establishes the link between patriarchy and crimes against women.

**Chapter 4** *Domestic Violence: An Overview* defines the concept of ‘domestic violence’ against women and exposed its various forms such as physical, psychological, sexual and economic as well as its impact on the victim’s life.

**Chapter 5** *Domestic violence against Women in Kamrup Metropolitan District of Assam* presented the finding of the survey done in connection with the study and its analysis. In a sense, it constitutes the core of the study as the analysis of the data reveals all the vital facts related to the problem of domestic violence against women in the study area.

**Chapter 6** *Domestic Violence: Woeful Voices* presents the narratives of ten women victims of domestic violence living in different parts of the study area. The tales told in their own words reveal a world of unbelievable relationship where they are physically, mentally, sexually and economically victimized by people who are nearest and whom dearest to them.

**Chapter 7** *Conclusion* is the concluding chapters that look backs on the preceding chapters with their major findings and also some recommendation that were identified for use in bringing down crimes against women.

Some of the **major findings** are discussed in this *Conclusion* below:

### **7.1 Quantitative Findings:**

The quantitative findings of the study on the overall phenomenon of crimes against women are based on the data collected from the police stations concerned and from the Field Survey conducted in ten villages of two blocks and ten localities of one urban area of Kamrup Metropolitan District of Assam.

While examining the phenomenon of crimes against women, it is evident that crime against women is a serious problem in Kamrup Metropolitan District of Assam. There has been an increasing trend in the reported crimes against women in the District during the period 2008 – 2013 while showing an average increase of 20% over these six years. A total of 1960 cases of crime against women were reported in the District during 2008 to 2013. Although a slight decrease of 10.22% in 2011 (313 cases) over 2010 (345 cases) has noticed, these cases have shown an increase of 21.82% in the year 2009 (252 cases) over the year 2008 (197 cases), an increase of 26.95% in the year 2010 (173 cases) over 2009 (252 cases), with further increase of 17.41% in the year 2012 (379 cases) over 2011(313 cases) and an increase of 20.04% in 2013 (474 cases) over 2012 (379 cases). Table 2.3 shows the increasing trend of crimes against women.

The trends in the reported crimes against women in the District during the period 2008 – 2013 also reveal that domestic violence against women constitute the highest number of crimes. Therefore, in order to get a clear picture of these aspects, data relating to the socio-demographic background of the victims of domestic violence, their husbands and their family members were collected. The findings of the study have revealed that women of all ages and irrespective of their language, caste, educational and occupational backgrounds, type of family and level of income face

domestic violence but dimension of such violence vary with the socio-demographic background of the abused women.

Women in the age group of 18-30 years 35 (58.33%) are found to be at higher risk of being subjected to domestic violence; those in the age groups of 31-40 years and 41 years and above reveal lesser number 18 (30.00%) and 7 (11.67%) respectively. The number of women vulnerable to domestic violence has been found to be higher in joint families 37 (61.67%); the figure for those coming from nuclear families is 23 (38.33%). It is observed that domestic violence is not limited to any specific religion. The various figures as revealed by the field study are: Hindus 35 (58.33%), Muslims 19 (31.67%), Jains 3 (5%) and Christians 3 (5%). The victims of domestic violence are from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Among them, 32 (52.33%) are Assamese speaking, 21 (35%) Bengali speaking, 4 (6.67%) Hindi speaking and 3 (5%) belongs to speakers of other languages. As for castes, the respondents belong to the different categories like General Caste, the Scheduled Castes, the Other Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes. The majority of the respondents belong to the General Caste 27 (45%), followed by Scheduled Castes 18 (30%), Other Backward Classes 10 (16.67) and Scheduled Tribes 5 (8.33%).

As regards the educational qualifications of the women respondents and their husbands, it has been found that moderately educated women are more likely to be victim of domestic violence and moderately educated husbands are more likely to commit violence. In the case of the abused women, those who have completed the Lower Primary level accounts for 4 (6.67%); 8 (13.33%) among them have completed the Upper Primary level; 17 (28.33%) of the respondents make the highest number with their level of education at secondary state. Those having qualifications of the higher secondary level accounts for 21 (35%); only 7 (11.67%) of them are graduates

and the lowest i.e, 3 (5%) represent those having post graduation qualifications. In the case of the respondents' husbands, the numbers are as given: Upper Primary: 8 (13.33 %); Secondary: 24(40 %); Higher Secondary: 20 (33.33%); graduate 4 (6.66%); post graduate 4(6.66%). There was no husband with Lower Primary education. The study found neither any illiterate respondent nor any illiterate husband.

As to occupational status of the women, unemployed women are found to be more exposed to domestic violence. At the time when violence took place, 45 (75%) of the victims were unemployed and 12 (20%) were employed and 3 (5%) were self employed. In the case of occupational status of the respondents' husband, 35 (58.33%) stated that their husbands were employed; 22 (36.67%) of the husbands were self-employed and 3 (5%) reported that their husbands were unemployed. It has been observed that the most of the women who were unemployed while in a relationship with husbands were started earning after they were either divorced or separated. An analysis of their present occupation shows that, 28 (46.67%) of the women are employed, 25 (41.67%) are unemployed and 7 (11.67%) are self-employed.

In regard to the income of the families, the occurrence of domestic violence was found to be higher among the middle income group. Out of all the respondents, 7 (11.67 %) of the respondent's families earn per month between Rs 1000-5000, 7 (11.67%) between Rs 5000-10000, 19 (31.67%) between Rs 10000-20000, 17 (28.33%) have a monthly income of Rs20000-30000, 6 (10%) have monthly income of Rs. 30000-50000 and 4 (6.67%) have a monthly above Rs. 50,000.

In order to find out the position of women in the family, the study also made an assessment of their roles in decision-taking in connection with life and family issues. In regard to the decisions on marriage, 19 (31.67%) of the women stated that it

was their own decision to get married and 41 (68.33%) said that it was not so in their cases. 35 (85.37%) said that their marriage had been decided by their parents; 5 (12.20 %) replied that their marriage had been fixed by their brothers and only one, that is, 2.43 % said that the decision on her marriage was taken by her relatives who were acting as guardians after the death of her parents. More than half of the respondents 31 (51.67%) said any important matter regarding the household affairs was decided jointly by the other members of the family; 16 (26.67%) said that any decision on any matter of the household was solely taken by their husbands. 13 (21.67%) women said that both the husband and the wife took the decision together. On family planning matters, surprisingly, the majority of women 27 (45 %) said that they had not made use of any family planning means and, therefore, the question of family planning did not arise. 17(28.33%) said that both the husband and the wife jointly took decisions on how many children they should have and at what time. 14 (23.33%) said that the decision was taken by the husband on family planning and 2 (3.33%) stated that it was their in-laws who took the decision in this regard. All these figures give the impression that women hardly had a say in decision matters.

As to ownership of land, fifty-seven (95%) made it clear that they did not possess any property and only three (5%) said that they were owner of a plot of land. In the view of twenty three (38.33%) women it was necessary for a woman to have property in their own name. The remaining thirty seven (61.67 %) opined that property was unnecessary for women. This shows that women have internalized all male values and do not consider ownership of property as essential to a woman.

Questions on the prevalence of dowry-related culture in the study area have also been taken into consideration. It may be noted here that dowry was not a traditional practice in the state of Assam but with migration taking place from other

states, admixture of various cultures and increase in materialistic demands of the time, cases of dowry have been on the rise. Out of sixty respondents, 37 (78.33%) had no dowry demands at the time of their marriage and 13 (21.67%) agreed that dowry demands were made during their marriage. But it is surprising that, out of these respondents in whose case no dowry was demanded during marriage, 40 (85.11%) viewed that in spite of no dowry demands from their husbands and in-laws, parents gave dowry on the day of marriage. The remaining 7 (14.89%) said that no dowry demands had been made by their husbands and in-laws and no dowries were offered by the parents at the time of marriage. The parents of 5 (38.46%) the respondents, who agreed that dowry demands were made during their marriage, were able to give the amount of cash or property demanded by their grooms and in-laws, while 8(61.54%) specifically said that their parents were not able to provide the demanded items or cash owing to financial problems. 9 (69.23%) of the respondents replied that they favored the social practice of giving and receiving dowry when they were asked to give the reasons for marrying despite the dowry demands by their husbands and in-laws. 4 (30.77%) said that they were against the dowry culture. However, as their parents, husbands and in-laws made a deal on dowry goods on their marriages, they lacked courage to go against the decision of their elders. When they were probed further, if their husbands and in-laws demanded dowry after their marriage, 46 (77%) of the respondents replied they made demands and stated that after marriages they were assaulted brutally for dowry. The remaining 14 (23%) said that no such demands were made from their husbands and in-laws after marriage.

Domestic violence is reported to be manifested in many different forms and wide range of physical, psychological, sexual, and economic violence. It is found to be used against these abused women by their husbands and other in-laws in order to

dominate and control. The analysis of the forms of domestic violence showed that 52 (86.67) percent of the abused women suffered psychological violence, 51 (85 percent) experienced physical violence, 49 (81.67) percent experienced sexual violence and 37 (61.67) percent experienced economic violence. Analysis of the forms of psychological violence has revealed that yelling is the major form of psychological violence reported by entire number of respondents on whom such violence was inflicted. 47 (90.38%) said that they were irrationally blamed for all problems by their husbands and in-laws; 45 (86.54%) reported they were threatened verbally; 42 (80.77%) of the respondents reported the use of abusive language; 39 (75 %) complained of constant criticism. Other forms of psychological violence include humiliation or making fun of victims when alone or in front other members of the family or friends or public which accounted for 34 (65.38%). Showing excessive possessiveness and expressing distrusts to the victims was reported by 29 (55.77%) and 20 (38.46% respectively). Control on social and family contacts of victims were reported by 11 (21.15%) and isolation of victims from friends and family were reported by 8 (15.38%). 6 (11.54%) of the respondents reported that they were often insulted or ridiculed for not bearing a child or male child.

Pushing is found to be the most common form of physical assault committed against these women reported by 43 (84.31%) of abused women. Next to pushing, 34 (66.67%) each in the category of slapping and threatening to kill were reported. 31 (60.78%) complained of throwing objects at them. 28 (54.91%) reported grabbing, 21 (41.17%) shaking, 14 (27.46%) hair pulling, 11 (21.57) % kicking, 10 (19.61) % punching, 8 (15.69%) each in the category of choking and arm twisting. 5 (9.81%) out of the total respondents reported that they were beaten with a stick and 4 (7.84%) complained of burning. One of the respondents complained of biting.



Of the women who reported sexual violence, 39 (79.59%) were exposed to forced sexual contact or marital rape by their husbands and male in-laws. 10 (20.40 %) were forced to perform sexual acts that may be degrading or violates the dignity of woman and 12 (24.49 %) reported beating or hurting on sexual parts of the body.

With regard to economic violence, 28 (75.68 %) of women viewed that they were not given adequate amount of support money. 24 (64.86%) of victims are found in each category of denial of basic necessities of life and disallowing access to their income, bank accounts, and savings. Using the wife's money, assets or property without her consent and preventing women from working outside the home accounted for 21 (56.76%) and 13 (35.14%) respectively of economic violence. 9 (24.32%) of the respondents reported that force was put upon them to work outside the home even if they were unwilling.

An analysis of the causes of domestic violence showed that 54 (90 %) of the women were exposed to violence for disobeying their husbands and in-laws. 45 (75 %) of the abused women reported custom of dowry to be one of the reasons of violence. Some other causes include economic constraints and alcoholism which accounts for 34 (56.67 %) and 33 (55%) respectively. It has been observed that 28 (46.67%) of women were abused by their husbands and in-laws for the issues related to household work, 26 (43.33%) for childcare and 25 (41.67%) for the issues related to cooking. Suspicion and extra-marital affairs were found to be another cause of such violence reported by 17 (28.33%) and 13 (21.67%) respectively. Only a meagre, 4 (6.67%) reported polygamy to be another factor of domestic violence.

In this study, it is also found that the violence against these abused women were inflicted for a number of reasons and 35 (58.33%) said that violence was committed daily, 17 (28.33%) stated that it was inflicted occasionally and 8 (13.33%)

reported that it was committed frequently by their husbands and in-laws. Further, 58 (96.67%) of the total victims viewed that they suffered violence in hands of their husbands, 43 (71.67%) of women reported that violence were committed against them by their mothers-in-law, followed by sisters-in-law 32 (53.33%), fathers- in- law 21 (35%), brothers in law 3(5%). Surprisingly, 17 (28.33%) stated that violence was committed against them even by the relatives of the in-laws.

As for the problems that the women had to face after such acts of violence that the women had to face after such acts of violence they stated that violence severely affected them physically. Out of all the respondents, 51 (85%) reported that they had physical injury. 28 (46.67%) stated that they had suffered from body pain; 2 (3.33%) said that they had become permanently disabled. 9 (15%) mentioned that they were abused even during pregnancy, by their husbands and in-laws. They also had numerous mental and psychological problems: 51 (86.67%) had anxiety, 46 (76.67%) had depression, 42 (70%) had feeling of loneliness and helplessness, 16 (26.67%) had fear, 7 (11.6%) sleeping problems. Besides causing physical and mental problems, 39 (65%) of them said that they had problems in performing their day to day activities and 33 (55 %) of them said that they had economic problems.

Many of the women were ignorant of existing legal and Constitutional Provisions and Acts protecting women from Domestic violence. When the women were questioned on their knowledge of the Constitutional provisions to safeguard women from domestic violence, 11 (18.33%) said that they were aware of Acts and laws provided by the Constitution to protect women from domestic violence and specified the Section 498- A and also mentioned the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005. The remaining 49 (81.67%) said that they were

ignorant of any such Acts and as such they could not specify any Laws and Acts in regard to domestic violence.

Most of the women had suffered from violence for a long period of time before they lodged complaints at Police Stations. 5 (8.33 %) of them gave the information that before they reported the matter to the Police, they had suffered violence for around six months, 17 (28.33%) said that for around a year, they had faced violence. 29 (48.33 %) said that they had suffered violence for around two years and 9 (15%) for three years and above. When they were further asked about the reasons why they had faced domestic violence for such a long time before they complained the matter to the Police, they mentioned varied reasons. 41 (68.33%) said that the members of the society and their parents would not approve if they report the matter to the Police. 37 (61.67%) stated about financial problems. 27 (45%) feared that if they report the matter to the Police, their husbands and in-laws might harm them, their children and their parental families. 23 (38.33%) said that they stayed in violent relationships for long time because they had no place to go if they left their husband's home.

34 (56.67%) of the cases registered with the Police have been settled. They were given permission for divorce and they got divorced from their husbands. 25 (40%) of the cases of women have been found to be continuing in the courts of law and in case of only one victim (1.67%), it was reported that her case continued for three months. But her case was dismissed owing to her husband's death

The majority, 52 (86.67%) are living with their parents after the breakup. Only one of the women among the sixty respondents married after her divorce. She has started a new life and is now living happily with her present husband. 3 (5%) women are living with their children in rented house; 2 (3.33%) are staying with their siblings

and one (1.67%) is with her sister. Moreover, one (1.67%) respondent has been living with her parents'-in-law who are aged.

## 7.2 Qualitative Findings:

During the course of the survey and in the interviews with these abused women, certain important observation were made which cannot be quantified in numerical terms but they provide important input on the issues of women's position within the home and their suffering from domestic violence.

A large number of women belonging to all categories of age, religion, caste, creed, educational and economic background were found to be using the term '*malik*' or '*swami*' which means owner, when they referred to their husband. This use of such terms show how the institution of marriage advocates strong patriarchal beliefs and practices which is manifested in the nature of dominance and control of women by men in the Assamese society on the one hand, and how women themselves are socialized in these male values, on the other.

An interesting fact in the qualitative analysis was that women who have lived in joint families appear to be more exposed to domestic violence. The apparent reasons seems to be the fact that when a woman lives in a joint family the number of elders and in-laws is higher; so she has to play her role strictly following the gender norms set by patriarchy. Any failure to conform to such norms invites wrath of the in-laws that leads to violence. Some of the respondents told of their experience of how in-laws often instigated the husband against the wife to commit violence against her. Women in nuclear families, therefore, seem to be living comparatively more safely.

As for decision making role of women, it has been found that women have little influence in taking decision regarding family matters. The usual norm is that the important decisions on household matters are taken either exclusively by the husband

or jointly by the male members of the family. Even though sometimes a woman may have a little share in decision making, the ultimate decision or the final word comes from the husband or other authoritative members of the family. This domineering attitude of the males makes women vulnerable to violence.

Most of the women who took part in the survey said that they had no say in the decision of their own marriage. Many of them were married off against their will; some of them wanted to continue their studies; someone did not want to marry a man who was much older than her; someone found that the man chosen for her did not conform to the image that she had in mind of a husband. Thus a girl or a woman is found to have no control over her own life. She cannot go against the patriarchal dictates of the family's male members.

The domination of patriarchy goes to such extent that even the reproductive power of a woman comes under male's control. The study revealed a few such cases where the woman did not want to conceive again because of various factors like poverty, poor health, overwork within the domestic sphere, but were forced to conceive with the expectation of having a male child, or another child. She does not have the freedom to choose how many children she will have or when she will give birth to; whether she can take birth control measure or not and whether she can go for medical termination of pregnancy. Most of the women said that they were forced to be mothers by engaging themselves in unwanted sex or depriving them of the choice to use contraceptive. As such, their motherhood is also conditioned by patriarchy. This can probably be claimed as an extreme example of male domination over women.

One of the basic characteristics of patriarchy is the sexual division of labour. This division often leads to domestic violence against women. A woman is looked

upon primarily as a worker who performs domestic chores. When they fail to do so, they are victimized. Many of the women respondent reported that they were also abused on the charge of failing to take care of their children. They termed it as gross injustice to women because no mother could think of neglecting her children.

Most women are not concerned of ownership of property rights. Very few women said that they own a piece of land. When they were asked about the importance of owning land or property, most of them replied in the negative. It is another impact of patriarchy where a woman ceases to look upon herself as an owner of land or property. They do not even care to think of certain unforeseen situations where they might have to live alone without a roof over their head.

Disobeying the husbands and in-laws has been found to be one of the major causes of domestic violence. The majority of the women said that they would often try to maintain silence when their husbands and in-laws abused them but if they answered back or tried to clarify their position, this makes them increasingly vulnerable to violence. Patriarchy makes the males privileged; their words must be respected by women. If women fail to do so, they are exposed to physical, mental or sexual abuse. From the study it is proved that social construction of male superiority and female inferiority are key to the understanding of the factors that lead to domestic violence.

Findings on dowry from the survey reveal certain interesting facts. It has been seen that dowry system is slowly gaining ground in the Assamese society though it was never a part of Assamese culture and society. In most cases, it is not demanded but many brides take gifts and cash without protest from their parents and without considering whether they have ability to give or not. The point made by them is that they need money and other things in day-to-day life. They also believes that it

enhances their status in the in-laws' home. But sometimes, the issue of dowry continues long after the marriage ceremony is over. This finally leads to violence that often brings fatal results.

A finding that may startle many is that there were women respondents who believed that a husband can abuse his wife. This is nothing but an effect of gender norms and patriarchal beliefs that are embedded in their minds. They adhere to the norms set by the patriarchal society that a woman must not raise her voice against her husband. If she does, even her parents would disapprove of it, not to speak of the society in general. This is the reason why victims often take a long time to lodge complaint at police station even after suffering inhuman torture in domestic violence. It is only when she feels that her life is in danger, she takes action to report acts of domestic violence.

Certain observations have been made from the responses of the respondents and in view of these, certain suggestions have been made in connection with the problem of crimes against women.

- In India where the society is mostly patriarchal, male and female children are brought up in a discriminatory manner. The male child is always taught to be strong and aggressive while girl child is taught to be loving and submissive. This system of gender socialization conditions men and women to accept male domination over female as natural. So the system of gender bias socialization which project women as inferior needs to be changed to end discrimination and violence against women and this education on gender equality should be imparted from a very young age.

- Government organizations as well as NGOs working in this field can play an important role in reducing the problem of domestic violence. They can go a long way in educating the people on sensitive issues like domestic violence through informal modes like organizing campaigns, street plays and by displaying posters and by distributing leaflets etc. People will then understand in a better manner the issue of domestic violence and also in making them know about the evil effects of violence on women's health and children's mentality and as well as in the society.
- Education is vital in raising the quality of citizens. It is also linked directly to the status of women in the society and domestic violence. The present study gives the impression that women with less education suffer from more violence and men with less education perpetrate more violence. Therefore, there should be great need to make the people aware of the importance of education. The parents should also be taught the necessity of sending their children to school and excessive priority should be given to women's education.
- Employment has emerged as an important factor in raising a woman's status. That is why it has been found to be linked to violence against women. The present study appears to have highlighted that unemployed women suffer from more violence than employed women. Therefore, stringent measures should be taken by the Government and Non-Government agencies to generate jobs for women. As daughters should therefore be encouraged by the parents to earn their livelihood.
- Judicial awareness programs can play a very important role in making the ordinary people aware of the judicial provisions related to crimes against women. The awareness of legal provisions will not only help people to seek legal redress but will also deter some persons from committing crimes.



- The media today can not only provide news and entertainment to the people but can also have great impact on the beliefs and views of the people of even the remotest areas. It can educate the people on the evil of domestic violence and also can increase the awareness of the people about the legal rights available in the country to protect women from violence. In this way, they can play a very significant role in moulding societal attitudes to combat female oppression and domestic violence and would also help the women to know about their rights and in turn enable them to fight against the atrocities inflicted upon them.
- One of the highlights of the present study is that many victims continue to stay in their husband's home in spite of intolerable violence because they do not have money and shelter to depend on. Therefore, there is the need for some free shelter homes where helpless, abused women can stay after leaving their husbands and in-laws.
- The police must be sympathetic to the abused women who come to report about violence. They should be very sincere with these cases and should take immediate actions so that punishments are not delayed in case of perpetrators.
- Free legal aids should be provided by the Government as well as Non-Government agencies to the victims of domestic violence who are unable to afford legal representation and access to the court system. This would go a long way in giving justice to the victims of domestic violence and also help in giving women the position they deserve as human beings both within the family as well as in the society.

Unless these issues are addressed, women will continue to suffer from violence not only within the family but also outside. There arises a great responsibility on the part of every member of the society, Government and Non-Governmental

organizations and the women themselves to realize the gravity of the situation and take serious measures to eradicate the menace of crimes against women. Above all, the most important thing is to bring about attitudinal change in the people to give women a life free from the evils of patriarchy and a life free from oppression and violence. This would go a long way in giving women the position they deserve as human beings both in the family and the society.

An age-old problem, crimes against women has been experienced by women of all countries. In India too, women have been victimized because of their disadvantageous position that has been determined by the structure of a society that carries on, in the name of tradition and culture, a large number of evil practices that are detrimental to the physical as well mental health of women. The findings of this study in the Kamrup Metropolitan District of Assam, supported by the methodological and theoretical perspectives, have justified the objectives it stated at the beginning. This study has shown a rising trend in the crimes against women in which domestic violence is the most dominant and takes various forms starting from physical abuse, psychological and economical torture to sexual assault. Socialized in the male values of a patriarchal society, it is not only the husband but also other members of his family including women who mostly perpetrate this kind of violence against women. Certain factors like age, religion, language, caste, type of family, economic status and educational qualifications make women vulnerable to violence but beneath the apparent social, economic, political, religious, legal or educational structures is the invisible hand of patriarchy that manipulates the existence and perpetuation of women's abuse.