

ATROCITIES AGAINST WOMEN
&
UNDERSTANDING GENDER JUSTICE

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

One of the important concerns of the activists of the area of women's issues and the academics world over has been to understand the cause of women's subordination. Both activists and academics agree that women at present have a lower status than men; that socially, economically and politically women are discriminated against and this state of affairs is unfair-injustice- and must be changed. An analysis of the origin of subordinate status of women; why the lower status has still persisted; what strategies are to be devised to end this subordination and such queries are most relevant today; Both in the universal societal phenomena and the society of Kerala.

Inspite of hundred percent literacy (?) and increased rate of women education, atrocities against women have become the most serious social evil of the contemporary Kerala society. If though literate (the effect of which is statistical data but not in practical day to day life) common women of the very social reality of Kerala are unaware of the dynamic concept of equality of sexes which the Indian constitution guarantees. Few women of those who are aware use the law to fight back, they being traditionally oppressed and serve in all social institutions (like family, caste, community, religion, politics, etc.,) subjugated to man.

Despite the promises of legislative favours the identities like women, Dalit and Tribal etc., experience discriminations involving cultural resources in forms subtler than that the commonsense can grasp. The relevance of knowing how the social structure reproduces such forms of discrimination is only proportional to the urgency of resisting such discriminations.

Contextual Frame

Atrocities towards (and against) women are forms of oppression hindering the development of women and thereby resulting in gender injustice, this being ideologically supported by a value system, which is androcentric and gender insensitive. Deepening inequalities and struggles by the oppressed section to assert their rights (granted under democracy) have unleashed retaliations by the more privileged and, women situated as they are in the social matrix as non-free, dependent subjectivities, become specially affected ones.

Irrespective of the caste, class or religion women are socio-cultural dependants, in our society, having no roles of decision-making capacities whether it is in family, community, politics, religion, or any walk of life. If though law provides formal equality and property rights, cultural norms are against the decisive role of women at the time of sharing of properties. Interconnectedness of the property rights and the personal laws (whether it be of Hindu, Muslim or Christian) plays an anti-women role. It is clear that rules, positions, prestige and property are with men and norms, regulations and proper behaviour, obedient character are for women in a social system which is male-oriented and male-determined.

Democratic rights, granted in principle, are nullified by the social institutions where women have subordinate status. The processes of development have increasingly separated the public from the private and has enlarged the public sphere with more formal institutions as against the earlier less formal community, caste, neighbourhood institutions. Public institutions often provide scope for women, for example law, to escape from traditional constraints. However access to formal institutions is limited for women and the ideologies of many public institutions themselves reinforce

traditional subordination. Hence women are restricted from utilizing the facilities democracy offer and once again they become more cribbed and confined to the dark interiors of the whole society.

"Both in its day-to-day conduct and in its enduring structures the social life today shows a staggering indifference to matters related to the protection of rights and securing of duties. *Justice in social affairs is the harmonious blending of rights and duties of the concerned human agents and also the guarantee that no one is made underprivileged by this orchestration*, i.e., no person or position enjoys advantage at the cost of the other. In this sense justice permeates the body of most of the human social institutions. Yet they hardly figure among the rights whose protection is guaranteed by the constitution. These rights sometimes receive articulations through social revolutions and political struggles. But most often they lie indistinct, muffled by the voice of common sense that is eagerly nurtured by our media establishment and cultural leadership....

.... The question of justice deserves special attention in today's socio-economic circumstance. Planning and development activities push greater and greater number of social groups to the margins. They are victims of collective forgetfulness. At a time when these groups begin to break their silence and assert themselves, it is only relevant and significant to inquire into the nature of this forgetfulness and consider the question of justice it raises, while pledging solidarity. Only a systematic research into the working of the social institutions, i.e., their modality and structure, can reveal in the figure of social life the rights and duties of its participants. The real forms that sustain and is sustained by the commonsense could thus be made to stand face to face with us. This enables the human agents to intervene in the construction of /i.e. the commonsense" [Dr. Nizar Ahmed, Prayoga Trust, 1996]

General Objectives:

This research project:

- Presumes that women's position in our society is one of subordination and the social structure is gender oppressive. Subordination is an exercise of power and patriarchy prevailing in the societal phenomena adds to intensity the gender oppression.
- Attempts to question and critically analyse the values and ethics of the subordinating social structure and socio-cultural marginalisation of women thereby.
- Intends to enquire what are the social relations (and how and why they have been created) in the particular research situations, problems at the particular time, space and society and the interactions of 'self' and 'society'.
- Tries to address women's life and experiences in their own terms create notes grounded in the actual experience and language of women (who experience the experiences)
- To understand the reality of women by discovering and uncovering the actual facts of women's lives and the atrocities they face and experience in their lives, which have been hidden inaccessible, suppressed, distorted, misunderstood and ignored.
- To minimize the gap (if there is) between the researcher and the researched (both as subjects) attempting to create a non-hierarchical relationship making the research a joint collaborative effort.

It presupposes:

- To change the present attitudes and values in the social matrix regarding women's roles, and rights, to one of equal participation in all social, economic and political processes and all levels of local developments.
- To promote awareness among women and men, of the need to develop and utilise women's full potential as resources for development in its economic, political and socio-cultural aspects; to question existing values; and to promote awareness of their social responsibilities so as to participate equally.
- To counter the reactionary forces emanating from certain sections of the media, economic, social and political institutions that encourages the demotion of women from productive to mere reproductive roles.
- To promote the values of social equality including gender equality secularism and democracy.
- To generate new and organic knowledge of intensive fieldwork. This would help in the generation of data essential for evaluation and correction of development policies and programmes and in extending the areas for academic analysis, into hitherto neglected sectors.

Conceptual frame:

Atrocity is an act, which accompanies force, committed to prove or feel a sense of the force, which provokes or questions the values and feelings one treasure for the whole life, it is the violation of the guarantee that no one is underprivileged or disadvantaged by the orchestration of the harmonious blending of rights and duties of the human agents involved. The aim of atrocity is to induce the underprivileged sections to comply with the wishes of the more privileged, thereby.

Any individual or group facing the threat of coercion or being disciplined to act in a manner required by another individual or group is subject to violence. This is not necessarily confined to physical violence by the creation of an atmosphere of terror, a situation of threat and reprisal.

The concept of gender is constructed by and through humans that is socially effective as the division between female and male, which is deeply woven into the organization of institutions and everyday life. In the social arena the effect of which is that, it is not just a division but an asymmetry with men having more power and status. 'Gender' is not natural and it can be understood as the set of meanings, expectations and roles that a particular society ascribes to sex (sex is only the biological dichotomy between male and female, chromosomally determined and for the most part unalterable, nothing more than that). It is the socio-cultural make up and the human beings who internalize the same through socialisation that recognize these situations as masculine and feminine characteristics – which are ascribed ones.

Gender is a construct that can be clearly seen in the day-to-day human life realities. But as and when we try to disentangle the life situations it leaves

behind so many complexities that construct and reconstruct the very human life. The concept that gender is constructed through self-reflexivity and it becomes effective only through the social, tempts us to analytically examine the arenas like gender-based roles, gender-relations, self, identity, the social, gender perceptions etc.

Common sensically gender is understood as the division between man and woman, based on the bearing of their body at the time of their *Janmam/Jananam*, i.e. at the time of birth, human bodies having the male sex organs are commonly considered as males and those having female sex organs are considered females. But the process of gendering is something more than that and once named male/female it works almost independently of the bodies to which it belong. In all spaces such as that of socialisation of children, social positioning, experiences, conceptual formations and cultural mediations it is tactile and present. Through the cyclic processes it creates the cobwebs of the organisations of the entire social institutions and the self-formation & self-expression of each human being. Body of each human being has a role in the process of defining it's self. But it doesn't mean that the very same body is there in the definition of it's self. The same can be applicable to gender also. I.e. the sexual appearance of a human body plays its part in the process of defining the gender. But it need not have any role in the definition of gender, the thereby social structuration, and legitimating of patriarchy. This shows that once constructed gender works independently of the sex. In effect, this constructs and reconstructs gender disparity creating social spaces of domination and prestige for men and the subordinate roles for women resulting in reinforcing & reifying the structural properties of the social and the patriarchal system thereby. Though it is structured in a peculiar way gender is determined not in an ultimately unchangeable& unquestionable manner. Perhaps, men and women who go through experience& thereby creates the upper and lower stratifications of being

masculine & feminine may have the belief that it is quite natural and normal. The condition that they accept it without even an iota of doubt in turn becomes the basement for strengthening the gender disparity.

The concepts of 'what a woman and what a man is' are historically contingent. Man – Woman relationship is a tacit contract, which should be equally advantageous to both. In whatever situation woman or man is socially constructed, in this contract, this ethics (of course, evolved through history) is of importance, in each and every actions and interaction. Man – Woman relationship is not unjust in itself. The institution of it may be unjust. To make the meaning of justice comprehensive equality is an important notion. If two are considered equals unjust treatment of one to the other creates crisis. Then it needs raising the question – what is justice.

The constitution promises formal equality to man and woman but the structure and functions of the society through its institutions norms values and etc., is in a peculiar way that man is getting the privileges and advantages and woman is underprivileged and disadvantaged. There starts the enquiry – what is gender justice.

This enquiry takes us to terms like patriarchy, discrimination, sexual division of labour and so on. Any hierarchical system of dominance and subordination victimises the weaker sections and the victimisations can vary from subtle pressures and through the power of ideology and socialisation or open brutal oppressions.

Conceptual Issues And Practical Problems

The common perception of the society is that women by nature and nurture are supposed to be subservient to men. Generally they are treated as powerless, property less and prestige less beings who are to live according to the interests of the men folk. In such a social milieu, if though “acts of aggression” happen against women (and go on happening) these acts may not be recognized by most of the victims as aggressive, as these victims are also part of such a society of male centeredness and may take it as “normal”

This research project shares the idea of understanding how an act of aggression is happening why and how the same act, though conceptualized to be “aggressive” (at least by some self-actualized beings), is being repeated and perpetuated in the society, irrespective of whether it is questioned or not or dissented or resisted by the victims. Can we have measures to cease these atrocities? In this conjuncture the problem enhances that the data regarding the atrocities, if at all collected, (from secondary or primary sources) can have the chance of non-reliability since the chances of counter checking these cases are less.

If we have to understand the injustice involved in an act we need to realise what our present socio-cultural situations are and what it ought to be to energise the subjected one. But the response from the milieu regarding the atrocities against women is so muffled that each and every problem we face in data collection reminds that the very definitions of the hitherto identified areas are to be re-examined.

General understanding about the philosophy behind any research is the ultimate attainment of the objectivity through the reliability, validity and representativeness of a finding, by way of describing “what is happening” One of the fundamental issues we personally face, in doing this particular topic - Atrocities Against Women Understanding Gender Justice - is that the “findings” we get from the “secondary data” mainly reported cases from the area of study, Pattambi Police Station Area - are reported based on the common sensical views and conventional legal definitions and institutional provisions.

As these cases are not viewed in such a sensible way that is in accordance with the conceptual conditions of our “problem formulation” the data received from the Police Station records may not prove fully reliable. But as a starting point, in understanding the “common sensical” expression of women’s status, roles and experiences in the social milieu, these are valid, even though the cherished values and concepts (of justice, equality and freedom) based on a gender just perspective, do not effectively comply with the situations mentioned in the reported cases, to which we were introduced during data collection from the FIR Index of the Pattambi Police Station.

The main issue behind this, is that the social institutions addressed in this study - e.g. family, marriage etc. - are maintained and reproduced in such a way that the very structuration of these institutions are based on the unbalanced power-relations of the interacting agents (man - woman) and the male-oriented privileges of the whole institutional set up. This power relation in and by itself creates a hierarchy -- in the areas of resource allocation, distribution etc -- where in women are treated as being subservient to men, common sensically. Our anxiety is that, from such a social reality, how can we be so sure about the “reliability” of the details received from the fieldwork, as those will be half revealed facts or orally

transmitted stories. To make the enquiry more valid, reliable and sensible all the techniques of survey, ethnography and observation had been conducted, selecting particular areas and typologies. (Still it might not be the “reality” but only the “representation of the reality”)

On analysing the patterns of the reported events of atrocities, the impasse is that there are no intelligible situations that directly and clearly depict why these happen. This pre-supposition leads us to the notions of social structure and social system; (in which all these atrocities happen) which is in itself in an “upside down” state – The very idea of altering the same may lead to a totally “unpredictable” situation.

The confusion concerning the unpredictability of a situation may make the “affected subjectivities” inactive to an atrocity. For example, in the case of an issue of “wife-beating” for reasons known and unknown “the wife” may go on suffering the same. Why “wife beating is repeatedly happening in a unit? “Being a wife” and “Beating a wife” is considered as a normal situation in our patriarchal social situations, as the privilege and advantage the man attains by being “husband” is legitimised through the action of “beating” and the “wife” (as her role defines) is supposed to contribute to maintain & perpetuate the institution of marriage by being his “Sub-ordinate”. It is noteworthy that the beatings and batterings a girl or a woman gets from her home during the making of a girl or a woman is not even identified as “atrocious” and there is no special socio-legal provision to question such acts. In such a situation, if one identifies woman beating (whether the affected subjectivities be a wife, sister or a girl child or mother) as an atrocious act, there is a chance that the “affected subjectivity” is not understanding or not reaching to that understanding, it goes unreported and so unnoticed in the social phenomena.

The patriarchal social system, in turn needs these institutions (like family, marriage etc.) to be reproduced and maintained in such a way that it is by no means “altered” and it will try by all means to attain the same status always. Hence what is made perceivable as the “reality” of atrocities depicted in the reported cases is the common sensical perception only. The common sensical perceptions of events go hand in hand with the hierarchical patterns of the social system with all its male-orientedness and cultural bias. Common sense always create a make-believable and muffled situation that even increased number of reported cases of - unnatural deaths of women are “normal” i.e., the domineering social system sees and the institutions (Family, Police, Court or what ever it be) report these “unnatural deaths” as if they are normal and natural; if though a researcher feel, sense or understand something beyond what had been reported. Child abuse, subordinate marital status of women, under-privileges just for being women, violence through media, violence related to customs, beliefs and practices within community and the social; malnutrition arising from inadequate food supply to female child, male child preference etc. are not ‘directly’ reported as atrocities. But reading between the lines of the reported cases suggests -- and even the un-reporting of events -- that these areas are to be probed deeply. These might not have been told aloud during interviews or in the response to questionnaires. If though the research team tried their maximum to make the situation amiable, the women researched might have at times found it as ‘irritating’, at the time of primary data collection i.e., direct enquiries.

Identified atrocities against women

Atrocities against women, identified by the researcher through the review of literature and the secondary data are mainly the following:

1. Rape – a violation of female's integrity and dignity as a person by forced sexual intercourse, the social basement of which is Patriarchy, perpetuating the concept that woman is a property of man
2. Dowry
3. Dowry tortures and dowry death
4. Seeing female body as a sex object
5. Sexual Harassment: Assault or unwelcome behaviour (whether direct or by implication) as (a) physical contact of advances (b) a demand for sexual favours (c) sexually coloured remarks (d) showing pornography (e) tempting to engage in prostitution, (f) pornographic films, web sites, advertisements, printed, audio, video, etc., and so on; the list never ends...
6. Domestic violence
7. Female child labour (organised, unorganised sectors and domestic labour)
8. Sexual division of labour
9. Subordinate marital status: wife beating, looking down upon females, etc.,
10. Any unwanted sexual experience or mental trauma experienced by women (at any age), that might have remained never disclosed.
11. Female infanticide
12. Suicides (reported to be) and murders of mothers and children (single and gang)
13. Kidnapping and abduction
14. Denial of opportunities – just for being females

Significance of the study:

Our hypothesis, that atrocities against women-both in private and public life-an instrument of coercion used to maintain the force of domination and committed to prove or feel a sense of force, hinder gender justice since the social realities are gender oppressive and women's status in the society is subordinate and subjugate, had been best proved through all the cases we have studied. The FIR Index of the Pattambi police station, during the period of 1990-1998, the deep interviews of the selected reported cases and the survey details strengthen our conceptual frame that atrocity is an act which accompanies power, committed to prove or feel a sense of power which provokes or questions the values and feelings one treasure for the whole life, it is the violation of the guarantee that no one is underprivileged or disadvantaged by the orchestration of the harmonious blending of rights and duties of the human agents involved. The aim of atrocity is to induce the underprivileged sections to comply with the wishes of the more privileged, thereby. Any individual or group facing the threat of coercion or being disciplined to act in a manner required by another individual or group is subject to violence. This is not necessarily confined to physical violence by the creation of an atmosphere of terror, a situation of threat and reprisal.

The cases we had studied in detail solidifies our presumption in the introduction that, if though the constitution promises formal equality to man and woman the structural properties and functions of the society through its institutions, norms, values and etc., is in a peculiar way that man is getting the privileges and advantages and woman is underprivileged and disadvantaged. Any hierarchical system of dominance and subordination victimises the weaker sections and the victimisations can vary from subtle pressures and through the force of ideology and socialisation or open brutal oppressions.

The expected contributions of the study:

Our anticipation is that, this study will throw light on the realities of the lives of women that go often ignored. It had helped in contributing to the interactions and experiences of the persons studied and the research team. This study helps us to understand the issues of justice in the events of intimate man-woman relationship. The hope is that it will sensitise the whole social about the visibly invisible violence in human interactions through awareness programmes for the prevention of occurrence of violence, anticipating transformation in the very perception of the human agents involved in particular day-to-day life situations. This study stands as a frame to make a critique of knowledge available at various levels of multi disciplinary research.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The work proposed in the first phase of the project had been to take *an exhaustive treatment of the conceptual and methodological issues involved and do a thorough review of the research done in the area to locate sources of information* etc. Based on the work we had done, let us place a brief account of observations we had had in trying to understand the conceptual and methodological issues.

Conceptual Issues

Atrocities against women spring from multifaceted factors of socio-cultural, political economic (and in turn physical and psychological) perceptions of the social system, regarding women's place and role. The social system in turn is conceived, perceived and perpetuated by the very human beings, who are differentiated into categories of women and men, self reflexively. The effectiveness of knitting these genders is purely social and it can be transformed only through the reflexive intervention of the interacting agents. The fundamental problem about any atrocity against women, is that it becomes a "crime" in the conventional socio-legal definitions of it, only when it is "reported"

According to the latest data released by National Crimes Records Bureau, India (NCRB)

"A woman is raped	=	every 54 minutes
An act of eve-teasing	=	every 51 minutes

One act of criminal offense against women = every 7 minutes

But, at any time in the history of continued violence (for example communal riots, war, etc.) the unreported cases are unimaginably high. The mere “un-reporting” of the problem serves the interests of the male orientedness of the social system, and the uninterrogated and hence the uninterrupted perpetuation of androcentric structural properties.

The very thought of atrocity mirrors a multitude of images from everyday life situations - a shivering 12 year old girl rounded by a group of eve-teasers, a girl (of any age) manhandled by a brother or father within the dark interiors of her own ‘home’. Pale face of an everyday - battered wife, sufferings of a teen age - rape victim. Women passengers of public vehicles being harassed, moreover the ‘bride’ standing head-downward in front of her “owner” - head to foot decorated - in a marriage etc.

“An overview of violence against women” presented in the summer school of women studies held at Hyderabad (1996) suggests that “Violence is an act of aggression, usually in interpersonal interaction or relations”. It can be an “aggression against self - such as suicide, self-mutilation, negligence of ailments, Sex determinations tests leading to amniocentesis, food denial & so on. It suggests that ‘violence brings into question the concept of boundary maintenance’ and a sense of self as well as perception of another’s autonomy & identity. It implies that when the body - and indeed the self - is vulnerable to violation, individuals have a very different notion of “what is one’s body and what is done to one’s body.

The 1985 UN International Conference held at Nairobi seriously discussed the problem of the forms of “atrocities against-women”. The effect of which was

worthy research designs and awareness programmes and documentation of various issues of violence.

Violence in general, can be defined as “the threatened or actual use of physical force against another person, against oneself or against a group or community that either results or is likely to result in injury death or deprivation. There are visual, verbal or physical expressions of violence resulting in physical agony & psychological trauma of an individual.

Over the last decade, there has been a growing awareness of the phenomenon of violence against women & children. Violence encompasses not only physical acts, but also innumerable acts and gestures, innuendoes, familial and social responses and so on- The family is the arena for much of the aggression against women. “Dowry death is an extreme case. Sexual harassment and rape are other instances of the increasing trends of gender-related violence.

Indian scholars in women’s studies have emphasized the dynamics of power and powerlessness involved in a ‘violent’ act. According to such academics it is a coercive mechanism “to assert ones will over another, to prove or to feel a sense of power”. It can be perpetuated by those in power against the powerless or by the powerless in retaliation against coercion by others to deny their powerlessness. Going further Govind Kelkar situates violence against women “in the socio-economic and political context of power relation. The argument, that “It is an act illegal criminal use of force” is inadequate and includes “exploitation, discrimination, upholding of unequal and social structures, the creation of an atmosphere of terror, threat or reprisal and forms of religious-cultural and political violence (Kelkar-1991). This Wide definition of violence finds resonance in a hierarchical society so far committed to exploitative gender relations.

From mid seventies, theoretical perspectives on violence against women started becoming available. In 1979, the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women observed that violence was a rarely discussed subject in public spheres. But in the present scenario we see news and reports of dowry deaths, domestic violence, state violence, sexual harassment and rape cases. In the Indian context members of the committee on the status of women in India have recently reflected that though during their field trips in the early seventies, they are aware of case of deaths over dowry demands, none of them felt that the issue merited separate and detailed investigation. In August 1992, the International Women's Rights actions watch in its committee on the Elimination of discrimination against women noted the absence of the record documentation of the acts of atrocities.

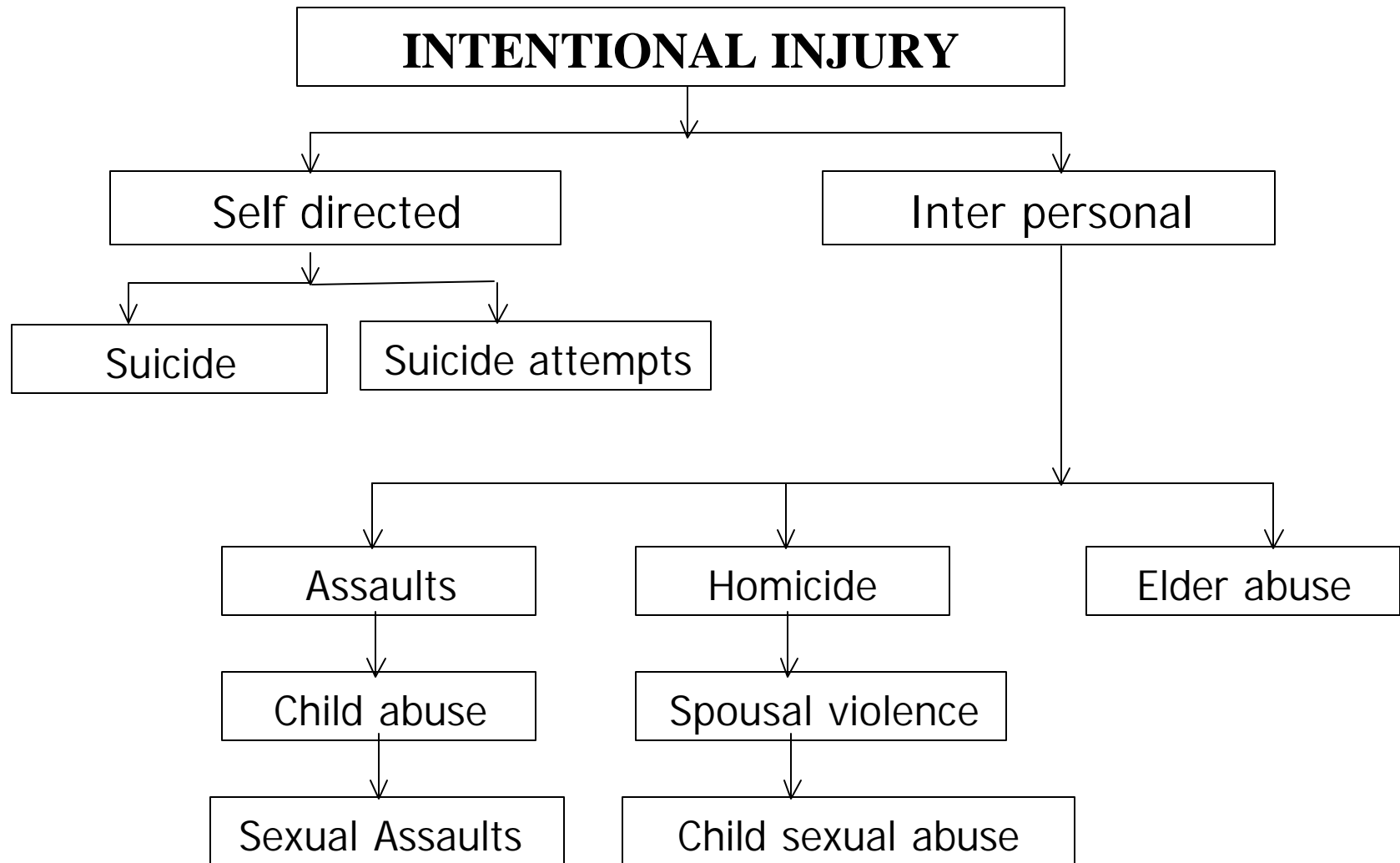
Maithrayee Mukhopadhyay in her "Legally Dispossessed" (Gender, identity and the process of law) observes that violence against women cut across class, regional, caste, and community barriers.

In the "Well founded fear" the research team suggest that there are many ways of interpreting why women suppress information concerning violence to them ... women may not want to remember a painful situation, or may not want a story spread further, or the event may be seen as non criminal ... Victim blaming wide spread in the media shows that our culture holds women being responsible for the violent behaviour of men. This perspective gets momentum if the assaulter is a close associate.

Many of the studies on violence, consider drunkenness as cause of men's violent behaviour. But a noteworthy opinion of the editors of 'Private violence and Public Policy' is that drunkenness should be seen not as a cause of violence but as a condition, which coexists with it. Thus men who wish to carry out a violent act may become intoxicated in order to have the "courage" to perform

the act. We suspect that drunkenness may not be a cause or condition, if though drinking will have correlation to some atrocious acts. Hence to understand the violent behaviour it may need going deep into the training of socialisations these accused “men” attain by and through social institutions at the micro level.

Oxford textbook of public health (1996) defines violence as an intentional injury. This study aims at a public health mandate for interpersonal violence prevention and the self-directed injuries resulting from socio-cultural constraints.



Intentional Injury-Violence:

Courtesy to Centre for disease control, Oxford text book of public health '96

This chart proves a practical help to analyze the violence we may come across in the intimate relationships. But as women activists and academics observe, each act of atrocity encompasses social, cultural, political, and economic undertones.

Mary Maynard in her essay “Violence Towards Women” describes “different types of violence against women as wife-beating, child sexual abuse, sexual harassment and pornography” as “part of a spectrum of violence with the aim that understanding of each form of violence is enhanced by considering them together. She argues that it is not that we can generalize from one kind of violence to all others without qualification but it is to acknowledge the interrelationship between different kinds of violence particularly in terms of their impact on and consequences for women’s lives.

For the sake of understanding and analysis the identified areas of violence against women as per the review of literature can be divided mainly into three heads, though each of these have intertwining impact on the experiences of women

1.Domestic violence

- Self immolation
- Male child preference
- Dowry death
- Female infanticide
- Malnutrition arising from inadequate food supply to female child
- Child abuse
- Wife battering
- Violence related to sexual perversion choices relating to conceiving, continuing pregnancy, forced abortion and motherhood

2. Emotional violence

- Underprivileges, just for being women
- Subordinate marital status
- Violent psychiatric disorders

3. Social and Communal violence

- From work place
 - *Problems related to wage structure, working hours (especially in unorganized sector)*
 - *Scarcity of facilities (both in organized and unorganized sectors)*
- Sexual harassment from the social milieu
- Violence through media
- Violence related to customs, beliefs, practices within community and society
- Kidnapping and abduction
- State violence
 - *Targeting against women of rebel groups*
 - *Custodial rapes*
 - *Military or Police action followed by rapes and sexual assault in the riot stricken areas*
 - *Custodial molestation*

The review of the past studies reveals that the legal definitions of the atrocities tend to omit many acts that women would regard as atrocious e.g. marital rape. Since the conventional meaning of marriage is that a wife is to 'please' the husband, her consent for sexual intercourse is not at all a question of concern for a man (husband) of such a tradition. Section 376 (IPC) asserts in its exception that sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife not being under

15 years of age is not rape. This shows that a woman who feels marital rape as an atrocity cannot expect “justice” through legal provisions. In “Towards Gender Justice” S. P. Sathe observes that in the section on rape the whole emphasis is on vaginal purity, which is an important aspect of patriarchal value system. Flavia Agnes (1992) in *Protecting Women Against Violence* has undertaken an incisive analysis of judicial attitude in respect of the interpretation of the section on rape. Flavia asks for a total change in the definition of rape.

Wife beating is almost an accepted behaviour in our society where women are treated as “property of men”. Child sexual abuses never come to judicial discourse for the same reason - those who “treat” children in such “odd ways” may try to justify that their acts by telling that “it was to soothe the baby” or “cajoling the child”. All these are complicated by the hierarchical elements of social relationships and emotional blackmail. *To problematize the above atrocities it will need a transformation not only in the definitions but even the very conceptualizations of the masculine/man, feminine/woman etc.*

Despite the mechanical definitions of violence by legal and professional experts, women activists generally opine that any act, which questions the integrity of an individual, is atrocious - that betrays the trust and responsibility in an interaction. e.g., touching “parts” of the child (woman) or asking the child (woman) to “touch” the assaulter, taking pornographic photographs and there by threatening them and by showing it, exposing the genitals, which is a provocative act, sexually connoted words, etc.

The best way to understand the impact of violence against women is “to listen to what women have to say about their experiences” suggests Shulamit Reinharz in her essay on “Experiential Analysis”. But breaking the silence

needs new strategies since almost all such acts are not seen reported even to the close associates. This makes the research situations more complicated. Commonsensical expressions, dominant beliefs, norms and customs of the male oriented society treat these acts as “normal”. Those who respond or retaliate to it will be regarded as “abnormal” beings - again it results in another atrocity - compelling women to be silent about it. Women activists all over the world emphasize on the inclusion of the threat or fear of force as well as its actual use when violence is being defined.

Social System – Patriarchy :

Male violence is a reflection of unequal power relations in the social and serves to reproduce and maintain the hierarchy of unequal power relation. Those who conceptualize oppression women suffer in the social cannot help addressing the term ‘patriarchy’ - if though there are many definitions concerning varying aspects and specifications of patriarchy a much useful definition which acknowledges that both the nature and degree of patriarchal control vary with and across societies, is provided by Adrienne Rich. According to her “Patriarchy is a familial, social, ideological, political system in which men - by force, direct pressure or through ritual, law, language, customs etiquette, education and the division of labour - determine what part women shall or shall not play and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male. It does not necessarily imply that no woman has power or that all women in a given culture may not have certain power”. (Rich 1977) This system of patriarchy enables man - both as an individual and group - to control women and maintain that supremacy. Thus male violence is not only a result of women’s subordination in society but also contributes to the construction of that subordination.

GENDER :

Gender refers to socio-culturally learned behaviour and expectations that distinguish between the ascribed roles of femininity and masculinity. It is active through the human agents involved and effective only socially. The social matrix is maintained through the division between female and male, which is deeply woven into the organizations of institutions and everyday life. In the social arena the effect of which is that it is not just a division but an asymmetry with men having more prestige, position and status. The gender biased social system is a project of this conditioning where women's involvement in various levels of human interactions and relationships being totally ignored. In each and every walk of life some sort of gender dissonance can be observed whether it be the very socialization process of human beings, social and physical mobility, allocation and distribution of cultural resources, religion, politics, education, law, caste, and etc. (The list never ends.....)

The social realities of gender differences and women's subordinate status have been topics of contest among activists and academics for long before. Oppression is a basic political concept involving complex, social, cultural, psychological, and economic issues. Identifying the nature, causes, forms, aftermath (both dissents and bearings by the oppressed) etc., should probably pave way to analyze atrocities against women and there by come to an understanding of what all factors hinder gender justice.

How we care about, perceive, understand, analyze and critique the world we live in, is profoundly shaped by gender, which in turn shapes the gender of human beings. Gender, we conceive, influences not only who we are, how we live, and what we have, but also "how" we think, order reality, claim to know what is true, and therefore how we understand and explain the social world.

In “The Gender of World Politics” V Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyen observe that “examining gender” permits us to see how man - women relationship works in the world, how it is institutionalized, legitimated and reproduced. They suggest that we also begin to see how gender hierarchy interacts with the other structural inequalities i.e. gender issues are embodied in interacting hierarchies of race class, caste, ethnicity, nationality, religious identification. In short, gender hierarchy denotes a system of force and domination that privileges man over women and that which is associated with masculinity over femininity. This privileging includes men’s appropriation of women’s productive and reproductive labour, men’s control over women’s bodies and regulations of women’s activities and the promotion of masculinism to naturalize (depoliticise) this hierarchy. “In sum, they conclude in “Global Gender Issues” gender remains normatively invisible as long as we do not see how extensively it operates and as long as we take the differences, we see for granted as givens rather than as political problems”.

GENDER JUSTICE :

“In Towards Gender Justice” S. P. Sathe argues that gender justice aims at much more than mere absence of discrimination. The concept of gender justice is incorporated in the concept of social justice. It means that the new social order based on justice - social, economic and political - as visualized by Article 38 of the constitution men and women must equally participating in decision making and must have equal access to the resources of the community. It presupposes elimination of women subordination and establishment of gender equality. Equality does not mean similarity. Women need different rights and entitlements with regard to their reproductive function. The existence of pluralistic and democratic social culture and liberal and secular polity must

precede gender justice. Gender justice does not thrive in a fundamentalist regime.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Scientific research aims at generating objective valid knowledge about the research topic, the reliability of which depends on the scientific methods of investigation. The following account deals with the methodology followed in this study.

The proposal:

- Presumes that women's position in our society is one of subordination and the social structure is gender oppressive. Subordination is an exercise of power and patriarchy prevailing in the societal phenomena adds intensity to the gender oppression.
- Attempts to question and critically analyse the values and ethics of the subordinating social structure and socio-cultural marginalisation of women thereby.
- Intends to enquire what are the social relations (and how and why they have been created) in the particular research situations, problems at the particular time, place and society and the interactions of 'self' and 'society'.
- Tries to address women's life and experiences in their own terms create notes grounded in the actual experience and language of women (who experience the experiences)

- To understand the reality of women by discovering and uncovering the actual facts of women's lives and the atrocities they face and experience in their lives. Which have been hidden inaccessible, suppressed, distorted, misunderstood and ignored.
- To minimize the gap (if there is) between the researcher and the researched (both as subjects) attempting to create a non-hierarchical relationship making the research a joint collaborative effort.

The important objectives of this study are:

- To change the present attitudes and values in the society regarding women's roles, and rights, to one of equal participation in all social, economic and political processes and all levels of local developments.
- To promote awareness among women and men, of the need to develop and utilize women's full potential as resources for development in its economic, political and socio-cultural aspects; to question existing values; and to promote awareness of their social responsibilities so as to participate equally.
- To counter the reactionary forces emanating from certain sections of the media, economic, social and political institutions that encourages the demotion of women from productive to mere reproductive roles.
- To promote the values of social equality including gender equality secularism and democracy.

- To generate new and organic knowledge of intensive fieldwork. This would help in the generation of data essential for evaluation and correction of development policies and programmes and in extending the areas for academic analysis, into hitherto neglected sectors

Hypotheses:

This study intended to test the following:

1. Atrocities against women-both in private and public life-an instrument of coercion used to maintain force and committed to prove or feel a sense of force, hinder gender justice since the social realities are gender oppressive and women's status in the social is sub-ordinate and subjugate.
2. Absence of autonomy enhances discrimination against women.
3. Atrocities against women reinforce women's subordinate status, socio-culturally.
4. Men and Women unquestioningly adapt to the ascribed roles, and thereby they internalize ascriptions of masculinity and femininity.
5. The change in traditional life perceptions of the man-woman relationship and the roles helps to get away with the atrocities.

Definition of the concepts

Atrocities: Atrocity is an act which accompanies force, committed to prove or feel a sense of force, which provokes or questions the values and feelings one treasure for the whole life, it is the violation of the guarantee that no one is underprivileged or disadvantaged by the orchestration of the harmonious

blending of rights and duties of the human agents involved. The aim of atrocity is to induce the underprivileged sections to comply with the wishes of the more privileged, thereby.

Gender Justice:

The qualitative definition of gender justice proposed in this study relies upon the spacio-temporal conceptions of the atrocities against women and the standards of value – freedom of expression and autonomy needed to prevent the same. It is not in itself absolute a quality but it can be understood in terms of where it happens, when, how and whether the situations satisfies the interests of the interacting agents both males and females equally.

Variables and their measurement:

The independent and dependent variables considered in this study are explained below. The method of measuring them is also described

Dependent variable:

Gender justice is the dependent variable in this study. To understand the same, moments of injustice happening in terms of *atrocities against women* are enquired and analyzed.

Measurement of the dependent variable is done taking the following major indices.

- a. Atrocious interventions in the lives of women by the male beings, which affect women's social and special mobility.
- b. Lack of freedom for women for economic activities
- c. Absence of the access to property

- d. Compulsion through the traditional roles and social institutions like marriage and family
- e. Lack of gender sensitive facilitating centres
- f. Lack of scientific sex education
- g. Lack of the self-actualization of women.

Independent variables:

a) Gender: is the self-reflexively constructed and socially maintained set of meanings expectations and roles that a particular society and the human beings there in ascribes to sex which once defined acts mostly independently of the sex of the human being concerned. i.e., the ascribed state of being masculine and feminine.

b) Age: The number of years completed by the respondent in his/her life since birth is considered as the age of the respondent. For doing the Survey, the second part of the research, four age groups were coined as those from 18-30; 30-40; 40-50; & 50 and above.

c) Religious affiliation: It is used to denote the religious group of the family into which the respondent was born to. The area of this study include people of Hindu, Muslim and Christian religions. Christians are comparatively less as per the records.

d) Educational status: The formal schooling, higher education and the specific degrees of honour the respondents had had in

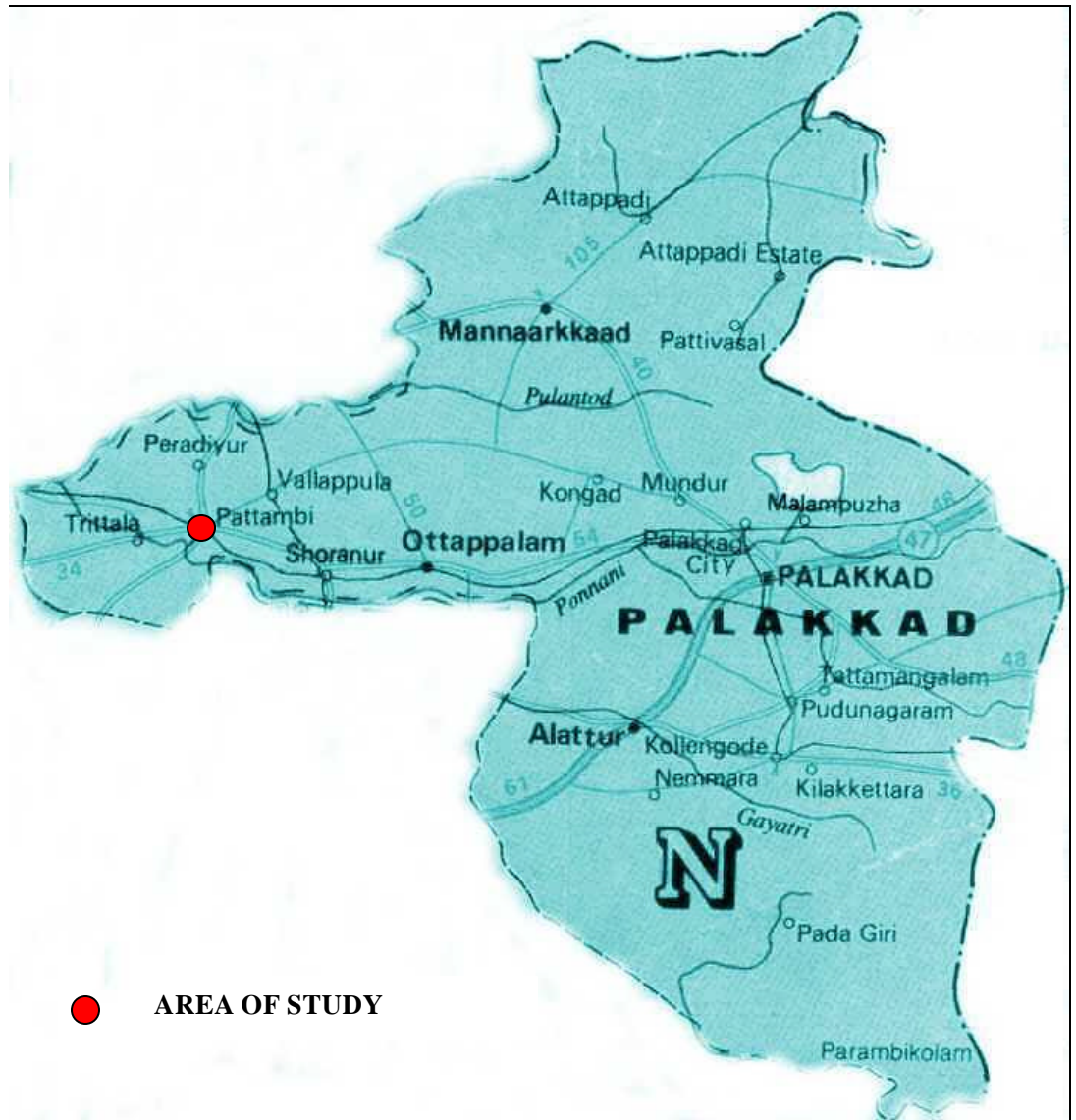
their life. In this study the respondents are categorized as those having educational qualifications. viz., *Illiterates, Upto upper primary, Upto higher secondary, Degree and PG & Professional Qualifications.*

e) Marital status: The respondents considered for the survey are categorized as married and unmarried.

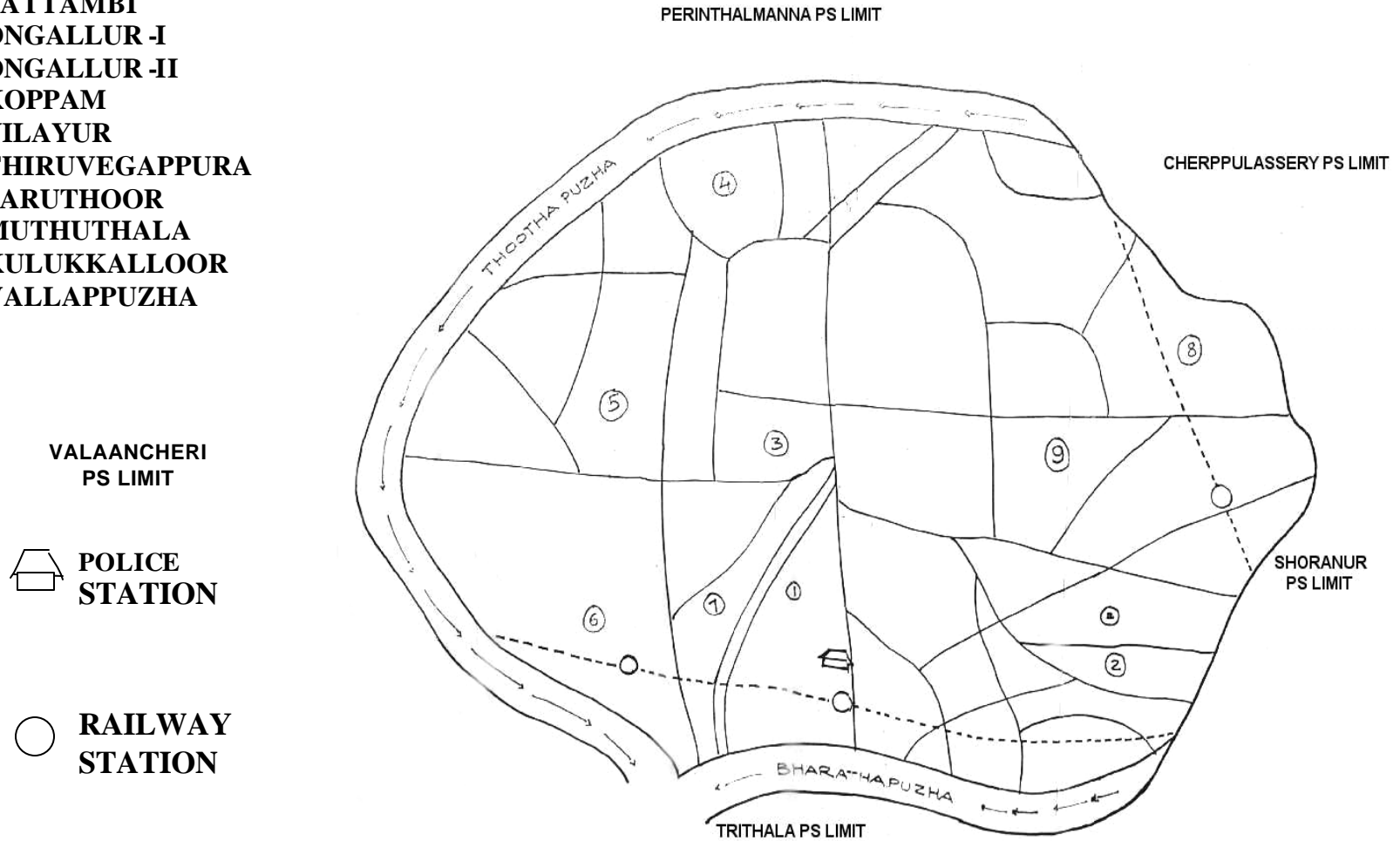
The Area of Study:

This project analyses diagnostically the atrocities with special reference to the reported and unreported (they being the more) cases of Pattambi police station area, Palakkad District, Kerala state during the period of 1990-1998.





1. PATTAMBI
2. ONGALLUR -I
2. ONGALLUR -II
3. KOPPAM
4. VILAYUR
5. THIRUVEGAPPURA
6. PARUTHOOR
7. MUTHUTHALA
8. KULUKKALLOOR
9. VALLAPPUZHA



AREA OF PATTAMBI POLICE STATION

Population of the Study:

Women complainants of the selected reported cases of the Pattambi police station area for the deep interviews and the inhabitants, both men and women of the ward III of the Ongallur Panchayath for the survey, had been selected.

Sources of Data:

1. The reported cases received from the FIR index of Pattambi police station
2. Deep interviews of 50 affected beings based on the reported cases
3. Survey of 50 male and 50 female respondents selected at random from Ward III of Ongallur Panchayath, which is one of the most densely populated area under Pattambi police station that includes the people of different strata economically, educationally, socially and culturally.

Samples and its selection

The sample of this study has two segments (1) Case study analysis and (2) Statistical analysis. For the case study analysis fifty women complainants of the reported cases of the Pattambi Police Station area under various sections as detailed are selected. The statistical component of the study include fifty men and fifty women inhabitants of the Ward III of Ongallur Panchayath, the sample has been considered with reference to the electoral roll. There are 2480 persons, of which 53.86 % are females and 47.14 % are males. Selection of the respondents for the survey is done in such a way that representative sample from whole area of Ward III is included.

Research Setting:

The field of the empirical investigation is the Pattambi police station area. A detailed depiction is given in the 4th chapter of this report.

Tools of Data collection:

The major tools of data collection used in this study are questionnaire for the survey and interview guide of unstructured questions as the situation demanded. Affected beings of the 50 cases were deep interviewed at their residence after establishing rapport with them. The survey and deep interviews helped us to have a systematic communication with the public, making our interaction more close and cordial.

Non-Sexist Research Methods:

This study adheres to the non-sexist research method as conceived by Margrit Eichler. In her “*Non-sexist Research Methods - A Practical Guide*” she identifies seven types of sexism in conventional research methods, which should be avoided in gender studies research. She divides Sexism in research to the following:

Four primary problems and three derived problems:

Primary Problems:

1. **Androcentricity** - Seeing the social phenomena from a male perspective where man is the actor women are passive objects
2. **Over Generalization** - occurs when a study uses all male subjects or all female subjects but presents the finding in general terms. It may occur at all levels in research in the identification of the research project, in the language and the concepts, methods used in the interpretation used.

3. **Gender Insensitivity** - The conventional research methods ignore gender as an important variable. In women studies research methodology she suggests that it is necessary to take into account the gender of research subjects, respondents, informants, researched and research team. If certain area which differentially sensitive for members of two genders (such as battering abuses, man-woman relationships) responses may vary according to the gender of the interviewer. If participant observation methods are employed the gender of the researcher will be significant.

4. **Double Standards** - Double standard is used when identical behaviours, traits, or situations are evaluated or treated by different means

DERIVED PROBLEMS:

1. **Sex Appropriateness** - Attributing certain behaviour patterns and or character formations as more appropriate to one gender than the other this is a sub form of double standard.

2. **Familism** - Is an extreme form of gender insensitivity. It consists of taking the family as the smallest unit of analysis in cases in which it is in fact individual or a collection of individuals who are engaged in particular action

3. **Sexual Dichotomism** - Is an extreme form of double standard. It treats genders discrete groups with different human attitudes.

This study avoids the above-mentioned problems.

Inter Subjectivity: This study considers intersubjectivity as the objectivity as Marcia Westcott (1979) puts it. She states that women studying women reveals the complex way in which the women as objects of knowledge reflect back upon women as subjects of knowledge. Knowledge of the other and knowledge of the self are mutually informing because “self and other share” a common condition of being women.

Inclusion of emotion: Ann Oakley states that the social structures and knowledge about social structures were built on masculine values that define cognitive intellectual or rational dimensions of experience as superior to being emotional or sentimental. Women studies view that the research should take account of human nature in its totality.

Shulamit Reinharz in her essay on “*Experiential Analysis*” argue that the best way to analyse a research problem is to listen to the experiences of the victims. One of the demerits of experiential analysis suggested by the academics of gender studies are that at times the depicted experiences may not be the actual experience. It may be a story developed by the victim or somebody else. Another problem is that research questions such as atrocities against women may lie unreported since women themselves may not seriously consider those issues to be reported and fought against. Despite all these, to understand the events of atrocities in needs going deep into the reported /depicted experiences of the affected beings.

Actions for change:

- To communicate the findings to all the activists and academics of gender studies
- To conduct workshops, making use of theoretical orientations and documentations of collected data
- Attempt to interact with the planners and policy makers and representatives of local self-government bodies, based on the findings.
- To analyse and thereby planning future activities in the field of women's issues with the aid of spectacles of common women since this project foresees their awareness.
- Awareness campaigns can be planned, co-operating with interested socio-cultural and political organizations, the modes of which will be decided in due course, considering suggestions from the findings of the research.

Chapter IV

RESEARCH SETTING

Pattambi is a narrow strip of land situated in between *Bharathapuzha* and *Thoothapuzha* in the north west corner of the Palakkad district. It stretches out between 10.30° and 11° North latitude and 76° and 77° east latitude. It stands 180 metres high from the sea level.

As per the census of India, 1991 population of Pattambi Block constitute 2,32,425 persons of which 1,21,187 are females and 1,11,238 are males. Sex ratio is 1039 females for 1000 males. Main source of employment is Agriculture.

There are day care centres, primary schools and atleast one high school in each Panchayath. Interest of the parents of the school going children play strong part in the educational scenario. People are more interested in teaching their children so that they could seek permanent job than adapting to traditional sources of employment. There is Government college viz. Sree Neelakanta Government Sanskrit College which was founded in 1911 by Shri. Punnasseri Nambi Neelakanta Sharma on his own interest to educate people.

The Pattambi Block Development Project report of 1997-2002 suggests that the main hindrance to women's development in this area is mainly economic backwardness. It needs bringing women into Agriculture industry and entrepreneurial fields so that they can directly be active in production relations and be autonomous thereby. This report suggests that the health profile of women is not at all satisfactory because as they give more importance to health and nourishment of their children and other members

of the family and give up their health. In addition they observe that there is high rate of unmarried women for they lack enough money to give as dowry. The report infers that it needs a legal cell and women police station at the Block level so that people can act against the atrocities against women legally. The literacy rate of the Block is 88% and that of women literacy is 85%. Out of 53,430 labourers 11,024 are women.

Pattambi Police Station area comprises 8 Panchayath and half portion of one Panchayath. As per the statistics of 1998 it includes the following Panchayaths: Pattambi, Ongallur, Vallappuzha, Koppam, Vilayur, Thiruvegapura, Muthuthala, Paruthur, Kulukkallur (½ portion). Total Population is 2,22,970.

Panchayaths	Total Population
Pattambi	24, 500
<i>Ongallur</i>	<i>34, 900</i>
Vallappuzha	29, 641
Koppam	22, 286
Vilayur	17, 942
Thiruvegapura	26, 562
Muthuthala	18, 768
Paruthur	21, 809
Kulukkallur (1/2 portion)	26, 562
Total	2, 22, 970

Ongallur Grama Panchayath is the most densely populated of the whole Pattambi block – 34,900. Majority earn life through Agriculture, recently trend show that some enter service sector and small-scale entrepreneurial initiatives. People of different religions and various castes live commingled.

They belong to both middle class and working class. The population constitute 55% Hindus 44.5% Muslims and 0.5% Christians. If though class and caste based divisions are there structurally the social situations are not so much tense. There is not much social backwardness thanks to the roles that are played in the national agrarian and social reform movements. If though there is high female ratio, women's presence in public spaces is much low. Though there are a few women who have attained higher education comparatively education of women gets no momentum after high school level. ***“Women are trained to aim marriage as the primary goal in their life, which in turn becomes an impediment to them”***, suggests the development report of the Grama Panchayath.

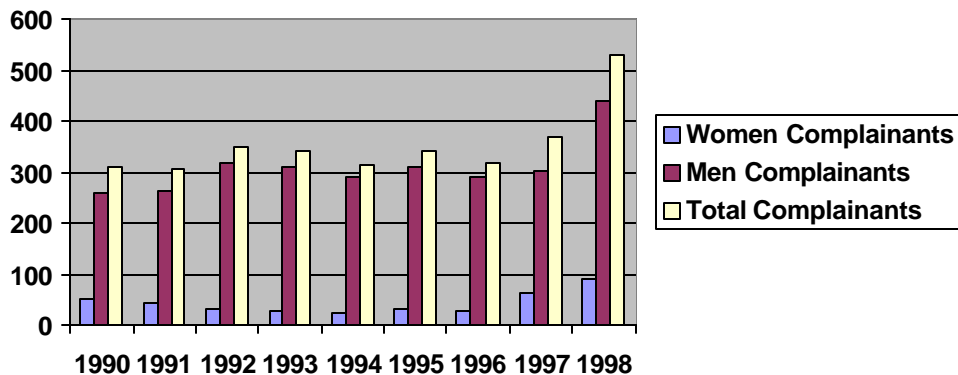
Ward III of Ongallur Grama Panchayath is the highest densely populated ward of the Ongallur Grama Panchayath. The physical and socio-cultural factors of Ward III show that it is the best prototype of the whole Panchayath for conducting this survey.

Chapter V

SECONDARY DATA DETAILS

Source of the secondary data was the FIR Index of Pattambi Police Station Area, in a period of ten years, starting from 1990 January to 1998 December. The area consists of 8½ Panchayath [8 Panchayaths and half portion of one Panchayath]

The secondary data shows that the *reported cases* having women victims are only a few. During 1990-98 (9 years) only 394 cases are being registered; if though the total reported cases constitute 3179. (Ref Tab I) Highest number of cases registered is 531 and highest number of cases having women complainants is 91, both in 1998.



The total cases reported having women litigants in this period can be divided into 14 sections of which reporting of unnatural death stands high with 127 cases. The second highest reported section is interpersonal beatings and violence (91 cases). There are 58 cases registered under section 498(A) dowry demands and related violence. Unnatural death, interpersonal

beatings & violence and dowry demands & related violence had been reported every year.

Decreasing order of the concerned sections and number of cases having women litigants is as follows:

1. Unnatural death	:	127
2. Interpersonal beatings and violence	:	91
3. Dowry demands and related violence	:	58
4. Assault and batterings	:	48
5. Wrongful confinement	:	23
6. Beatings and confrontations	:	17
7. Rape	:	8
8. Women missing	:	8
9. Using obscene languages and actions	:	4
10. Kidnapping	:	3
11. Murder	:	3
12. Atrocities against SC/ST	:	2
13. Polluting water used by public with wastes	:	1
14. Forceful abortion	:	1

1. Unnatural Death: The Secondary data shows that out of all the reported cases under different sections; Unnatural death counts 127 Nos while the total reported cases having women victim during the period of 1990-1998 are 394 (Ref.Tab.XII). Maximum number of reported unnatural death is 25 in 1990. In 1998 there had been 16 reported cases under this section of which Crime No. 94/98 had been altered to 304, IPC. "Unnatural death" doesn't have a particular section and the usual procedure in the police station in this regard is to inquest the body send for post-mortem etc., and after getting all the details of this "mechanical" enquiry prepare the final report and

"close" the file. All the cases under "unnatural death" suggest some physical or psychological stress and strain the victims suffer, at the time of their death. The social institutions and the legal provisions have no sensible sections enabling the probing in detail. This limits the deep analysis of the stress these women suffered, which again curtails the remedial measures to be taken to transform the mentality of the people.

In the next stage of this research, during field work and primary data collection the direction of enquiry was to understand why and how these "policings" reached such a state that there is not even a particular section to probe "unnatural death" and how these should-not-be-repeated-suicides (!) go on happening, can we have measures to assist such individuals and distract them from self-immolations, if so, how can we have self help groups that safeguard the affected ones etc. Paradoxically, the main problem is that the victims in these cases are "no more". Why "unnatural deaths" are the only ones reported more, directs us to the point that if unreported it might create problems to the "connected beings". Just to make the lives of connected beings safe, the "ritual" of reporting happens; but of course softening the otherwise seriousness of the situation. This makes the further procedures "easier", as the investigating police officers informally suggested. This gives ample points to suspect whether these deaths are simply "unnatural" ones as the police records suggest or grave and shocking aftermath of the "unnatural" experiences they had had during their life? "Social activists can do a lot in this regard," opined one police officer. One police officer we met from Pattambi Police Station suggested that it is for the social activists, to mobilise the social consciousness towards such cases and raise mass protest, if these unnatural deaths are to be proved according to "what is what". This directs us to the understanding that ***the Police officials***

are not being trained in a gender-sensitive manner, to be themselves socially active, so that they can act in a more responsible way beyond expecting or waiting always for the intervention of "social activists" or public.

2. Interpersonal Beatings and Violence: Barring the above, it is seen reported that women are commonly being "man handled" during word battles with neighbours about the border of their lands and on such property problems. There are only sections like 323 & 324 etc. for filing and charging these cases concerning these physical attacks, which are common to both men and women. These sections never consider the "disadvantages", the common women may have in resisting and retorting during such situations. At times it is seen they would be held atrociously, catching their long hairs and attacking their physique. But most of these cases will be again attacked by "counter cases" and then the parties will be seen "compounding" without considering the opinions of the disadvantaged who are suffering not only of beating but for "just being women". Here beatings and attacks are from man and the affected woman's side is that of a subservient sufferer both physically and socially. The social system will never provide situation for women to understand their own "potential" as human being - Even the very reporting, procedures therein, discussions and compromise talks will always be "handled" by the "men-guardians" (fathers, brothers, sons etc) of the affected women. In almost all cases the women complainants do not know "the present condition of the case". It will not be at the woman's interests all these proceedings will be happening, they are being fooled by the thought that "the accused will be punished one day". Almost in all cases the reality is that these cases are being compounded, without even intimating it to the "actual complainant". Total numbers of cases reported in the period of study under this

section (physical battles) is 84. Police officials are of opinion that there is possibility that most of the cases under these sections to be "mistakes of facts". It is as easier and soft way of handling with more criminal attitudes and events, both officially and socially, so that the accused will be brought to the police station "for name sake" and there will be compromise talks in the presence of SI of police and after some sittings and discussions in police stations, the cases will be "compounded". It seems police officers also deal with such cases without much seriousness since they remark it as "all these are part of life". Anyhow without much tension on the side of investigators and accused the cases get compromised in which no gender sensitive issues get considered and debated.

3. Dowry Demands and Related Violence: Third maximum reported section is that of dowry demands (section 498 –A) at times even leading to dowry death. There are total number of 58 cases reported during 1990 -98. It is shocking to notice that in 1998 there had been 26 cases reported. During all the other yearly periods the cases reported were less than 10 (i.e. between 1-7 only). This leads us to connect these issues to the increasing economic crunch in the society along with several other socio-cultural factors.

The cases reported under 498(A) also remind us that the "dowry problem" affects the daily life of women -- resulting in beatings, batterings and all sorts of threats. Women hesitate to seek legal assistance and other institutional provisions from Police & State mainly because, they are dependant on their "owners" and have to return to the very same persons, even after reporting the cases and face the aftermath of "reporting" the atrocity, and they primarily internalise the normative aspect of the role of a traditional wife. It is to be noted that The Dowry

Prohibition Act of 1962, is not enough to safeguard the lives of women; Ironically “dowry demand” is increasing in our social situations, once again asserting the argument that women are properties handled over from fathers to husbands along with gold and money. Despite dowry demand being a criminal offence, interacting agents do not see anything unjust in dowry demands. This situation leads us to think aloud that women have no access to property from her side or partner's side in her whole life.

4. Rapes and punishment (*section 371 to 376 IPC*) reported during this period (1990-98) are 8 only. 5 kidnapping cases and 49 physical and sexual assaults had been reported (refer table 12 of secondary data).

Physical assaults and Rape cases are the least reported. It doesn't mean that such cases are not happening. Why these are not being reported and what are the factors hindering the victims from seeking justice etc. are discussed in detail, in the deep interview depictions.

5. Woman Missing: If though there are sections for 'Kidnapping' and 'Abductions', this sub-head has no particular section to quote. During the reference period of study (1990 to 98) only 6 cases had been reported.

Crime No. 135/91 had been reported on 5/6/91. The astonishing factor of this case is that "event of missing" had taken place four years before the reporting of the same. The case is "undetected" till this date. *Abdurahiman*, the complainant, had reported that his daughter *Jameela* (44 years) had been missing for the last 4 years; from his own house. The mere 'reporting' makes the researchers confused that 'why it was

reported, so late'? and why it had been reported at that time ? Was motive behind it to search and find out her? All these are probed in detail, during deep interview.

As per *Crime No. 190/93*, *Govindankutty* reported on 26/7/93, that his mother (70 yrs) was missing for the last 9 days.

As per *Crime No 429/98*, *Sarfunnissa (17 yrs)* who was studying in 10th Standard, had been missing from her home from 21/10/98, as reported by *Muhammed*, her father, on 23/10/98. She had been to School, but didn't return in the evening. Later, as per FIR INDEX, this case had been altered into section 363, 366(c) and 376 IPC under "grave crime"; the accused in this case is one Shamsudeen (27) who kidnapped the girl and raped. The accused had been arrested 3/11/98. The case is going on.

One of the most confusing observations based on secondary data is that no "dowry deaths" and "female infanticide" are being reported in this area. We cannot directly come to the conclusion that no "dowry" problem exists in this area of study. Since cases of dowry demands and related violence are reported. The increased number of "unnatural death" directs us to something serious to be found out from the "field", enquiring based on the reported cases of unnatural death. For example, Crime No 94/98 had been reported as suspected suicide - under unnatural death. But actually during investigation, it had been proved that the victim - Suhara - was stabbed to death by her elder brother-in-law. She was having 9 deep wounds on her neck, as per the post-mortem report, told her relatives to us during deep interview. The case had been altered to IPC 304 later.

- 6. Sexual Assault and batterings:** During 1998, 48 cases reported under the Sections 351 to 354 IPC. Almost all the cases are reported to have taken place, in the domestic atmosphere, barring a few. The accused forcefully enter the house of the accuser, kicking, catching her breast and biting the body parts, tearing off the dress, forcefully kissing etc. are some events of atrocities reported under these sections.
- 7. Wrongful confinement:** 23 cases of wrongful confinement under 339 to 348 had been reported during 1990-98. Hindering the path way, attacking by forcefully entering the house, slapping with chappals, cycle chain and sticks, cutting on the head with knife, catching the neck and threatening to kill for personal grudge and for not getting family property etc. are some events reported.
- 8. Beatings and confrontations:** Attacking the accuser with pickaxe, knife, torch, iron bar, stones, plastic bucket, household utensils and making wounds for having personal grudge and during word battles regarding family properties have been reported under 324 IPC, constituting 17 cases.
- 9. Using obscene languages and actions:** Threatening and eve-teasing using obscene languages and entering the house by breaking gate, raising pickaxe against the accuser etc. are the coming under the brief of the events of atrocities under this section, as per FIR Index.
- 10. Kidnapping:** There are three cases reported under this section, Crime Nos. 96/97 and 206/97 had been deep interviewed. As per the 280/90 on 31/12/90 Jameela W/o Vasu Pancharathupadi, Churakode was kidnapped by Hamza Karuparambil (2) Kondottil Moideen and a

gang of 10 people and were taken to Ponnani for marriage as per muslim custom. A1 kidnapped the victim from there, leaving Vasu alone at Ponnani. In this case Jameela and Vasu already living together despite they were born to different religions. Vasu belongs to SC (Vettuva) and Jameela is a Muslim by origin. The police record shows that Vasu was taken to Ponnani for conversion so that he can marry Jameela as per the religious regulations. But from Ponnani Jameela was taken forcefully by the group deserting Vasu there. This is a particular example of how the disadvantaged and underprivileged ones like Vasu and Jameela are being 'utilised'. The case was reported on 6/12/90 by Vasu, was charged on 27/12/91 and all the accused were acquitted under section 248 (1) CRPC on 2/9/92.

11. Murder: Three murder cases had been reported during the period of study. As per Cr. No. 28/90 Sheeba, a five year old child D/o Perachan Mannumpalliyalil, Maruthur was reportedly attacked by Vasu, her father's brother. The brief of the FIR Index is as follows: the sleeping child was cut by a sword, hospitalised on 17/1/90 discharged on 21/1/90. Admitted again on 13/2/90 referred to medical college on 14/2/90 but died before reaching there. The remarks suggest that accused was arrested on 18/1/90, charged on 20/10/90. Accused acquitted under section 248 (1) on 14/9/92 postmortem report says that she died, as she was sick. Here it is to be noted that all socio-legal institutional provisions failed to probe whether the prior attack by the accused was causal or correlated to her becoming sick and dying.

As per crime no.211/90 Thankamony alias Devaki (32) W/o Pazhani Ongallur Pattambi had been reportedly seen dead. The death was suspected as a murder by strangling as if to rob the gold ornaments,

worth Rs.3000/- during noon on 29/8/90. The case was reported by Pazhani. There were a lot of hue and cry regarding the case the action council demanded the arrest of the accused. The police officials failed to detect the murderer and the file was transferred to CBI.

As per crime no.93/93, Parvathy (34) D/o Kuttappan Elankavu Muttathu, Veerajpettah was reported to have seen dead (on 17/3/93) The case was reported by The SI of Police on 19/3/93. The FIR Index mentions the case as follows" A dead body inside a sack was seen floating in Bharathapuzha river, Hands and legs of the body had been chopped and tied in a mat and put inside the sack". File had been transferred to CBI on 7/12/94 for special investigation but the CBI also could not find out the murderer though they made clear that it was a murder.

12. Prevention of atrocities against SC/ST: There are two cases reported under this section 509 IPC - 3(1) X(1). The victim of the Crime Number 293/92 is Elizabeth P Kora (8) D/o Sara, Lecturer Govt. Sanskrit College, Pattambi. The accused of this case is P M Chandramohan, Scientific Asst. Soil Research Lab. Agri University Pattambi. The brief tells us that the accused did sexual assault on the Girl from Pattambi Govt. UP School at 3.30 PM. The victim belongs to Mala-Araya Caste (Converted Christian-ST). The accused arrested on 12/11/92 and charged on 30/4/93. The case is before Supreme Court.

As per the Cr. No. 76/93 Reena (15) Thrayaparambil Neriya Mangalam (SC-Kanakkan) was attacked by Prasad Exec. Officer, Muthuthala Panchyath. FIR suggests assault on the person, blocking her path and beating on the face of the victim. Accused was arrested on 4/3/93 and charged on 27/5/93. Later he was acquitted on 15/2/94.

13. Polluting water used by public with wastes : Crime No. 219/91 reveals that Gopalan, Vikraman, Thadaparambath Krishnakumar, Olencherry Gopalan and a gang of 10 members polluted drinking water of the complainant's well using excreta on 4/10/91, it was reported on 5/10/91. The complainant is Thara W/o Sivasankaran, Siva Nivas, Amayur. The case was undetected and closed on 21/1/92.

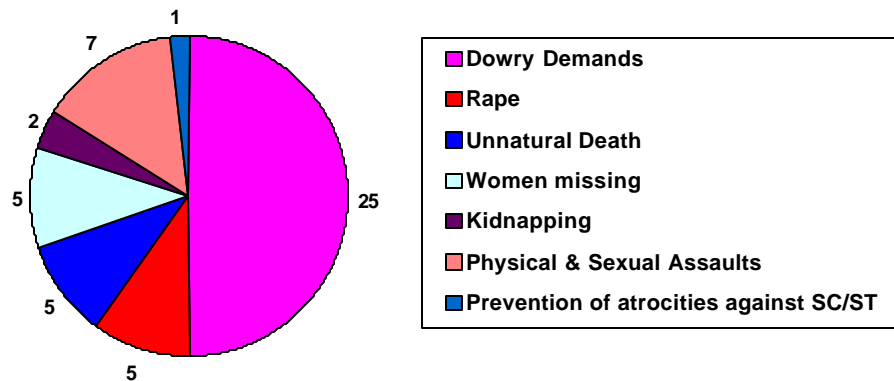
14. Forceful abortion: Only one case is reported under this section during this period. Crime No. 102/90 shows that Kunchi W/o Krishnankutty, Arandapilliyil, Karambathur, Pallipuram forced by Chandru, Payilipara on 27/3/90 to have medicine for aborting the pregnancy due to her illicit relationship with him. The case was reported on 1/4/90. Later it was considered as mistake of fact and closed on 15/5/90.

Chapter VI

Details of Deep Interview

Based on the secondary data, collected from the FIR index of Pattambi Police Station area, selected reported cases during 1990-98 had been interviewed deeply as mentioned below:

Chart 1



Distribution of 50 deep interviewed cases

During the selection of the cases for the deep interview we were careful to consider cases belonging to all socio-economic strata including working class, lower middle class and upper middle class people. It included women who worked as 'coolies', clerks, those who earned their lives as teachers and professors. It also included women who did not have any independent job and earnings and lived dependently on the earnings of their 'husbands and parents'.

Dowry Demands (Section 498-A):

The secondary data shows that there is an unimaginable increase in the reported cases of dowry demands which reminds us the urgency of seeking measures to understand the complex socio-economic factors involved in the issue and to analyse how the complexity of day to day life is entangled by the traditional cultural tags and fundamental social institutions like marriage and family.

The following table show the distributions of the crime numbers that had been selected from the reported cases for deep interview against the total number of reported cases from 1990 to 1998, per each year.

Year	Crime No.	Total No. Interviewed under Section 498 -A	Total No. reported under Section 498 -A
1990	269	1	4
1991	33,144	2	6
1992	--	-	1
1993	19,180	2	3
1994	262	1	3
1995	96,137	2	7
1996	60	1	4
1997	17,69,338	3	4
1998	6,24,36,49,58,132,136, 214,279,342,441,490, 497	13	26
		25	58

All the 25 respondents told us that they were having marriages arranged by their families as per the religious regulations. This reminds how strongly people cling to the institutional provisions and there by maintain and perpetuate the traditional nature of the social institution “marriage”, by

actively and interestedly participating in all the formalities therein. Mate selection of the respondents of Crime No. 144/91 was a self-choice, but they were also married as per “regulations” and customs. This forced us to check and code the religious affiliations of the respondents, if though we were opinionated that "all religions uplift patriarchal ideology".

In 1992 only one case had been reported under 498(A). Crime No. 213/92, as per FIR Index of Pattambi police station. "The accused Moidunni married Fathima as per religious regulations. He sold her ornaments "he" received at the time of marriage and sent her home to bring dowry. It is to be noted here that it is “he” who is receiving the ornaments, but not “she”. He sent her home on 24/7/92 and Fathima's family reported the case to the police on 1/8/92, the accused surrendered in the court on 20/11/92, the case was charged on 26/11/92. Later the accused was acquitted on 8/7/93 under section 248(I). This case was not interviewed deeply further.

BEENA

Only one respondent (262/94) had a bachelor's degree (in commerce) and she works in railway. She is divorced now after a whole lot of disturbance from her partner. The case started on 25/01/94 as per police records Filed On 26/10/94. They stopped action on 30/11/94. At the time of noting down the secondary data from FIR index of the Pattambi Police Station, the police constables present there assured us that the case is "mistake of fact". Police records also show that the case is "mistake of fact". When we visited Beena, complainant of this case, the description regarding her short span of married life she depicted to us was horribly disturbing. She got job in the railway after her father's sudden demise, he being a railway employee. The person who married was one of her colleagues who pampered her a lot for marrying him and at last she decided to marry. It was a purely arranged marriage as

far as she was concerned. From the very first day of marriage her partner and in-laws started harassing her. Within a few days she came to understand that it was not to the in-laws liking their marriage had been taken place, but for the threats of her partner that he will marry her only. But actually he was interested not in her "person" but her earnings and ornaments, she added. They didn't give him dowry at the time of marriage, but off and on he started complaining about the scarcity of money. During the early-married life he asked her to withdraw money from her bank account but later he started compelling her to sign on all cheque leaves and step-by-step started dealing with all her earnings. He always told lies which she could never bear, he used to beat her regularly but her dissents were mere silence. On becoming angry, by nature, she used to sit silently without even speaking to him, as she depicted to us. But her dissents never affected him he didn't even get the meaning of her silence. He didn't like her visiting her home. In spite of all these humiliations, during his younger sister's marriage, she gave her ornaments to her and during those times they behaved nicely to her, but only for a short period. Being in the same office he used to spread false stories to their colleagues regarding their "private life" even, which made her very uneasy. He used to physically attack her, he doubted her and strictly directed not to talk to male co-workers. After one habitual abortion she was compelled to conceive immediately if though the doctor suggested that she could conceive only after six months. She delivered an unhealthy child having heart disease and on 79^h day the child died. He was with her when the child was hospitalised but he didn't give enough attention later. He didn't even come for the burial of the kid. Her in-laws didn't visit her at least once, even during those days of distress.

These events made her, family and friends to rethink about their relation. Everybody suggested, "Why should she need such a fellow as her partner". After long discussions they decided not to send her to him and one day her

brother, who is physically handicapped, went to take all her household items. For these her partner and elder brother (who is also working in railway, in the same office) filed a petition against them, mentioning that the brother attacked them by forcefully entering the house. She was totally distracted since within two or three days after her little one's death she had to step to the police station, she told. All these necessitated a situation that they filed a petition under section 498 (A) IPC, against him. The CI of police also directed them to do it. At the time of beatings and scolding from his side, when they were living together, she told us she beared with silence, thinking that every thing would be good in future. But by the time of filing the case, which should have been done earlier, the very much-anticipated future was over and she had to accept the grave decision of divorce from her partner's side, on 29/5/95. ***Now also she cannot understand for what he pampered, married her and she don't know why he divor ced her,*** she told us. Even now, she hadn't recognised the productive and creative aspect, she herself had in knitting her life. All these happened in her life without getting enough time for her to think for a while and decide between "this or that" and "how or later", as she described the state of affairs. These awful statements remind us that her role in "her own life " was that much "passive" even at passionate times. This incident shows that there had been a lot of atrocities showered on her during their married life. If it had been exposed then and there it would have helped to tide over the unbearable situations more tolerantly with the help of her close family associates, as her brother lamented during the interview. Anyhow her brother and mother gave strong support to her in facing all the disturbing events. Their case needed deep consideration and many facts were to be probed in detail, instead of closing the case as "mistake of fact". The problem with the dealing of these cases is that the officials, whether it be of Police or court have a lot of limitations and these institutions always consider the case through the narrow paths of the particular "sections" under which it is reported. These portfolios are not at

all gender sensitive in their make up or practices and never analyse or raise the question " why is it that these subordinations are to be continued like this?" Hence all these cases end in added atrocities against the women concerned. These institutions and women and men involved in making the institution in turn append to perpetuate such situations, thus doing the duties fixed to them, by the very domineering social scenario.

*Table based on the Commonalities observed
from the deep interviews of 498 A – Dowry demands*

Sl. No	Crime No.	Age at marriage	Religious affiliation	Nature of marriage	Education	Employ -ment	Dowry Given
1	269/90	19	Hindu	Arranged	10 th	Nil	Rs. 8000/- & 8 Pavans gold
2	33/91	14	Muslim	"	8 th	Nil	Rs. 5000/- & 5 Pavans gold
3	144/91	20	Hindu	Self choice	6 th	Yes Koolie	No
4	19/93	13	Muslim	Arranged	9 th	Nil	Rs. 10000/- & 20 Pavans gold
5	180/93	14	"	"	9 th	"	Rs. 10000/- & 10 Pavans gold
6	96/95	18	"	"	7 th	"	Rs. 7500/- & 5 Pavans gold
7	137/95	16	"	"	8 th	"	Rs. 10000/- & 5 Pavans gold
8	60/96	14	"	"	9 th	"	Rs. 10000/- & 15 Pavans gold
9	17/97	20	Hindu Sc	"	10 th	Koolie	Rs. 3000/- & 7 Pavans gold
10	338/97	13	Muslim	"	8 th	Nil	Rs. 40000/- & 40 Pavans gold
11	262/94	20	Hindu	"	B.Com.	Yes, Railway	No
12	69/97	16	Hindu	"	1 st PDC	Nil	No
13	6/98	17	Muslim	"	10 th	Nil	Rs. 15000/- & 9 Pavans gold
14	24/98	18	Hindu	"	10 th	Yes Tailoring	Do not reveal
15	36/98	15	Muslim	"	9 th	Nil	Rs. 35000/- & 20 pavans gold
16	49/98	18	Hindu	"	9 th	Yes Sales	Rs. 25000/-

17	58/98	28	"	"	Nil	Yes Gold work	Rs.4500/- & 12 Pavans gold
18	132/98	14	Muslim	"	9 th	Nil	Rs.15000/- & 20 Pavans gold
19	136/98	16	"	"	6 th	Nil	Rs. 8000/-, 8 Pavans gold & 5 Cents
20	214/98	14	"	"	Nil	Nil	Rs.50000/- & 50 Pavans gold
21	279/98	15	"	"	10 th	Nil	Rs.30000/- & 30 Pavans gold
22	342/98	17	"	"	7 th	Nil	Rs. 8000/- & 8 Pavans gold
23	441/98	16	Hindu	"	N.A	Nil	Rs.10000/- & 10 Pavans gold
24	490/98	24	"	"	N.A	Koolie	Rs. 27000/- & 16 Pavans gold
25	497/98	17	Hindu	"	4 th	N.A	Rs.15000/- & 6 Pavans gold

VALLI

Out of the 25 respondents, 19 beared beatings from mothers/sisters-in –law, along with the beatings from partners. Respondent of Crime no. 144/91, who had been 20 years at the time of marriage, married a Tamilian who had no family. It was a self-choice-marriage at least in the case of partner selection. As she told us after some days he started showing his "real face", Bhaskaran threatened Valli, she was forced, not to talk to other men, even to her brother, with whom she used to go for ‘Koolie work’, before marriage. Her brother, sister-in-law their son and Bhaskaran were working in the same field, It belonged to one “Dubai Moideen”, Valli also used to go for work. But one day he told Bhaskaran “Valli is beautiful, She suits him well and he also is interested in “having” her. This made Valli furious she scolded Moideen and she stopped going there. Bhaskaran slowly started “manhandling” her, as she described, “I suffered my maximum” thinking that, after all he is her “partner”. But one day after a fierce word-battle, he

caught her by her long hair and cut her ear to take her earrings, it was bleeding and her brother came to safeguard her. He retorted and hit him also. Seeing this Valli took all her strength, caught him by the collar, pulled him towards the walls and gave heavy blows. Then her neighbours intervened and threatened him that if he came there once again they would cut his hands and feet. One month later, he came again, neighbours caught hold of him. Valli, thinking that he should not be handled by 'others', (as he is her partner) told her neighbours not to intervene. But she retorted to Bhaskaran, at the same time, telling him not to come to her again. One day, accidentally, she saw Bhaskaran lying with another woman. He challenged her and told, "This is my woman, she is better than you". This made her angry. One day Bhaskaran took some of her "sarees and ornaments" and went away. (She didn't give dowry at the time of marriage.) Later he didn't return. Finally she decided to file a petition against him as he cheated her. Her brother's son, Haridasan helped her to go to the Police Station. The case was charged; later she came to understand that he had been arrested, had had trial in the court and he was put in the jail for 6 months. They got divorced. This case also had been reported under 498(A). One of the police officers told us that there is no special section to penalize those who "desert" their family, and it is not treated as crime. Here the point to be noted is not that whether the case is a crime or not, but structural properties of the institutions like police and the state are in such a particular manner that they are always interested in seeking the only way of "penalizing the accused". They are least bothered about how the whole situation affects the very life of the "human beings" involved. When we visited Valli the complainant of this case we saw her living very happily with one of her cousins. She told us ***"It needs no 'Thaali& Maala' to make it a marriage."*** She opined very enthusiastically, she understood from her own experience, that ***only love and mutual understanding will serve man-woman relationship.*** Valli's readiness to face even the most unfavourable situations, her energetic

expressions, strong opinions all these made us think that now she is happy with 'Mani' her second partner and 2 sons, Arun & Varun.

On Dowry & Remarriage

Respondents of Crime no.262/94,69/97&24/98 didn't mention the amount and the quantity of gold ornaments they had "given" as dowry at the time of marriage. All the other respondents clearly depicted the "amount& pavans" *(It's worth quoting here that from 1962 onwards dowry had been prohibited in our country. Both asking and giving dowry are criminal offences as per legal provisions.)*

Out of 25, only three respondents had got remarried and living with their partners "happily". All these three women have no children in their first marriage. Man & woman of Crime No. 33/91 got compromised later. Clients of Cr.No.19/93 compromised after six years gap, she told us, she succumbed because of having two children. Her partner has remarried and she also is living with them. Possibilities of remarriages for women are correlated with the presence or absence of children.

RAJI

The affected beings of 17/97& 69/97 are no more. The case of Raji, Crime No. 17/97 is one of the most pathetic issues. She was the only female child in the family. Her mother died during her childhood. Her father nurtured her along with three brothers. Now also they are living together happily, with their life partners "under one roof", as they told us during deep interview.

The victim's youngest sister-in-law narrated the case to us. "It was reported as suicide due to poisoning. She was married with him, giving Rs.3000/- and 17 pavans of gold. She was twenty years old then. Her partner, the only son of his mother was a drunkard & spendthrift. It was his hobby to go for gambling. Mother-in-law, who earned their life, used to tell her if she wanted to "fill her belly" she should go for work. She didn't even allow her to have enough food. Her scolding compelled her to go for "koolie" work. Without any disturbance to anybody she used to go for work and live there, if though her "partner" always forcefully took away the money she earned and continued gambling." As per this narration, **"she was not a pessimist by nature and she could not have committed suicide."** Her sister-in-law assured us "she would not have done it, for she loved her aged father & her brothers intensely, she had that much freedom to demand or seek all support from her family. Moreover **she loved life that much.**" She could not help crying as she told us "Our girl didn't even get timely medical attention. We received the dead body only after three days. They didn't give us the post-mortem report even."

The tragic turn of events in this case is that the govt. advocate took initiative to compound the case through the advocate of the accused. Father with tears falling through his cheeks murmured, as if to him "There was political intervention and he got bail. We have no money to follow the case and it is very much difficult to prove how she died for they had left no clue at all." The helplessness in the eyes of that father and the sister-in-law haunts us now also.

KADEEJA & SABIRA

The case of crime no.342/98 had been reported under Section.498 (A) The FIR index suggests, "On 24/7/98 & before the accused – “husband” harassed the affected one physically & mentally, complained that the ornaments and the dowry “he” received at the time of marriage was not enough." The case was charged on 30/9/98 and the accused got bail from the session's court on 19/10/98. Bearing in mind all these points we visited the affected one, Kadeeja, and came to understand that the atrocities she experienced during her married life cannot be reduced to a mere Section 498(A), if though it is considered as "grave crime" as per police proceedings. Our vocabulary fails to depict all her experiences, with the same intensity. Anyhow what she and her eldest daughter narrated to us are as follows. "Kadeeja studied up to seventh standard. Her family, included Umma, Uppa and six children, was so poor that she had to stop studying to look after youngsters. When she was 17 years old she married with Shawkath who was working in Gulf then.

After 5 years of their marriage, he returned from Gulf and started doing some business. Now for the last four years they have no connection. Kadeeja is having two girls & one boy in this relation. Eldest daughter Sabira had to stop going to school, from tenth standard. After the separation, her Uppa (-Shoukath) forcefully took her to his house for two times. This incident compelled her not to get out of her home alone. She is scared of her father for he behaves to her “not like a father”. Shawkath come to the ‘*madrasa*’ (religious study centre) always and disturbs the youngsters also. Kadeeja says ***‘our situation is so fierce that even my children's education is about to stop. He is harassing us throughout our life***, if though we luckily escaped from him’. At first we didn't get what she meant. But later we were to read between the

lines. It seemed to us that Sabira who knows all the issues very well, is a strong support to her Umma. He used to beat all of them. If though they filed a petition to get maintenance for the children they didn't get "justice" from the police or anywhere else.

Though we visited them to interview Kadeeja what we heard from Sabira made our thoughts topside down. Kadeeja told us that when she conceived her fourth one, she was forcefully aborted, as he doubted her. He even "misbehaved" to Sabira. One day as Kadeeja was taking rest after the forced abortion, she suggested her daughter, who always slept with her during nights, to go to the other room where her father and youngsters lied, so that she needed some solitude after the whole process of abortion and mental tensions. That night Sabira's Uppa asked her to do "uncanny things", Sabira told us. Sabira was frightened and she returned to her mother, crying that she'll never go to her Uppa to lie with. Kadeeja went to him and shouted to him, "What did you do to my child?" He retorted to her "You are responsible for it. If it was my child I would not have felt like that towards her."

She felt as if her nerves were breaking into pieces. They told the issue to Shawkath's mother and brother. Their response was quite unnatural. They told "Both Kadeeja and Sabira were mad". This made her most disturbed and she decided to go to her "poor" family to secure her daughter from her own father. We intervened, "What did your father do to you, Sabira?" She told us in a very cold tone "What Uppa needed was to make me behave as his wife. He asked me to lie under him and....."(Sabira was studying in eighth standard then.) We noticed, even though Sabira had to redefine her relationship with her "Uppa" later, she calls him "Uppa", now also.

Kadeeja told us "he is living happily with his second wife in the house, which had been bought with the help of her father." (Kadeeja's father gave

him 50% of the cost of the house. But they could not ask it back since there is no written document to prove the same.)

How this situation is to be disentangled they do not know. They are on the verge of perish. Their economic position also is not good. But she hopefully waits for a better future, through her children, though Shawkath's shadow is haunting them.

MINI

Out of 25 respondents, barring one who is working in Railway, a B.Com. Degree holder, the only one to step to college education, after her marriage was the victim of 69/97. She was married after passing tenth Std. She became pregnant when she was studying for pre degree first year and stopped going to the college. In 1997 she died from her partner's house due to burning (pouring kerosene on the body). The same had been reported under section 498(A) later altered to 497&306 IPC. We visited the victim's house and her mother bursting into tears described all the stories. As she told us, her daughter was happily living in her partner's house with her in-laws. Her partner was employed in Gulf. Their son was four and a half years old, at the time of her death. As Mini's mother told us, "Her mother in-law used to complain their close relatives that Mini was having "sexual relationship" with her younger brother in-law." She used to scold and harass her, always shouting at her "You destroyed my son". Mini's mother told us "Mini was a happy child but after her marriage she was at times gloomy for her partner was away from her. ***She liked to have a partner who lived with her always.*** But they thought since he was in Gulf their economic situation will be safe. But all these didn't save her life. After a long gap of three years when her partner returned from Gulf, Mini became pregnant for the second time, Her partner suspected that it was not his, for he heard from his mother that she had relation with his brother. He forced her to abort. She unwillingly underwent

abortion, after returning from the hospital she was reported to have committed suicide due to burning, herself pouring kerosene on her body. Mini's mother could not stop crying, ***"I lost everything. I lost my only child.*** Her son is with his father. He is remarried now. His brother also got married and living happily. Now also Mini's family members are suspicious about the incident. They cannot even imagine that she died on her own. They don't know what was the reason behind it. Mini's mother asks to herself" Why her daughter had to put such an end to her life? Was it because of her husband's scolding & harassment for she being in love with his brother? Or were all these mere stories? Was her mother-in-law spreading rumours regarding "such a love affair"? Are they culprits in this case?" All these turned unanswered questions.

SULFATH

Sulfath the affected person of Crime no.19/93, Is the only daughter of Mimuna. Five years after Mimuna's marriage Sulfath was born. Till then they lived very happily. Her in-laws and partner were very much attached to her. Mimuna "was brought" to her home for delivery. At that time her partner fell in love with one of his employees. (He was a road contractor) and brought her home. His father strongly agitated against it and told him that his daughter in-law is Mimuna and he could not consider the new one as his daughter in-law. Mohammed, her partner got out of the house with that woman. Mimuna didn't know all these issues and some days after her delivery she returned to her partner's house with the new born. At that time Mohammed came home and pleaded her to excuse him, telling her "what happened cannot be undone. It was a sudden shock to her that "what happened cannot be undone" She could not bear it and returned to her home telling him she "won't excuse him for this betrayal on his part. She nurtured Sulfath with the help of her relatives. She earned her living by teaching tailoring. Sulfath has studied upto ninth Std. At that time she was "married

to" Abdul Azees, one businessman giving a dowry of Rs.10000 and 20 pavans. Azees had two sisters, two brothers, mother and father at home. At first mother in law behaved lovingly to Sulfath. Later she started "dealing with her". Sulfath had to do all the household works. By that time she delivered a girl, Shinu. She was not allowed to take enough food. She was given "a little rice only" without curry and side dishes. She didn't tell these things even to her mother Mimuna. But on her visit to Sulfath's she accidentally saw it. She enquired why it was so. Answer came from Mother in law that she used to "vomit", for she was pregnant. Her in laws always compelled her to sign on a paper in which it was written that she didn't like her partner. Mimuna told us. Their aim was to dissolve the marriage and make arrangements for Azees' second marriage. Later Mimuna came to understand from the neighbours that Azeez's mother used to demoralize Sulfath through character assassination. One night they beat her severely and Azees, with one of his friends brought her home and returned at once. Sulfath's relatives hospitalised her. On seeing the physical situation of the patient the doctor compelled Sulfath's relatives to file a petition with the police. Only at the time of filing the petition Sulfath told her worst experiences she had had from her partner's house. During second delivery "partner" or his family didn't help her in any way. On their return from the hospital mother in law came to see the newborn. Sulfath's mother told her that they should not have behaved so cruelly to her.

Mother in law retorted that her son would get enough and more girls if he needed. Azeez came to see Sulfath only on the 90th day of her delivery. Mimuna told us that he was received very happily. It is quite astonishing that despite all these traumas their life went on normally, as if nothing had happened. But Mimuna told him that she would take care of Sulfath and children if they once again challenge her. Azeez sent his brother in law as a mediator. Mimuna told him all the stories and said that she would not sent

her daughter back to such a serious situation. Within no time Azeez married another woman. Hearing all these narrations Sulfath sat thoughtfully. We asked her why you are silent and keep aloof from "your own experiences". She just laughed. Mimuna continued. One day Sulfath was hospitalised for appendicitis operation. At that time Azees' father had had some cardiac problems and was hospitalised there. This created an atmosphere for their reunion. Azees' father died from the hospital and Mimuna& her son went for the funeral, as it was informed to them. Later after Sulfath's return from the hospital Azees started telephoning Sulfath and expressed his wish to see his children. Their family meeting took place and they decided to permit him to come (but not to stay there) if Sulfath is interested. Azees suggested that he is ready to give up his second wife. But Mimuna disagreed to it telling "Don't spoil the life of another girl and make her a destitute as you have done to my daughter." (Sulfath laughs....)

Mimuna repeatedly told us that ***Sulfath is so "poor" a girl that despite all these atrocious situations, she didn't reciprocate but simply laugh***. She told us that she is not astonished to see her adjusting to her "husband" even after all these violations. Finally, on January 1st 1999, Azees confessed for each and every atrocity he had done to Sulfath and family. Later from 14th February onwards he started once again coming to them attending her "basic needs" and case was withdrawn after a long gap of almost 6 years. When we were about to return we asked her "How is your life now"? The answer was a continuous laugh.

RANI

Rani the complainant of the Crime No. 49/98 belongs to a well off family residing at Koppam, Pattambi. In her childhood she lost her father who was working in the customs department. Rani's mother, a teacher, looked after her and her sister without any serious problem. Rani discontinued her studies from 9th standard onwards. Her mother told us that she was not good at her studies. On getting 18 years old she was married to Krishnankutty, S/o. Kuttimalu, Muthuthala, He was a "psychic case" as Rani told us. He doubted her for having illicit relationships with other men. ***She was not "allowed even to talk to others.*** Actually Rani was disinterested in this marriage. Basically she didn't like him. But because of the compulsion of the "family" she succumbed to marriage. They lived together only for 15 days. During this time he demanded Rani to bring him 5000 and more from her family. But she was reluctant to it. During the next fortnight the police caught him for carrying "gancha" with him. Rani came home and her mother decided, "not to send her" again to the partner's. They had given Rs.25000 and some furniture as dowry. But they didn't get those back. Rani's mother told us "on what basement and surety would we send her to his house?" They got divorced after two years, after getting the property back. One year later one Ramdas s/o Late Narayanan, Santhapurath veedu, Kuruvattoor, an autorikshaw driver proposed her. Rani's mother told us that he behaved as if he was a well-wisher to them and hearing all her past problems he sympathized and assured that "he will give her a life"(?). In 1997 March, he married her took her to his house. After their marriage he didn't take her out with him, atleast once. He was reluctant to take her to public places telling, "She is not suitable for him". His complaint was that "she was bulky (But actually as we saw her she had a normal physique. He took her only in his auto. He never walked with her for which she was very sorry. Rani told us

she went to Ramdas' house his mother insisted her to bring "oil and soap" needed for her daily use. Through pricking comments she told her "Oh! Your mother is a teacher your family is well off and you should bring the whole lot for your life, from your house". Actually she didn't like her, Rani's mother told to us. Ramdas took the bangles and necklace from her for treating Ramdas' father who was aged and sick. Ramdas' father died from the hospital and Ramdas demanded "10 pavans" so as to meet the expenses of discharging the dead body from the hospital, funeral, and connected rituals. After 15 days she was sent to her house. Later he didn't call her back. Meanwhile Ramdas sold his 'auto-rikshaw' came to Rani's and lived there for 20 days without going for any work. Rani's mother managed to tell him not to be so importunate and irresponsible and he should seek a job so that they can live together. But he was reluctant to follow her advice. He went home and returned with his mother, demanding more gold and money. But they didn't lend ears to it. Later he managed to buy another 'auto-rikshaw' taking loan from Kunnamkulam Financiers He gave "the wife house address" at the financiers. After one week he sold it. Knowing this a group of people from Kunnamkulam financiers came to Rani's mother and enquired Ramdas so as to get back the money he had adjusted as loan from there. But Rani's mother didn't give it and she told people all the problems. The financiers' people sought the help of police and he was arrested. Later Rani's Mother petitioned to the Women's Commission. After many trials they won the case by which they were to get 25000/- Rupees and 10 Pavans within the stipulated date of 15/8/99. But Ramdas didn't report at the collectorate. Once again they are to submit before the Women's commission. Rani's mother is afraid to leave her alone even in their house, for, nowadays, she is having a tendency to suicide. Now Rani is working as a marketing assistant to a TV Company.

Despite being educated and employed the parents (here mother) are not that much bothered about the consent of the daughter for marriage. Rani's natives consider her as a "talkative one" or as a psychic case, but to her first in laws she is a "daring one". If though the mother is trying very hard to keep the marital tie of her daughter intact what they get is mere agony and disturbances. The very institution of marriage becomes atrocious here. In spite of all these they did not get justice.

NABEESA

Nabeesa the affected one of Crime No. 214/98 the only daughter of Hamza, who is working in Gulf, has two younger brothers and mother (Kadeeja) in her family. They were living happily. After her marriage lived with her husband for seven months. During the marriage they gave Rs. 50000/- and 50 Pavans as dowry. Sulaiman, her partner had six brothers, all employed and 2 sisters who live with their partners. He is a tailor by profession; he used to nag her always telling that he didn't like her. He married not on his interest but by the compulsion of his father. Actually Sulaiman had an affair with another woman and he always told Nabeesa about it. One day she went to her family getting the consent of mother in law and returned in the evening. On hearing it from Nabeesa, in the night, Sulaiman became angry and threatened that he would pour kerosene on her and burn her to death. Scared because of this shocking experience she returned home. One day Sulaiman's brothers came to Nabeesa's and at the time of 'power cut' they called her 12 year old brother to come out. After some time Nabeesa's father went out seeking his son and saw that Nabeesa's brothers in law were beating his son and he was wounded. They threatened Nabeesa's father telling that they would 'deal' with him. During word battle they cut the brother's neck with knife. He was wounded deeply and hospitalised for 10 days. Till then Nabeesa's father was not ready to report the case to the

police as he was worried about the future of the daughter. Since the situations had changed to a criminal one they filed the case as per 498(A) IPC [Dowry demands and related violence] and attempted murder.

Mediators intervened and they tried to make it a compromise telling that it is better to compound the case, 'for the sake of Nabeesa's future' (?). Meanwhile the accused brother in law (Bava) who stabbed Nabeesa's brother went to Gulf easily. Nabeesa's opined that the police didn't act with the seriousness it demanded which helped the accused to seek fortune in Gulf. "Marxist Party members of the locality helped them to continue the case. With their pressure only the police official came and enquired" as they told us. Nabeesa's, with legal guidance won to freeze and seal the gold loan put by Sulaiman in the Bank. This made Sulaiman furious and he challenged them. The religious persons (Palli Committee) in their compromise attempt repeatedly reminded Nabeesa's father that it is better to stop the struggle as Nabeesa's future is in trouble. After many dialogues father decided (in which Nabeesa had no role) to compromise. The trail on the murder attempt case was not satisfactory. Sulaiman insisted that he would compromise only if the criminal case against them is withdrawn. The Palli Committee stood with Sulaiman and Nabeesa's father felt that it is unpardonable. Even the Advocate of Nabeesa voted for the suggestion of compromising the case. Here it is to be noticed that the common sensical perception of the middle persons favours the accused in turn. Nabeesa's father, fed up with the trails and dialogues, was compelled to compromise fearing that in his absence (as he has to return to Gulf) she may face more problems. All these circumstances compelled them to succumb to the compromise. The formula was that Sulaiman should give Rs. 34000/- and 18 Pavans to Nabeesa. It took 8 months struggle and trial for Sulaiman gave 34000/- through his advocate. The stay on the gold loan was over by that time. He was reluctant to take the gold from the bank as it needed Rs. 48000/- including interest.

After so many heated dialogues Sulaiman was ready to give Rs. 42000/- only, the interest was to be given by Nabeesa's father. After 4 months they took the gold back from the bank.

In 1998 Nabeesa's second marriage took place to Yusuf that also giving dowry of Rs. 50000/- and 50 Pavans now they have a child of 7 months, Yusuf and his family loves her very much. When we went to inquire the case firstly Nabeesa was reluctant to come even to the living room. Her brother Abdul Rahiman who is studying for Final year BA Economics, compelled her to come out and talk to us about her experiences. Once came out, Nabeesa started talking continuously she told that she don't like to remember her chilling experience. We came to understand from her dialogues that she didn't know the details of her own case but she talked about her experiences very frankly. The details of the case was described by her brother. She told us she is very happy now.

Nature of Marriage

Parents arranged marriages of all interviewed beings. Even those parents who are educated as in the case of Cr.No.49/98 are least bothered about the consent of their daughters during marriage. They are being handed over from parents to husbands along with "dowry and ornaments". All the parents seem to be eager to "arrange" marriage for their daughters at the earliest. They are not in the least particular about utilizing even the minimum possibilities of educating them and try to get a job and become economically independent. Economically independent, earning ones, e.g. Cr.No.262/94, are not taught and trained to be self assertive and self-reliant. On the other hand they are being trained to adjust the utmost to the unbecoming of their partners .In almost all the cases interviewed both the partners don't know before time, how to act reflectively in a particular situation so as to minimize atrocities "How to be just and fair to fellow beings" is to be seriously

discussed socially and should be part of education, so that enmity in interpersonal interactions can be minimized and institutional fairness is sought after. Since institutions are not mere social structure “out there”, away from the interacting human beings but along with the structural properties of the institutions, what is instituted and who are instituting etc. also create the life situations. Hence it contains the potential to transform the very institution by and through the actions and interactions of the human beings.

Age at Marriage

Out of 25, 7 respondents were below the age of 15, 8 were below 18, 3 were 18 years old, the rest 7 were above 18, at the time of marriage. 14 respondents belong to Muslim community and 11 respondents belong to Hindu community. Almost all "girls" are forced to engage in "married life" without getting enough time to think or plan about how they have to make up their mind to cope up with totally new situations. The whole lot of institutional anticipations, e.g. like the role of wife, daughter in law etc, are being showered on their shoulders, before they start thinking seriously about their life with a partner and having children to their like-all these "happen" to them all on a sudden and shatter them before they get time and opportunity to understand how these are "happening" and what "is" her "active" role in it !. Then what happens actually is that the normative part of a role is maintained and it helps in perpetuating the hierarchy but the cognitive part is not seriously reflected upon by the intervening agents.

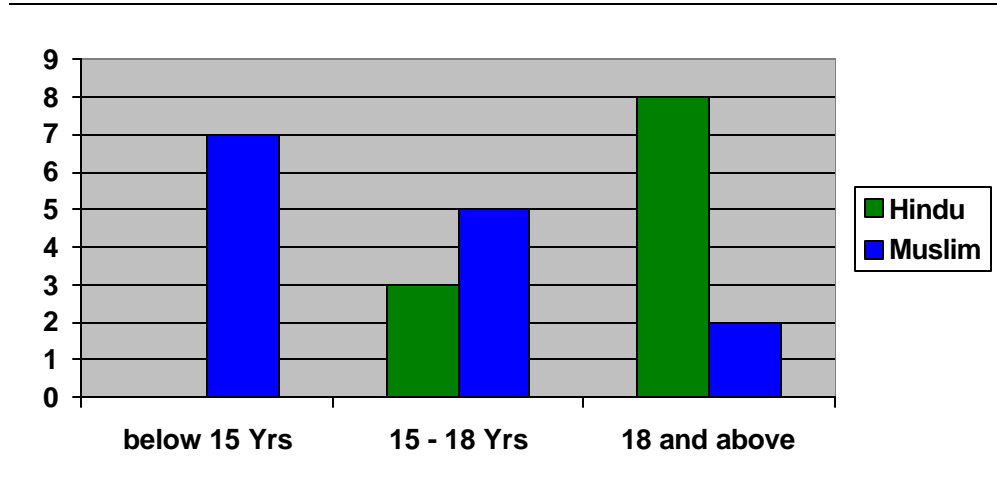


Diagram showing religious/Age distribution of affected subjectivities under 498 A

Later, the girls' parents after bending their utmost and touching everybody's toes to beg for their daughter's life, retrieve themselves to "fate" without trying to understand whether there are other ways of attaining or reaching human relations and there by living happily!?. They lament as in the case of Cr.No. 36/98, "Always they (partner and in laws) create quarrels. The ornaments and dowry we gave at the time of marriage are not enough for them. We beared all these fearing that our girl may loose her "life". We have three more girls to be "sent" like this. How can we send Subi to Moosa as if "we tie leaves in front of the goat?" (Leaves tied in front of the goat are for the goat to eat). Even though situations are like this all of them are ready to receive Moosa once again and like to compromise the case. Subi told us crying, "If he will not scold and beat me and if he will behave lovingly to me". I'll readily go and live with him. Subi's father asked us whether we could do something to help them. How can we assure them that Moosa will come one day "to take her home"? If so will he not beat and scold her? Or will he behave lovingly to her? On probing the case in detail we got the information that Moosa is actually living at Kasargod and have a "wife" there. He didn't even return the ornaments Subi's family gave at the time of marriage. Beyond all these they are waiting for Moosa's coming if though he

hadn't come not even once at least to see the little one. Now the child is four years old.

Education of womenfolk :

Out of the 25 respondents barring one who is working in Railway, a B.Com Degree holder, the only one to step to college education after her marriage was the victim of 69/97. She was married after passing 10th standard. 14 have studied at high school level; four respondents have been to upper primary level one to lower primary level and four respondents have not been to school at all. This distribution shows that if though more than half of the respondents are getting educated formally it is not that much helping them to tide over the unfavourable situations in their life. This makes us fear that the very education system is not at all contributing critiques of the whole tradition of social institutions like family, marriage etc., and the roles therein.

Chart III

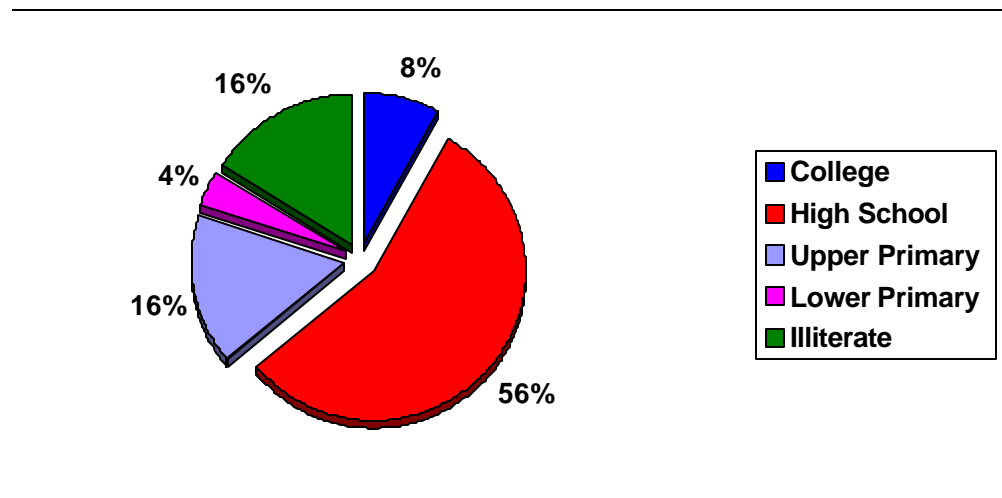


Diagram showing the education level of the respondents

Employment of the womenfolk:

Out of the 25 respondents only one respondent is having a government job she is working in Railways, now she is divorced and living happily on her own, as she mentioned to us. The affected of Cr.No.17/97 used to go for "koolie" work (She is no more now). Respondent of 58/98 who had separated from her partner for severe mental and physical harassment is actively working as a Goldsmith along with her brother, who encourages her in doing it. She is earning her life and looking after her child. She told us that her mother in law was very good to her and she had helped her a lot to evade the beatings of her partner. He doubted that she was having sexual relationship with others. Paradoxically, he is having a "woman with him at his house, which is a case of bigamy (as they have not legally separated.) Seeing this affair his mother went to her daughters' and now she is residing with her daughter. Unlike many other women we met, she boldly struggles to knit her life with that much optimism that she believes she is responsible for her life activities and not others.

Negligence from the partner's family:

The respondents of the Cr.No.17/97, 338/97, 24/98, 136/98, 490/98, told us specifically that their in laws were very well behaved to them. But what makes us confused is that after all these, respondents returned home (one respondent died even) none of them came to them even for a casual visit, not to see their grandchildren even or to soothe them. In the case of 144/97, her partner hadn't had family. The affected of 69/97 had died and it is suspected as suicide. In laws in all the other cases seems to have behaved to the "affected subjectivities" as if they are slaves. The deep interviews suggest that the in laws hadn't addressed the "persons" of these women. They appear to have considered their daughter/sister in laws simply in terms of "roles".

They not even have reflected at least once that all these relationships are "human made" and can at any time be intervened. Repeatedly common events are that all these in laws used to beat, scold, use obscene languages, threaten, neglect even without allowing to have food, sometimes not minding and at times shouting, complaining that it was because of the daughter/sister in law that their son/brother is misbehaving & living a loose life by drinking alcohol etc...etc...Information we received from the locality, in the case of 17/97 is that she had been murdered by her mother in law and her husband by forcefully making her to drink poison. When we visited her house her father murmured to us "she was my only child. I would have managed to make her live without starving. They used to starve her. She died only because of them. Now I have lost her...I have lost everything...I have no money to go with the case ...I have no influence.... I am all alone... You see... they live very happily as if nothing had happened..."He burst into tears. We couldn't control ourselves. We were spellbound.

Partner's behaviour:

Commonly repeated complaints the respondents had to receive from Partners are as follows; "you are not beautiful; your family didn't give enough gold ornaments and money. I would have got more money, gold and more beautiful a wife". The men in these cases strongly believe that if they should "live with their wives" they should be given "money and gold irrespective of whether the women are able to make their living or not. Their perception is that (and also the social perception) women are to be "looked after by men" whether it is fathers, brothers or partners. All these fellows believe that wives are to be "handled" and beaten. They are to be "made good" by beating them, They use, the force, they get by sticking to the institutional properties and provisions, on the bodies (and persons) of their

wives so that these wives seem not at all interested in continuing the relation. It doesn't mean that these women are thinking in terms of getting out of the institutional properties and hierarchical positions of "marriage" rather. Some of them even think that their partners have the right to behave "in such a manner" as they are "husbands". But beyond all what they need minimum is "love and care" from them. They wait for a day of repentance from the partner's side and they are much perplexed to seek the pathway to divorce for more than one reason. Mainly they consider "it may affect their morale"

These situations remind us that the very definitions and conceptualisation of husband, wife, man, woman, etc needs to be problematized in such a way that it will help us to be reflexive about the perpetuation and reproduction of the androcentric social schemata.

Present conditions of affected and accused:

The following table shows the present living conditions of both the affected and the accused of the 25 crimes under section 498 (A). Only *one husband and wife* have compromised between both and living together along with their children (as per Cr.No.33/91). One woman (of Cr.No. 19/93) had compromised to her partner, and returned to the partners' with her two children (girls). But he had already married another woman and she is also living with them. While 68% of men had re-married only 20% of women got remarried after their divorce. Only five women out of the 25 had remarried, out of which four have no children in their first marriage (women of 269/90,144/91,96/95,214/98&279/98) One remarried women nurture her two children without the help of their first partner (woman of 96/95) Two *victims* are no more now, both reported as unnatural death (those of 17/97&69/97) One man had died, which was a natural death, as per the

information (the accused of 497/98). 15 women are living with their parents despite the huge amount of money and unbearable quantity of gold given to the *husbands* for taking their girls and "giving them lives" (as per their religious beliefs). Actually what happened was that these husbands didn't even "give" their wives "life", as it is expected conventionally by the people involved in traditional marriage, but they took the whole life earnings of their parents along with the very lives of the girls so that both the parents and the girls are once again caught in dilemma. Present conditions of three men are "not known". One is "absconding" to evade from the case. These information show that the responsibility of looking after the children is loaded on the shoulders of the female counterparts, especially if the children are "girls" which in turn come to their aged parents. Almost all the male counterparts easily get remarried that also receiving "money and gold as dowry" They do not even lend their attention even to their children of their first marriage, once the women are sent to their homes, along with the children. Only three persons nurture their children with them. One very important point we came to notice is that the children nurtured by the fathers are "sons". They show particular care not to take the "girls" with them reminding us to reflect on the unconscious social perceptions and the internal dispositions of the majority, that "girls" mean perpetual nuisance and "expense"?! All the girl children are with mothers. Most pathetic problem of all these is that mothers are not even allowed to "see" those children (sons) who live with their fathers. Out of the 25, eleven couples have no children.

**Table showing the present conditions of males and females of
the deep-interviewed cases under Section.498 (A)**

Crime number	Status of female	Status of male	Details of children
269/90	Remarried	<i>Not known</i>	No children
33/91	Compromised	<i>Compromised</i>	With both
144/91	Remarried	<i>Not known</i>	No children
19/93	Compromised	<i>Remarried</i>	2-living with both
180/93	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	3-living with mother
262/94	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	No children
96/95	Remarried	<i>Remarried</i>	2-living with mother
137/95	Compromised	<i>Remarried</i>	2-living with mother
60/96	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	1-living with mother
17/97	Died (unnatural)	<i>Remarried</i>	No children
69/97	Died (unnatural)	<i>Remarried</i>	1- living with father
338/97	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	2-living with mother
6/98	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	No children
24/98	With parents	<i>Absconding</i>	No Children
36/98	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	2-(Sons) Living With Father & 1-Living With Mother
49/98	With parents	<i>Not Known</i>	No Children
58/98	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	1-Living With Mother
132/98	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	No Children
136/98	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	3-Living With Mother
214/98	Remarried	<i>Remarried</i>	No Children
279/98	Remarried	<i>Remarried</i>	No Children
342/98	With parents	<i>Remarried</i>	3-Living With Mother
441/98	With parents	<i>Alone</i>	First Child (Son) With Father & Second Child With Mother
490/98	The case is going on	<i>The case is going on</i>	No Children
497/98	With Parents	<i>Died (Natural)</i>	1-Living With Mother

II. Rape (Section. 371 to 376 IPC)

During the period of study, (1990-98), only eight cases have been reported under section 376 of IPC, punishment for the crime of rape. Out of the total reported cases of 1997-98 periods, ie.6, five cases have been interviewed deeply. The distribution of the reported cases shows that cases under section 376 IPC are comparatively less reported.

Year wise distribution of the reported cases under section. 376 (IPC) deep interviewed

Year	Crime number	Total no. of cases interviewed	Total no. of cases reported
1997	41 and 187	2	3
1998	42, 103 and 517	3	3

SOU DA

Souda is the affected of Cr.No. 41/97, She lived with her mother, father (who was a heart patient), elder sister and younger sister. She was studying in 9th standard at Naduvattom High School. North Koppam, Pattambi. One day, when she was returning from school, at noon, one of her cousins, Kammukkutty who is a jeep driver (owns a jeep) was waiting for her on the road side. On seeing her he told that her father is serious and is admitted in Moulana Hospital, Perinthalmanna, and they have to rush to the hospital. Hearing this Souda suddenly entered the jeep. As her father was a heart patient she was very much worried and didn't have any doubt in going with her " brother". From the Koppam junction the jeep didn't turn towards Perinthalmanna, but he rode towards the opposite direction, i.e. Pattambi. She asked Kammukkutty why it 's so. He calmly answered, without any change in expression, that one of his friends is to be got in from Pattambi. From Pattambi one stranger got in the jeep She heard

Kammukkutty saying "Abbas, get in" The jeep turned to Shornur direction Smelling something *uncanny* in his deeds she cried loudly and asked "Ikka, why you turn the jeep in this direction?" Expressions of both changed and they threatened her "Keep mum.... Otherwise we'll kill you." Kammukkutty, seeing her bewildered, as if trying to soften her told "we take you to somewhere special so that we have 'something special' to tell you." Hearing this she hesitated some "bad thing" is going to happen. She cried continuously. They didn't mind it. On reaching Vadanamkurissi railway line they stopped the jeep in front of a deserted house. There were no other houses or buildings or people seen near that house. She was "in no way" able to escape from their net. Reaching this house Kammukkutty pulled her into the house along with Abbas and locked the door from outside and waited in the portico. After some time as his "interest was over", he knocked from inside. (She felt as if it was a long time couldn't clearly recollect what had happened to her and what all he did to her. She was able to do nothing except crying.) The door was opened. He once again pulled her into the jeep as if nothing had happened and brought to Pattambi and she was forced to get down there. They threatened her "if you talk about this to any body we will kill you." She was shocked and scared .she got in a bus and reached home by 4.30 pm. She didn't tell about the incident to anybody because she was frightened. Nobody suspected anything uncanny since she reached home in time. After some days one of her cousins told her uncle that he saw Souda with Kammukkutty from PattambiWhen the issue was scattered Kammukkutty absconded and Abbas finishing his holidays returned to gulf, as Souda told us. The FIR suggests that the grave crime happened on 13/2/97 and it was reported on 19/2/97, and the accused was arrested on 12/3/97.Souda didn't actually know the proceedings of the police and the seriousness of the case. Reading between FIR and Souda's words it is clear that Abbas had managed to return to Gulf "within no time" if though the charge against him is "grave". After one year, Abbas returned home, as

Souda's mother added, while Souda was talking to us, he came to Souda's' and requested them to withdraw the case. They were reluctant. He came again and told them that he has repentance for his atrocious act, and as a remedy to it he is ready to "marry" her without "dowry and gold". They discussed about it within the family circle and came to the conclusion that "what happened already cannot be undone ". She would be "looked down upon" socially what they could do now is to succumb to the proposal. Souda was not asked about whether she was interested in "living with" such a person who had tried to shatter her person by raping her. Souda told us that ***she submitted to the decision of the family because "she wanted to save the prestige of her family".***

She thought, if otherwise her sisters also may not get married. Out of mere circumstantial pressure she succumbed, she reflected - "Actually I hate him". Thus "they" decided to "give" Souda, a 15-year-old girl, the affected of 41/97, to 36-year-old Abbas, the accused, with the mediations of religious authorities and of course her family members. At the time of marriage eight "men" from the Palli committee came, there were no women present, for the marriage, from his side. Souda's family and relatives were present. After marriage, in the night, at ten o'clock Abbas took Souda to Ottappalam, where he had arranged a rented house, the very route through which he took her before one year, with the help of Kammukkutty, atrociously. Souda cannot explain her agony she experienced at that night and words failed her while she spoke to us. Actually, Abbas had had a wife and three children, who are also dwelling in their village though Souda didn't know him personally, beforetime. His first wife is his mother's younger sister's daughter. If though the first wife and their family knew the case and had very furious dialogues and scenes Abbas "took" Souda with him, not to his house but to an isolated rented one. Souda was very much reluctant to go, alone, with Abbas during the first night of their marriage. Even her relatives

compelled her telling "he has married you now and it is the duty of a wife to obey the husband". (Anyhow it was not that much easy for her to gulp the situation all on a sudden as her relatives did it.) After heartbreaking scenes, with tears in her eyes and a heart full of fears she reluctantly went with Abbas alone, nobody accompanying her from her family side. She told us; at that moment she was thinking that Abbas might have married her to "kill" her and to put an end to their "case". Finally, as she had to go with him she found relief in thinking that ***"Everybody will die one day. If it is today let it happen and the family be saved by that"***. This thought made her ready to bear anything that may happen to her, she sighed. (She remembers that it took at least one month for her to get out of the fear.) Souda's family was also very much scared after her going with Abbas in the night. They also smelt "death" The highly pathetic of all happened was that, the very next day of her marriage Souda returned home to see that her father died in the night, after she reluctantly went with Abbas, due to cardiac arrest. (We sat silently near Souda and her mother hearing the tragedy without having courage or strength to intervene the talk.) After the funeral Souda and Abbas returned to Ottappalam, and they lived there for four months till Abbas returned to Gulf. She remembers that during those days he didn't go to his first wife and children. He came again from Gulf after one year but didn't come to her, went to the first wife, two or three times he visited her. At times he telephones her and give her money. Now she believes that he "loves" her. She added that "But always he insists me to withdraw the case". This makes Souda to suspect once again that he may desert her at the very moment she withdrew the case. Hence she hadn't done it yet. Despite all these experiences, she told us "they are living happily now". She narrated all these with a gloomy expression in her eyes, She never laughed as if she had forgotten it due to repeated heartbreaking events, in such a short span of time. At times she sat silently looking downwards. Souda's mother seemed to be happy in the turn of events in Souda's case i.e. at least that they are

getting money to pull through the day to day affairs and they got out of the social stigma "by making the daughter married". But she lamented to us that she has no possibility to arrange "marriage" for her rest two daughters since everybody asks for "dowry and gold" (It was thinking about their future Souda submitted to the proposal of Abbas, in spite of he being the accused.) Anyhow she repeatedly reminded us that Souda's husband is giving them "money" and so they are living happily now. Hearing this statement Souda sat without responding to it.....

NABEESA

Nabeesa, the complainant of the Cr.No.187/97, belongs to a very poor family, living in a small hut, made by her, earns her life by selling milk. Her husband is having another wife and children. He never cared her and gave her nothing, which forced her to decide that she doesn't want such a husband. If though, at times, he used to come to see her she didn't mind it. Then he stopped coming. When she decided to avoid him she had her one and only three-year-old daughter. She worked hard to nurture the child. As she told us, "she was having no money and gold to give towards dowry for the marriage of her daughter. Hence had to give her child to a man, who was already having wife and children. At the time of her daughter's marriage, as per religious norms, she had to enquire and call her husband, as he is the person who is having the right to "give" the girl to the "husband", during "nikah". But she came to understand that "he died". Till then, they were not having any communication. At least at the time of his death none of his relatives informed them. As per the religious regulations, if the father is alive, only he is the apt person to conduct the "nikah" even though he is not looking after the girl. Here the girl is not even understanding that she is to live with a man, having another wife. She is totally disadvantaged a person economically, socially & culturally that she has no access to the

freedom of "choosing her partner" or taking decisions in life. The mother, the only caretaker of the girl, is so underprivileged that she is not having any role in the "religious practices" concerning her child, like "nikah" and other serious life activities. Despite all these, she told us, "If though I don't have enough money even for "food and shelter" I managed to buy a set of "earrings and a gold chain" at the time of her marriage, by going for all sorts of manual works I could take". Now she is very weak, cannot go for works and living with her daughter and her two children. The daughter in turn earns their life by going for works i.e. It is not her husband who is looking after "the family", Both mother and daughter were having similar experiences.

Nabeesa, who has no close relatives, has only bitter experiences in life, as she explained to us. Her father is residing with his second wife and their eight children, at Valanchery. During her childhood he visited her and mother only at times. He was a drunkard and used to quarrel with the mother as and when he visited them, she remembers. Nabeesa was crying when she told her life experiences. She told, it was for the first time in her life, somebody enquired her about her life and heard her patiently. Nabeesa continued, mother died suffering a lot from her father. She was a silent and scared observer of all these atrocities mother had to face.

Nabeesa and Amina are neighbours. Amina's partner is working in gulf. Amina had a child, her father in law and one of her relatives, Rasheed at home. Earlier Nabeesa's mother used to go there and supply milk to them. Once Nabeesa's mother was hospitalised, and she took charge of supplying milk. As she was unable to make both ends meet Nabeesa started assisting Amina in her household activities. She paid her well in turn. One day as she went to Amina's she was not there. Rasheed came out and asked her to put the milk in the kitchen. She went inside. As she was cleaning the milk pot

Rasheed came to the kitchen, closed the door, seeing this she didn't think anything bad, she said, he was like a "son" to her, he was so younger to her and had been very familiar. But all on a sudden his expression changed and **she asked, "What is this? What are you trying to do?" His answer was a strong kick, he then slapped on her face and she fell down. He threatened to kill her.** He caught hold of her dress and "did what all he needed on her body," she continued. She ran out of the house crying loudly. As she entered the portico Amina was coming from outside, with her child. She told everything to her. Amina scolded Rasheed and he went out speaking nothing. Hearing the noise and cries people outside came to know the case and it reached Nabeesa's father. He came to Nabeesa and hospitalised her for she was seriously injured. They reported the case to the police, on 28/7/97(The crime happened on 27/7/97). She complained to us that after getting slap on the face her eyesight had reduced.

The next day the police officials came, enquired, the accused was absconding and he was caught only on 10/9/97.Nabeesa was in the hospital for eight days. One of the nurses compelled her not to make it a "public issue" as it would affect her life. Hearing it she was very much agitated. She told us that she strongly desired that "he" should be punished. Nabeesa told us, she openly described the event, in detail, to the police. As she answered to us, at times she was hesitant to explain deeply as she thought, "You are younger ones. How can I tell you all that happened?" The accused was in remand till 21/10/97 and got bail from the court with the help of his father, Aboobacker. Nabeesa doesn't know, actually, the position of the case. The only thing she knows is that the accused is absconding. Being very poor and having not enough money even to buy "daily rice and fish" to her grandchildren, she couldn't pursue the case. She is not going to see the doctor for she has no money to buy "drugs". When we enquired the position of the case, we realized that Nabeesa's father took initiative to compound the

case and mediated with the advocate. Now also Nabeesa doesn't know that her case had been compounded. She strongly believes that he should be punished for this so that he should not behave to anybody like this.

On returning we felt "total blankness". In an unintelligible moment, we thought, we should have given her some money so that they can dine well at least that day. Once again we returned to her and saw her "preparing fish for her grandchildren" On seeing us once again, she told "I got fish at a cheep rate, I was to cook this for these little ones. Putting some money in her hand we told her reflectively "We know, this will not at all help you to reduce the agonies you face daily in your life..." As a response to it she smiled to us through tears...We returned with tears in our eyes...spellbound...not getting words to speak...even between us.... totally unable to analyse these stark realities of life. Nabeesa's is the worst circumstance we had seen during our visits for deep interviews. Now also it remains a "shock".

PUSHPA

The Cr.No.42/98 is a much complicated one. The affected of this case had had sexual intercourse with the accused more than once, that also as per her consent, as she told us during the interview. When we went to see her, Pushpa, the complainant in this case was involved in household activities. Her son was calmly sleeping in the cradle without knowing the intricacies behind his birth and the problems faced by his mother. Pushpa, willingly and frankly depicted all the details. ***She repeatedly told us that now also she loves him though the mental and physical harassments she received, socially and from her family was quite unbearable.*** While she was talking to us the child got up, taking him, embracing him, patting him on his forehead, with tears in her eyes, with mixed and intertwined emotions and feelings of love, sorrow, anger (but not hatred as she reiterated it to us) she continued... Her child

started laughing to us as if involving in our discussions. Her real problem is that the accused cheated her for he told her that 'he will marry her'. She became pregnant but he didn't turn to her after knowing it. Unanticipated negligence from his side made her life topside down. Fearing the aftermath of the affair, especially scared of getting beatings from her parents, she told us, she eloped alone, without planning where to go, and what to do. She had understood beforehand, from the dialogue with one of her neighbours "Radhedathi" that there is a divine centre at Chalakkudi. Hesitantly enough she went there, thinking that she will get "peace" The atmosphere there was not that much cordial and consoling to her. Hearing her stories, the authorities asked her to return home. They immediately contacted the parents and her father & co-brother came to take her. Later they filed a case against her "beloved", under 376IPC. Pushpa, "the victim" and Sasi, 'the accused' (and beloved) are neighbours and had been childhood friends. She told us, if though many people tried to persuade her to stop going after the case, she is not ready to compromise for monetary benefit & compensations. In her own words what she needs is a father for her child" Now also she is not hiding her love to him, but she is very sorry and angry with him for he didn't keep his promise to her. Sasi, the accused of this case had been absconding She continued "after returning home, he used to see their child from distance but never did he come close or talk to her or even touch their 1.5 year old child. She feels extremely sorry for this since she believes that their interaction was so intense that Sasi shouldn't have forgotten it.

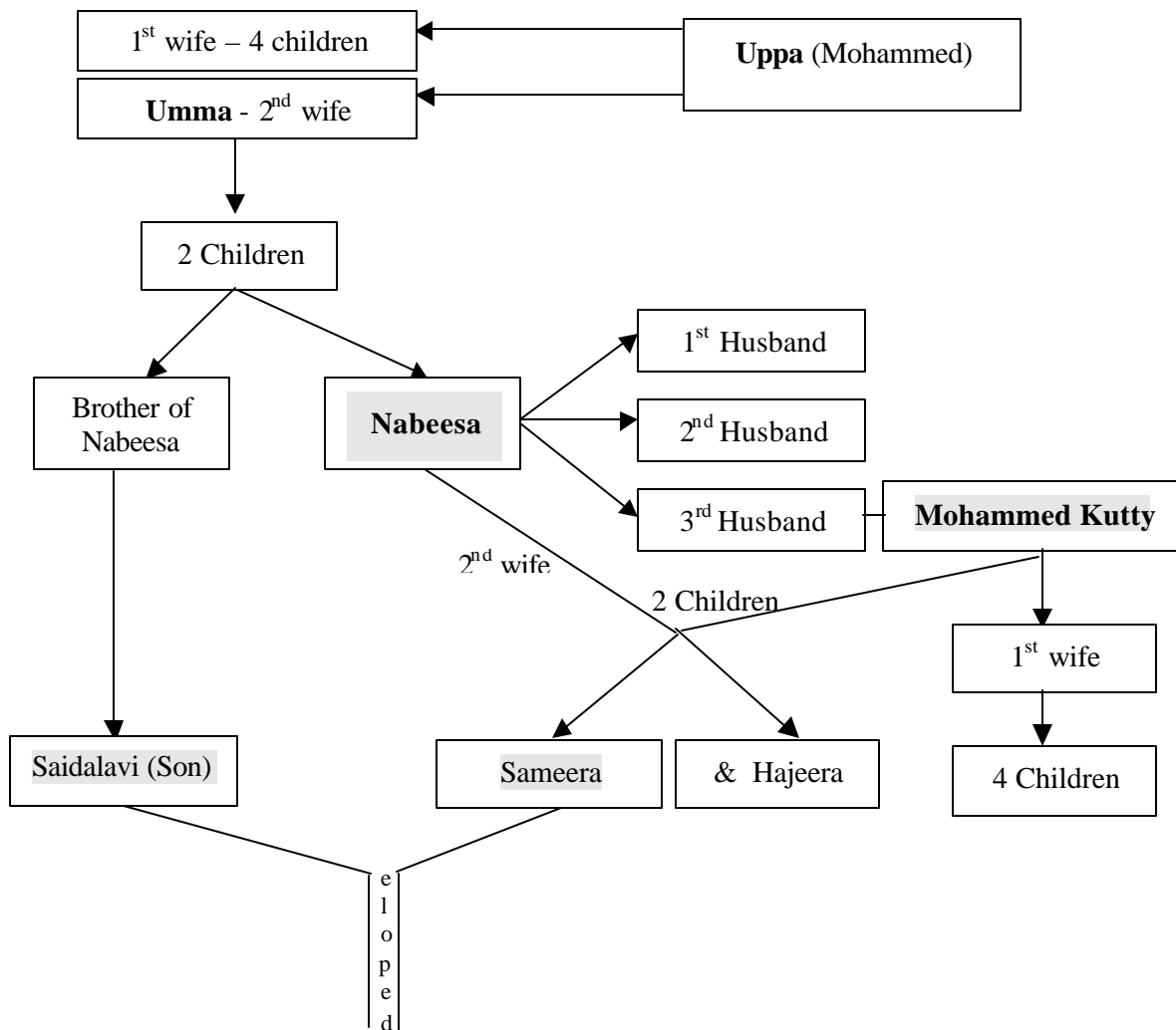
Pushpa's experience reminds us that situations like this cannot be understood or dealt with merely filing a case under Section.376 IPC. This situation reveals lot of socio-cultural factors that intervene in the interactions of men and women, which in turn reproduce and solidify the very same conventional interventions through commonsensical and androcentric perceptions. On the other hand this was not a case of rape, actually, says the

affected of this case. But the betrayal from the man's side is unbearable to her. These were friends from childhood days. The intervention of "the family" and the social taboo in being an unwed mother disturbs and disarms the interacting woman totally and make the situation more atrocious and unpredictable. In this case Pushpa attains energy to deliver the child despite the common norms and now she is living with her child "happily" if though her partner is not ready to receive them.

SAMEERA & NABEESA

The Cr.No.103/98 is also not "specifically coming under 376 IPC, as per the deep interview we had had with Sameera, the complainant. To understand the case of Sameera we ought to mention the experiences of her mother Nabeesa with whom she is living now. Nabeesa, with her two daughters Sameera and Hajeera, is dwelling with her Umma (mother) and Uppa (father). Nabeesa's father has two wives. Nabeesa told us that Sameera's father is her third husband. When she was 19 years old, 22 years back she got married with the first husband, who was her co-worker. He was given Rs.101/and 21/2 pavans during marriage. They lived together only for eight months. Later, on the second day of her second marriage, her husband told her that he is going to Gulf as he had received a telegram asking him to reach there immediately. He took the amount she had had with her and 4 pavans of gold. Later he didn't even communicate or come to see her. After three years, since he didn't even enquire her, she utilized the rule of "Fuskh" (the wife divorcing the husband as per the regulations of Qu-r-an.) and got divorce from him, though she lost all her life earnings. 40 days after the "Fuskh" Nabeesa got married for the third time, i.e. Muhammedkutty. Nabeesa was Muhammedkutty's second wife and Muhammedkutty was her third husband. All these marriages took place with the mediations of the Mosque. With a brave expression in her eyes Nabeesa told us seriously, the problems she faced during life, adding that she is strong enough to retaliate

to the horrible situations. She continued, ***"At that time and now also I'm living on my own, going for "koolie work" and nurturing "my" children without anybody's help.*** Her third husband has turned a rare visitor to them, nowadays. She told us he doesn't give money they needed for minimum living. Traditionally, the man who ought to look after his wife and children is not at all showing any responsibility.



Nabeesa's first daughter Sameera failed in 9th Std. and she stopped studying. Hajeera, her second daughter is studying in 10th Std. now. Sameera earns her

life through tailoring work. Nabeesa's brother 's son Saidali used to visit Nabeesas' and they used to visit the brothers' (it being her "tharavad"). This facilitated the situation for Sameera and Saidali to think in terms of living together. Sameera told us "Saidali made me believe that he will look after me" He tempted her to "elope" with him. She was ready to go with him. On 6/3/98 they went to Ooty first. Then they went to Sultan Battery where they lived for 46 days, making the neighbours believe that they are brother and sister, as Sameera added.

Meanwhile, on 9/3/98 Sameera's relatives filed a petition mentioning that Sameera is missing. On the 44th day of their eloping, when they were living at Sultan Battery, they accidentally overheard a dialogue between his neighbour, the SI of Police at Sultan Battery and his wife. "These guys don't look like brother and sister. We will enquire them directly. They suspected Sameera and Saidali because they got intimation from the police, she told us. The next day they quit that place, smelling the police action, telling the neighbours that they are going home for ten days. Sameera was brought to her home and Saidali deserted her forever. She told us that she had never seen him after that day. At the time of eloping Sameera took four and a half pavans of gold and Rs.7000/ with her as instructed by Saidali. He took cash the very same day of their going. Later he took the gold from her telling that "he is going to pledge the gold in the bank as he is in need of money." Till then, she didn't get it back. Bending her head downwards Sameera talked in a base tone, "he behaved lovingly to me. We lived as husband and wife those days I don't know any specific reason for why I went with him and why I loved him.' On the 46th day, when she came home she was brought to the police station. They didn't get Saidali, for arresting him. After eight months he was arrested on 12/11/98. Now the case is under the court's reference. Without closing this case Sameera won't be able to remarry. Now she doesn't like him. She knows that he cheated her. Even though he may come and suggests for compromise and ask her to go with him she is adamant that she

won't go with him anymore. With a dull expression, she told us that her grandparents and mother had scolded her a lot for eloping with him

Sameera's Grandmother, was very cordial, she compelled us to have black tea and with a brave expression told "now Sameera is going to the town for tailoring work and we will seek a match for her after these confusions are over". We expected an answer from Sameera but she was silent and looked puzzled.

SALEENA

The Cr. No. 517/98 is clearly a criminal offence the girl, Saleena, being of 14 years. As we went to see her, she was alone in her house just returned from School. Firstly she was reluctant to part her experiences and told that she couldn't reveal things to us since her father and mother were not at home. "*If you need, you contact them*" was her comment. But after repeated interventions and smooth dialogue she first disinterestedly and later lively described the 'event'.

They are living in a 'lakshamvedu colony', which has 20 one-room houses, sharing a public well, but no electricity. Purely an unhealthy condition prevails in the colony; in Saleena's house there are five members along with three goats *dwelling* in the same room. Their main source of earning is cattling the goats and cows. The relation with the neighbours is very much intense and close. Saleena was perplexed by the thought that the neighbours will mistake her if they see her alone in the house, with us, we being total strangers to them. Anyhow she frankly depicted her 'severe experience'. Every morning she used to go to the hilly areas near their colony to cattle the goat. One day as she was about to return home in the noon, she saw a stranger running towards her from the opposite side of the hill. One man stood on the top of the hill whom she knew. On seeing this she was feared

and ran with all speed, but the stranger came close and caught hold of her and pushed to the rocky area, she fell down, screamed aloud. He caught her pushed and pulled her and torn her skirt and blouse. As she continued crying loudly the 'accused' ran away. She was brought home by the neighbours. The acquaintance that she saw from the hill told Saleena's people that he is one 'Babu' involved in illegal arrack business. The next day Saleena's mother went to trace Babu but saw his mother only, with whom she had word battles. Babu's mother retaliated "it is all because of your girl" she used abusing language about Saleena. After long discussions and dialogues with the neighbours Saleena's family reported the case on the 4th day of incident. By that time Babu was absconding. Saleena went to Police Station along with her Bappa (father). During their 3rd visit to Police Station, the policemen asked them to produce a certificate showing the rape attempt. Submitting the same, the SI seemed to be co-operative and arrested Babu. He easily came out on bail. Later they didn't know anything about the progress of the case. ***They are very poor, have no money even to go to the Police Station 'regularly' to follow the case, but they strongly feel that no girl should have such an experience and the accused should be punished to prevent such atrocious acts.*** To make all these fruitful, they have no ways and means.

Despite these worse situations Saleena is continuing her education and her parents are ready to send her for higher studies. She told us she has friends including boys at School with whom she used to mingle openly. But after these incidents her parents always restrict her from mingling with boys. They never send her out alone. Nowadays she didn't even go to the hill where she used to go always. For a long period after the incident she was affected with nightmares, and didn't even eat or sleep. It took months for her to recover from the shock. Her neighbours were very much considerate,

stood strongly with Saleena's family, which helped them to overcome the agony of facing the situation.

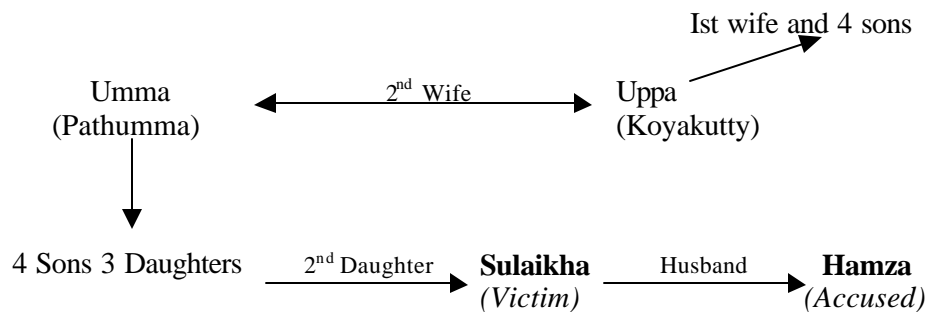
III. Unnatural Death

It was mentioned in the earlier part of the project that (Secondary Data Details) during the field work and primary data collection, the direction of enquiry will be towards why and how these 'policings' reached such a state of affairs that there is not even a particular section to probe unnatural death and how these; should-not-be-repeated-suicides (!?) go on happening, can we have measures to assist such individuals and distract them from self immolation, if so how can we have self help groups that safe guard the affected ones etc. *Towards understanding these factors it needs multi-faceted research of these and similar cases researching on the politico-legal, socio-cultural and economic factors that affect the very life of the affected.* During the period of study (1990-98) most reported cases come under the sub head Unnatural Death. Out of 394 cases reported 127 cases come under this section. Probing each unnatural death might have brought in awful revelations. As a token to the future studies we enquired a few cases:

Sl. No	Crime Number	Year
1.	207	1993
2.	158	1995
3.	184	1997
4.	94	1998 (altered to 304 IPC)
5.	272	1998

SULAIKHA

The *victim* of Crime No. 207/93; Sulaikha is a martyr of marriage. The very marriage turned an atrocity to her life. Sulaikha's is a clear case of Dowry demands and related violence culminating in death. Initially, it had been reported as unnatural death then after the enquiry it has been charged under Section 498/A.



Sulaikha's studied only upto 10th Std. When she was 18 years old she was married to Hamza giving Rs. 15 thousand and 10 pavans of gold as dowry. Hamza had Umma, brother and sister living with him. At the time of their marriage Hamza's brother was divorced. During the first six months, they didn't have any problem in their life. But later in-laws started nagging her for not bringing enough dowry and she was humiliated always for not being beautiful. Sulaikha's Umma reflectively repeated to us, the dialogues she used to have with Sulaikha when she complained about her in-laws. "Here there are two more girls to be married, if your returned home for the harassment from the husband house what will be the result? so don't take the humiliation and harassment to the heart and bear it for the sake of your younger ones, if not for you....."

The picture we got from the depiction of Sulaikha's Mother is as follows: Hamza's brother having some kidney trouble and he didn't go for work. He used to mis-behave towards her, if though she told her husband that his brother tries to reach her for his sexual interest Hamza asked her to keep

silent and not to go for battles. Hamza liked to quit the family for Sulaikha's sake but his mother didn't allow it and he was unable to break the situation and come out. One day quite unexpectedly she was reported to have committed suicide by hanging. Sulaikha's 4 year old daughter told Sulaikha's mother that on the very day of her death, she repeatedly requested Hamza to send her home but he didn't allow. Sulaikha's father is a master cook and earned life by cooking for feasts. Paradoxically while he was cooking for a marriage feast, the shocking news of his daughter's death came to him (the very death being the culmination of her married life).

When they reached Hamzas' as Sulaikha's mother described to us: Sulaikha was having two injuries on her nose. There were no other wounds on the body. Nobody from their house see Sulaikha 'hanging', the body was lying on the floor. Mohammed Kutty (Sulaikha's Uppa) strongly believes that it was not a suicide. Hamza didn't show even the post-mortem report to them. They didn't allow Sulaikha's daughter to go with them because she may reveal the details to them. Sulaikha's elder sister was divorced at the time of Sulaikha's marriage she has a son in that marriage, now she is married to another fellow. Her younger sister is married to a man (whose is second marriage) who is elder to her by 20 years. She is of equal age with his children who also have got married.

Why did you give her to such a relationship? we asked, Sulaikha's mother told ***they didn't ask for much money as dowry. Hence we thought it is better to give her to them than she sitting unmarried.***

For them Sulaikha is only a 'memory' now. A better life is only in their dreams. They are not even able to see or touch Sulaikha's daughter. If hers was a murder; How was it? Who did it? etc. are not clear even in Police records. The accused Hamza had been arrested on 10.9.1993 (Sulaikha died

on 15.8.93 as per police records). The case was charged on 29.4.94. Despite clear-cut evidence of dowry demands and violence the accused was acquitted under section 248(1) IPC on 25.9.96.

GEETHA & YESODAMMA

The Crime No. 158/95 and 184/97 have certain direct connection. As per 158/95 Geetha, (Daughter of Kamalavathy, the elder sister of Kondayath Madhavan Nair) jumped to death in front of the running train sixty days after her delivery. We didn't get more details regarding the case except that mention in FIR. It is reported in the FIR that she committed suicide thinking that her just born child is mentally retarded. Geetha studied upto Pre-degree Class. In 1993 she got married to Vijayan, her cousin, they were in Delhi for one year after marriage, where Vijayan was employed, she returned from Delhi for Delivery and was very normal always. Her family never recognized that such a complexity is going to happen in their life, as they told us. But unlike in other cases interviewed they behaved in a distant and calculated manner. If though Vijayan is their close relative they don't know where he is working now, the case was reported to Police, as per FIR says, by Premkumar S/o Madhavan Nair. In this case we felt lot of gap between silence and the voice. FIR says Geetha committed suicide thinking that her son is mentally retarded but we saw Vishnu, Geetha's son, a very smart boy, playing with his friends, when we went for interviewing the family. He is living with his grand mother (Kamalavathy) in their own house, near Madhavan Nair's. Vijayan, his father, married to a woman who worked in his own company in Delhi, and now they are living somewhere in Kerala.

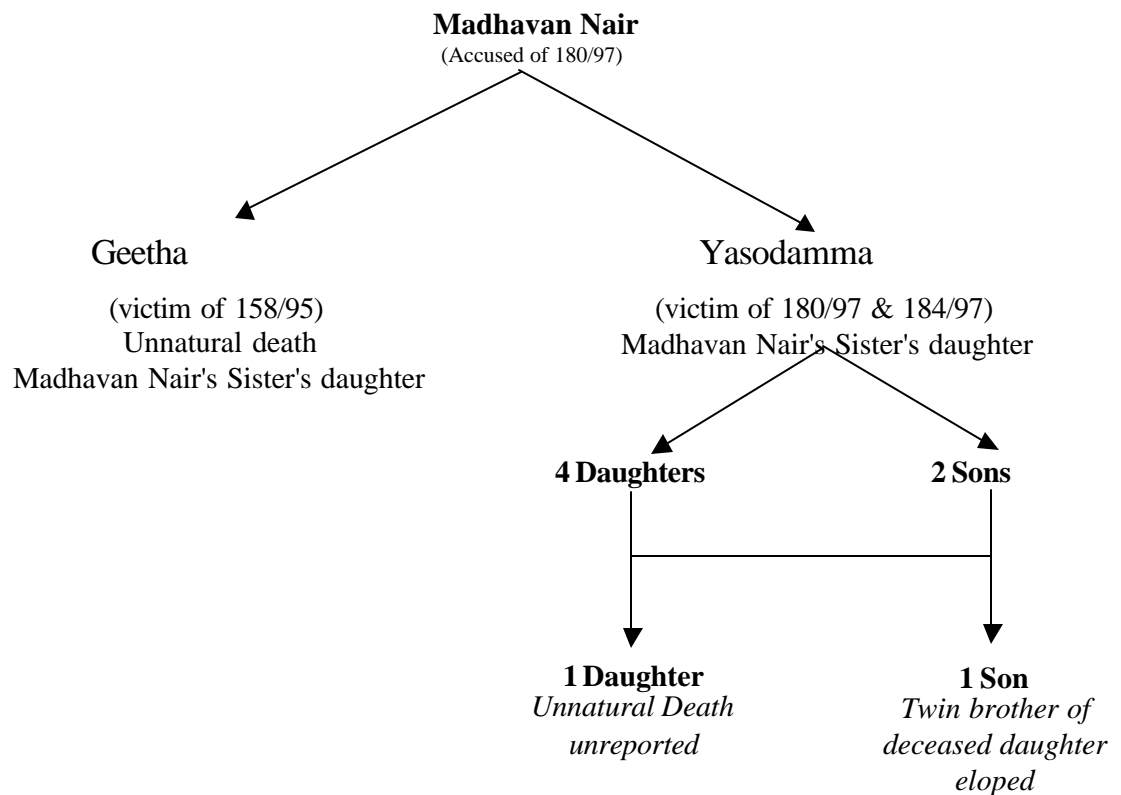
As per FIR index the unnatural death reported as 184/97, makes the whole situation of 158/95, 180/97 and 184/97 much complicated. The ASI of Police, Pattambi, reported 184/97 as he went there for enquiring the Cr. No.

180/97, he saw Yasodamma, the victim of the Cr. No. 180/97, lying dead in her house. When we went to enquire the same we saw one of Yasodamma's younger sisters Chandramathiamma & her son Ravi who were living near Yasodamma's Tharavadu; Madhavan Nair's another sister all of them lived in close neighbouring houses as if in one compound.

The ASI of Police went to Yasodamma's house as the case 180/97 was filed by her, as per Sec. 354 IPC, against Madhavan Nair, who is her brother and Geetha's uncle (victim of 158/95), Kunhiraman and Chathodi Mohammed.

Chandramathiamma depicted all the details to us Yasodamma's husband (their father's nephew) Govindan Nair was Taxi driver working Bombay. They had four daughters and two sons. Her fourth daughter, as mentioned by Chandramathiamma loved her neighbour, of 'low caste' and for that she got a lot of humiliations and committed suicide when she was 18 years old. She had a twin brother who quit the place and didn't return. Her three daughters and elder son have their own families. Chandramathiamma says "it was my sister who managed our tharavdu and paddy field, **she was brave woman and strongly stood in her life against any issue and dealt with those who retorted her, through strong arguments. She feared nobody and nothing** she was not in good term with uncle Madhavan Nair. Actually I don't know whether it was murder or suicide, when the news of her death was spread my son (who was sitting silently by her side as she was talking) went to see that "awful scene". Her son says "the dead body was rotten and worms, ants and insects were covered on it. Neighbours and natives were not ready to touch the body even. Tamilian came and helped in burial of the body after post-mortem." Chandramathiamma : " her children came on hearing the death but they never came to this house later for short-stay even.

Hearing all these, we went to Madhavan Nair's who is living nearby. He told us "Yasoda was my sister's daughter and I was not in good term with them, Her husband, car driver working at Bombay was a drunkard. She used to go with him, to Bombay off and on. At those times her Ammamma, (*grandmother*) (my sister) nurtured her children, her moral side was not good; after going to Bombay she became bad". We asked him about the death and he told that "she used to go away like that and we didn't enquire into such matters. Police came and told us the news of her death." Madhavan Nair didn't mention about the case she filed against him and the fights between them before. These cases carries a lot of 'untold' and 'uninvestigated' issues.



SUHARA

The utmost disturbing incident we had had during the deep interviews is that of crime No. 94/98. Suhara's death had been reported as "unnatural". Later it had been altered to 304 IPC. When we went to Suhara's house we saw her mother, her children and two of her sisters-in law. Firstly they were unwilling to believe us. Elder sister-in-law explained the reason "After Suhara's death, people totally unknown to them come off and on telling that they are from crime branch, Police etc. They compel them to put signature in some papers. One day they retorted reiterating that they couldn't sign on any paper without discussing the matter with those persons who intervened in the case, they couldn't do anything. Later they didn't turn"

We tried our level best to make them believe that we are not of that sort. Suhara's mother murmured "if this will help to punish the accused....." By that time Suhara's father came home. Mother started saying. Once started, they clearly described the whole issue.

They had three sons and two daughters. Suhara studied upto 7th Std only. At the age of 14 (in 1988) she was married to Isahak, employed in Gulf giving a dowry of 17 pavans & Rs. 10,000/- Suhara started living with her in-laws; Mother-in-law Aysha; Brother Hamsappa, Hamsappa's wife Aysha and their two children. Isahak's elder brother Mohammed kutty, a butcher by profession lived nearby with his wife and children. His slaughter house was attached to their house. One day Suhara happened to see Mohammed kutty killing a pregnant goat. She was totally disturbed and then onwards she didn't eat the meat brought from his shop. Her in-laws used to scold her for not eating meat.

Isahak used to send money to Mohammed kutty, before his marriage. But, after marriage, he had some word battles regarding expenses, and he started sending money to Suhara. This made Mohammed kutty affected.

At times Suhara and her two children used to go and stay at her house for one or two months. One day her father came to call her home, she described the agonising situations at the husband's house. He compelled her to return home with him, so that they can have peace in their life. She told him she will reach him within two or three days. Hearing this father returned.

That day she received money from Isahak. Her brother-in-law asked for Rs. 5000/-. Before he had been given 5000/- and informing the same to Isahak, he insisted her not to give money without his consent. (Suhara used to tell all the problems to her mother) She didn't give money telling that it had been sent towards the expenses of house construction. Days before he asked money from Suhara's father and he gave him another Rs. 5000/-, which he didn't return. Suhara reminded it to him. He threatened her "I will handle you" Suhara told all these to his father during his last visit to see her, i.e. the previous day of her murder. Father, with tears in his eyes described all these to us.

After this incident, the next night, Isahak's neighbours came telling that Suhara is seriously injured for she fell down from the staircase and is hospitalized at Moulana Hospital; Perinthalmanna (The FIR clearly tells that Suhara died, on the way to the hospital) It being night, only father went with them. Mother stayed with her daughter-in-law and children. In the morning they also went to the hospital, but smelt something wrong since they were shown Suhara half an hour later; making them shockingly realize that "Suhara is dead".

Next day, during police enquiry Suhara's father explained all the tortures Suhara had to suffer from the in-laws. According to him, the Police purposefully let Saidalavi, his brother's son report the case, Police told him

just to follow Saidalavi and not to tell anything. Their behaviours seemed dubious. Father was not interested in Saidalavi's reporting the case, because he didn't know Suhara's problems as he had just returned from Gulf. Thus the crime was reported as "suspicious death". Local politicians also intervened in the issue. They promised that they will send complaint to Vanitha Commission. For that they took copies of the dead body of Suhara, (They showed those to us also) But after 6 months, understanding that they didn't do anything, Suhara's father took back all the documents and he sent the petition to the Vanitha Commission.

The grave crime as reported by Suhara's father is as follows: Children of Hamza and Isahak quarrelled with each other and Hamza's son injured the other on his leg, using knife. Seeing the wound Suhara got disturbed and she cried out that she wanted to go home with her children. But mother-in-law insisted not to go. Hamza pushed her to the wall and hindered her. He told furiously "you won't go to your house anymore in life". she was scared to brave them and dropped the plan of going, (Suhara's children told her parents later that she was crying all the time while she prepared food for them fed them and made them sleep). While Suhara and children were lying on the bed Hamza and Mohammed kutty entered the room, took children forcefully, thinking that they were asleep, they put the children on a sofa in the living room. The elder son woke up during that time which they didn't notice. He told the parents that he saw through the window. Hamza and Mohammed kutty caught hold of her and stabbed her to death. When he saw them stabbing his mother and the elder son cried aloud, and then only they understood that the son was an eye-witness to the murder. They boy was unable to utter a word even, as his uncles (the accused) threatened him that "you will have the very fate of your mother if you tell this to anybody".

Isahak reached home, only four days after the murder. He didn't see the dead body. Father told us "Six months before he asked for his sons. But we didn't sent. Elder one is scared of going to them. How can we sent them to him?"

Both were crying as they talked. We couldn't hide our emotions. It was that much unbearable an incident. "The case was charged, but all accused got bail, Police officers also know that it had been a clear murder. But ***the accused influenced the local politicians and with their help got bail, if though the local political parties conducted police station march on the other side***" - Suhara's parents added.

Now, Isahak had remarried and living in his newly constructed house, for which Suhara had been keeping the money he had sent His second wife and her family know the sad plight-of Suhara. Second wife was unwilling to stay with her in-laws.

It was in the evening we started our dialogue. Darkness had spread around. It was 8o'clock. Double heartedly, we returned. We couldn't break the silence, as Suhara's parents stopped the narration. Emotional outbursts of Suhara's parents, they scene of a boy outside the window seeing his mother's murder, from their bed room, Photos of Suhara's dead body, Suhara's innocent children who played in the Portico while we were hearing her parents each and every thing concerning Suhara's life and death disturbs us now also. We feel, we were the least able to soothe Suhara's family, as we were unable to soothe ourselves.

SOBHANA

272/98 is a pathetic case of psychic problems as mentioned by the victim, Sobhana's father's brother. Sobhana became mentally ill from her college days itself. She used to tell her mother and father that her ailment is because of the shock resulted by seeing a snake. Whenever she became ill she was drowsy and used to talk and toss. When she was studying in the college she tried to commit suicide by jumping into the well. She had passed TTC, and was working as a primary school teacher near her house. Because of that she used to stay in her house, and visited husband's house off and on. When we went to interview them mother and father had been to one of their relatives. Before our return they came; On hearing the purpose of our visit, Sobhana's father became very unhappy and **said "what ever the reason be and whoever the cause for it be, we lost our daughter....."** This comment made us reflect on the "unnatural" side of Sobhana's death. But they didn't tell much about it. Any how, they co-operated with us, Thinking that Sobhana will be okay, if she gets married, her parents arranged marriage to a military officer who was working at Delhi. It was their sixth year of marriage while she committed suicide. Her second child – daughter – was of six months old then, now her children are with their father's family. Sobhana's parents told us she lived very happily with her husband and children. Husband's family was very good to her; she committed suicide from her own home. It was a case of acute depression that needed added care and concern while she was living. They didn't share much and they never considered the situation uncanny, it seemed.

IV. Women Missing

As mentioned in the secondary data details during the reference period of study, only six cases had been reported out of the six cases the following were probed in detail.

Sl. No	Crime Number	Year
1.	135	1991
2.	146	1997
3.	244	1997
4.	263	1997
5.	429	1998

JAMEELA

Cr. No. 135/1991 had been reported on 5.6.91. The astonishing factor of this case, as reported in secondary data details was that the "event of missing" had taken place four years before the reporting of the same.

Abdurahiman, the complainant of this case is a retired Police Constable. Jameela, the missing woman, is the only daughter in his first wife, He got divorced from the first wife, after six months she died. (Now he is living with his second wife and 5 children).

After her mother's death he took Jameela with him and she was nurtured by her Step-mother. She was married to Musthafa, a labourer in a coir company. They lived together only for five years. Musthafa used to batter and beat her for not delivering a child. As it became unbearable for her they got divorced. Later she got married to one of her cousins and it existed only for 3 years. Her in-laws used to tell that she is mentally sick. The second

marital tie didn't turn good to her. After four years she got interested in having connection with Abdullah, which her father didn't like. She expelled out from the family. If though Jameela married her third husband as per 'religious regulations ', he also didn't 'look after' her. As the father expelled her out the husband didn't look after her, she started living with her Moothaappa (father's eldest brother) who showed concern to her. From there she used to go for migrations at times, used to return later or sometimes family members may see her from unknown places and forcefully bring her home. But one day she went on her own and didn't return for a long time. As mentioned by her family members that was the reason behind the gap between the happening and reporting of the event. As her 'outings' became a problem the relatives took her to a psychiatrist at Thrissur and started medication, which she actually didn't like.

"She was a peculiar character, loved goats and cows, used to give her food to them, loved children very much and if babies cried she used to scold their parents shouting at them, loved loneliness and always talked to herself". Jameela's stepmother added, "I loved her more than I loved my children." She opined that the reason behind all these mysterious expressions from her side was the worst experience she had to undergo in her first marriage.

Whenever the father scolded her, the stepmother used to console embracing her telling "don't worry, the good days will come". Hearing this she will behave as if she is happy. Her stepmother, with tears in her eyes told us, in spite of my blessings to her *nothing good happened in her life*. Now Jameela is in Mental hospital, the family members once in a month go and visit her. During the first month of her stay at the Mental hospital she used to plead the visitors to take her back home. Two years had passed by and now she had stopped pleading. Earlier she used to ask for certain special foods of her interest but now never demands anything told her stepmother. Jameela's

experience has no equal in our rest deep interviews. Her stepmother's opinion that it was her bitter life experiences that brought in such awful complicated situations, leads to more complexities.

GEETHA & JAMEELA

Geetha, the woman missing as per Crime No. 146/97, had been living with her mother, father, two elder sisters and brother. She studied upto 10th Std., failed and stopped studying. She had studied tailoring and was working in a printing press as a trainee. Her mother, father and brother went for "Koolie" work. They were living happily. From her work place Geetha got introduced to one Saidalavi, as the connection because close, they decided to live together and one day she eloped with Saidalavi. Her brother petitioned to the police. As we went for the interview, to Geetha's house only Geetha's sister-in-law was present there. She was reluctant to tell anything. Geetha's cousin, Sunitha who lived near-by, came to us; hearing the aim of our visit she willingly explained the details, as follows:

Geetha and Saidalavi are now living at Wadakkancherry Geetha "had been converted as Jameela". They have one son. Sunitha mentioned that Geetha's mother, hearing the news of her delivery, went to see them, without telling it to Geetha's father and brother. If she told, they would have hindered her from going and might get scoldings; Sunitha always feel concern for her. Geetha's mother was not there, as we visited them. She went for work, told Sunitha, we waited at Sunitha's house, so that we liked to see Geetha's mother and hear from her. She came at 6 o'clock in the evening; As we enquired her, first she sat silently, bending her head downwards, as if she was having tense thoughts. Then she started crying..... We sat near her without interrupting her..... After some time she told us "I hope that Geetha will be living happily some where" She

didn't reveal us about her regular visits to Geetha. (We were happy to hear from Sunitha that Geetha's mother visited her regularly. But it was without others understanding. It is worthy to note that Geetha's conversion to Jameela hadn't affected her mother, if though she didn't tell it out directly. We didn't disturb her much. She might have been scared of the scoldings and beatings from her son and husband; Geetha's mother added **"when Geetha was missing they (my husband and son) blamed me telling that it was because of my support she did all this:.** As Sunitha's description reveals, Geetha's mother silently suffers all the blaming now also.

SATHI

The victim of Cr. No. 244/1997, Sathi alias Yasoda, was 19 years old. She was living with her mother and father, younger sister and brother. One day she quarreled with her sister and mother scolded her for the same. This made her furious and she got out of the house saying that she is going to one of her friends. But after two days she didn't return her father, on the third day filed the case. Afterwards they received her letter from Kallambalam telling that she went with a man whom she got introduced from the Bus. When they got the letter Sathi's father, uncle and brother went to Trivandrum searched a lot, atleast for one month. From there, they shockingly discovered 'the gang' which Sathi was caught in. By then Sathi has dwelled for 30 days in that Colony. If though they discovered her, they were unable to catch her from there. Sathi's father told us that she was trapped and kidnapped by this gang at Kallambalam. When they went to the Colony, the guy who caught Sathi was not there. They revealed all the issues to Police and returned home disappointed. Then the Police caught the fellow they intimated it to the Sathi's family, arrested them and brought to Pattambi. **Sathi was unwilling to blame the fellow, this helped him to escape from the case and he was released. They had never seen him later.**

Sathi's family didn't pursue the case more, Sathi's father told us "thinking that their daughter's future will be in danger". When we went to interview the case nobody in their house talked to us except her father. Her brother an auto driver watched us doubtfully. Sathi's mother went inside and didn't come out to talk when she understood that "we were to interview them". Sathi's father's depiction makes the whole affair dubious. The Gang who kidnapped Sathi very cunningly stands a mystery now also.

NIRMALA

Nirmala, the victim of Cr. No. 263/1997 was 28 years old at the time of missing she had stopped going to school from 7th standard onwards. Since then, she was working in the match company at Palathara. Mohandas came to the company for working. She was acquainted to Mohandas for 5 months only. ***They loved to live with***. But Nirmala thought that she would not get the consent of her parents for the same, since they belonged to different castes. From 12 years of age till then she was an earning member to her family. Her elder sister had been married. Her parents were not trying to seek a groom for her since they feared that they wouldn't get her earnings after the marriage – Nirmala told us. Life at home was a total bore to her having no entertainment. Her home is in one of the remotest under developed areas.

In these circumstances, Nirmala, anticipating a better future, eloped with Mohandas. The very next day her younger brother, Subrahmanian reported the case to the police. The police officials asked him to bring a photograph of Nirmala. On the fourth day of missing, the case was charged. During this time the brother came to understand from Nirmala's workplace that she eloped with Mohandas. On the 12th day of her missing Nirmala's brother, after some enquiries understood that Nirmala and Mohandas were at

Thodupuzha, Idukki in one of Mohandas' uncles' house. Mohandas actually belongs to Ottapalam his parents are no more. He has only one sister who is married. Nirmala's brother Subrahmanian went directly to Thodupuzha met the couple, and brought her home forcefully. He threatened Nirmala that "they won't allow her" to live with Mohandas since they belonged to different castes in which marriage interactions don't take place traditionally. He scolded her that he would tie up her legs and hands and she would be under house arrest. Nirmala retaliated to it (as she explained to us she was laughing) that she had been living with him for 12 days, happily and in her rest life; she will surely live with him, no matter whether her brother or father hinders the way. Later Subrahmanian succumbed. Mohandas came to call Nirmala the next day. They reported before the court at Ottapalam and submitted to the court that they are going to register the marriage. Later they registered marriage at Pallippuram Panchayath office. Now as we saw them they are living happily. Nirmala is residing at her home to look after her aged parents. Mohandas who is working in a match company at Mannarghat comes to Nirmalas'. Nirmala's mother told that they are aged, unhealthy having no money, that is why Nirmala has to suffer the whole lot; she added, now also she is working and protecting her parents. Nirmala's mother lamented that she will be free and live happily with Mohandas at Mannarghat, where he is having a room of his own only if her brother gets married to a girl. On our enquiry Nirmala showed their "wedding photo" she introduced Mohandas very happily. When we went there he was not there.

This case reminds us that if two persons want to co-habit on their own, they need to channelize much energy for fighting against the social properties and practices of family, caste, police and court etc. ***The woman, though very brave to stand the repercussions, because of her subordinate role, is being grabbed and detached from living with the beloved,***

through a lot of threats and atrocious acts. It will not help the woman be independently take decisions regarding her life if though she is an earning person.

SARFUNNEESA

Sarfunneesa 17 years, Cr. No. 429/1998 – Time of Happening 21.10.98 and reported on 23.10.98 by Muhammed (Father of Sarfunneesa) Shamsudeen 27 years (Sarfunneesa's father's brother's son-in law)

Sarfunneesa was a ninth standard student, one day as she was going to school Shamsudeen the accused came in an auto-rikshaw and forcefully dragged her into the auto-rikshaw' threatening her "if cried I will kill you" and kidnapped her. As her mother told us, Shamsudeen had no permanent job and he lived on the money he got by "arranging" girls to the needy as "maids." Shamsudeen forcefully took her to one teacher at Panamaram, Waynad who was in need of a home maid. His exact connection with the teacher is not known (i.e. How he came to understand the teacher's need etc.) to Sarfu's mother. Sarfu's father reported the case in the police station that Sarfu didn't return from school in the evening and with the help of police officials he advertised the issue in the daily; the teacher (Even before this incident Sarfunneesa's family had had the opinion that Shamsudeen was an irresponsible guy) to whom Sarfunneesa was sold by Shamsudeen saw the advertisement and fearing the aftermath, she telephoned to the Pattambi police station, that the girl is with her working as a "maid" to her.

The police officers intimated this news to Sarfunneesa's father and they brought her back. **Sarfunneesa was reluctant to speak out her experiences she had had during those seventeen days. She ran to the backyard of her house** as her mother was explaining all these agonies to us. Later we went to her and tried to console her but she became furious and behaved as if she hated the

whole world. After the event she never went out of the house alone and she is not going to school even.

We returned with so many serious doubts in our thoughts. The accused is absconding now.

1. What all harassments she had had from the accused and during the 17 days at the teacher's.
2. What is the actual role of the teacher in this? How Shamsudeen (accused) is connected with the teacher.
3. Why Sarfunneesa had not communicated her grave experiences even to her mother? How agonizing was it?
4. Why the police officials, even after understanding that the accused was absconding, didn't enquire the case deeply. So that the victim could have received an iota of justice.

When we asked Sarfunneesa's mother, why didn't they ask the police officials probe the case later and find out Shamsudeen, arrest and bring him to the court's door, without which he can't be punished. She replied. "We are very poor ones, and we live with the small earnings of Sarfunneesa's father. Sarfunneesa's future will be affected and she may not get married with the stigma if this case continues. Sarfunneesa is living with two sisters and parents; one of her sisters got married. This may affect her sister's future also."

We returned with a heavy heart. If though further action had been dropped by the police in this regard Sarfunneesa's and her family's life had been turned top side down by this.

V. Kidnapping : 359 – 367 IPC

Sl. No	Crime Number	Year
1.	96	1997
2.	206	1997

During the study period, only 4 cases of "kidnapping" had been reported, But the deep interviews of other cases suggest most of the kidnapping turn unreported for almost all the parents and relatives think that "it will worsen the situation and will affect the victim's as well as family's life".

REENA & VIJAYALAKSHMI

Cr No 96/97 and 206/97 concerns the same fellows. Reena's mother Indira Teacher telling that Mr. Muraleedharan had kidnapped Reena, had filed Cr No. 96/97. When we went to see the Reenas only her mother was present there. As she understood we visited them to enquire the details regarding the case she became furious and told us ***"I don't like to reopen the old issues. What you people need is to make stories regarding our experiences. But all these make our situation more vulnerable."*** We talked to her very politely and told "we are not to 'sell the stories' what we are for is to 'study the situations', we are also 'humans' like you".

This made her much cooler. Then we asked her why Reena went with Muraleedharan? Was she interested in it? Teacher "may beI don't know. I can't tell you anything regarding it. She is also trying to forget it. Don't remind us all these ordeals. Reena stopped going to school after this incident, we were told. We were that much dejected by these situations. The thought that we once again disturbed them distracted us. We were unable to understand how they behaved to Reena as and when she returned?

How Reena herself sees her past experiences? How did these affect the whole family? etc were in our thoughts.

VIJAYALAKSHMI

Much of these unanswered questions regarding Reena were revealed to us through our dialogue with Vijayalakshmi (victim of 206/97) Muraleedharan's wife, with whom Reena eloped. Vijayalakshmi willingly answered. It was a frank dialogue. She was married to Muraleedharan in 1984. When she was 16 years of age she went to college after marriage took her degree later. She had Mother, Father and four brothers. Muraleedharan is an artist. He was 26 at the time of marriage. Theirs was otherwise a happy married life. With two children, elder daughter and younger son, as she told to us. As she was at her home for second delivery Muraleedharan eloped with his neighbour Reena of 16 years. She came to know it later. Muraleedharan had promised before time that on Vishu, April 14, he would go and take her when resting of 3 months, after delivery was over but he didn't go to her and take them home. Then her brother went to the Muraleedharan's and came to understand the problem. On Vishu night Muraleedharan eloped with Reena. He filed a petition. On June 4th, he accidentally saw Reena and Muraleedharan, and talked amicably to them and they succumbed to compromise. Based on that dialogue Reena returned to her family and Vijayalakshmi and children were brought to Muraleedharan, All these happened as if nothing had happened. Vijayalakshmi told us ***"Hearing this betrayal from Muraleedharan's side I don't actually like to live with him. But it is just an adjustment for our (mine and my childrens') safety and peace.*** Reena had also promised Vijayalakshmi, as she told us, that she is not having any 'relations' with him now.

"Did you talk to Muraleedharan about this" We asked Vijayalakshmi. Vijayalakshmi told "what is there in talking too much? Once enquired and he told me "it just happened like that" as if it was not of 'his' choice. Vijayalakshmi told us "in my whole life I will not forget this betrayal", if though she is not for any revenge.

She told us about Reena "When I was brought to this house after marriage "Reenamol" was just delivered to Indira teacher...I used to love, caress and care her as my own child...and to that child...Muraliyettan did all these cruelties.....she was unable to complete. She burst into tears. Now these "neighbours" are having no connection.

VI. Physical & Sexual Assaults : 351 – 354 IPC

Sl. No	Crime Number	Year
1.	45	1994
2.	167	1997
3.	180	1997
4.	293	1997
5.	294	1997
6.	159	1998
7.	238	1998

HAFSATH

Hafsath, victim of Cr No. 45/94, 5th child of her Umma (mother), who has 8 children, was "manhandled" by one of her neighbours Illias, He coercively embraced and kissed her. Hafsath complained the same to her family and they filed a case. She was 17 years old then. She studied up to 7th STD. As per FIR the case was reported, and accused was arrested on 12/2/94, the case was charged on 28/3/94 but later on 23/2/95 the case compounded.

When we went to see Hafsath, she was not there. She is in her partner's house now. Hafsath's brother talked to us. As he told us "There is nothing more to be revealed other than what had been reported to the Police. It happened 4 years before her marriage. This incident did not affect her marriage. They gave 10 pavans and Rs. 1000/- as dowry.

Hafsath's family is dwelling in a small house in the street near railway line. The incident happened when she went to fetch water from pipeline.

Hafsath's brother reiterated "oh! it is not a problem. It is quite natural of a "man to behave like that" These fellows behaved very doubtfully to us. When we asked, "Is this Hafsath's house ?" They looked puzzled. We were unable to understand Hafsath's versions of how the incident affected her? Whether it has changed the 'pattern of her life'? Has it affected her 'understandings' about the social life and interaction with men? ***Her family members were bewildered and asked, "Are you from Vanitha Commission? Will it come in newspapers? If at all these come in news papers it will affect her future".*** We repeatedly told them we came to 'study' the issue, not to publish it in newspaper and all" But they were reluctant to consider it. They told they are scared of media projections.

PARVATHIYAMMA

167/97 has a different tone, Parvathiamma, after her partner Achuthannair's death was living alone. Her children were away seeking their fortune. One year after this case her son has to resign from job and come to assist her since she is scared to stay home alone. We visited Parvathiamma, and she told us "On 12.7.97 early morning at 6.30, she saw somebody lying in her "padippura" she asked who it was. He non-hesitantly replied, "I'm Chandran, Your neighbour". In the night I went for film and just lied here. She didn't mind it. But 10 minutes later he came inside, threatened her, bitten her deeply on her knees and nose. She cried loudly. He ran away. His idea was to bribe "money". *Parvathiamma told, "His wife was about to deliver. He was badly in need of money.* He is a drunkard. Everybody knows he makes "arrack" in his house. His father had been caught in robbery two times and he got bail with the help of "local politicians". Parvathiamma's case was referred in the court in late 1998. Witnesses betrayed since the accused and his team helped them to go to Dubai. Parvathiamma's younger son appealed to Vanitha Commission, Rosamma Chacko, who was member of the Legislative committee for social welfare of women, Kerala; and to the district collector, Police enquiry was strong. Chandran managed to get a certificate from the Mental Hospital Thrissur; this helped him to get out of the issue. She told us "she didn't get justice from any where" Chandran repeated the same thing to yet another of their neighbours; in 1999 September. That day he ran out and escaped. This also was reported to the police, but later it was also compounded.

YASODAMMA

The Cr. No. 180/97, had been referred along with the descriptions of Cr. No. 184/97, it is the reported unnatural death of the victim of 180/07, Yasodamma, one of the accused of the same being Madhavan Nair. The brief of this case is that Madhavan Nair, Yasodamma's - the victim - uncle along with Kunhiraman and Chathodi Mohammed, forcefully entered Yasodamma's house, and hindered her pathway, as she was getting into her house, after bathing outside; They kicked her and slapped her, tore off her dress; This atrocious scene was witnessed by her relative Saraswathamma and all the accused dragged her, hit her and tried to assault her. It is shocking to notice that, the Police officer who went to investigate this case (Crime No. 180/97) and take 'notes' of the issue, saw the dead body of Yasodamma. The FIR suggests that the "death" had happened days before, as there were worms, insects and mites on the body. It had already been decayed.

As per FIR, Crime No. 180/97 occurred on 14/1/97, it was reported on 23/7/97, by the victim herself. But Yasodamma's dead body was seen by the Police officer on 16/7/97. i.e., three days after the reporting of the first case, This make everybody, suspect that Yasodamma's is not a "suicide". As we got details during deep interview, (depicted under "unnatural death - 184/97) this is a clear case of "murder". But it is still undetected. Who did it? Why? How? Etc still remain unexplored and unanswered. The most disturbing point is that the final report of 180/97 had been submitted on 22/10/98, closing the file, stating that the case dropped since the victim, Yasodamma is dead.

AMINA & IYYATHUTTY

294/97 is a counter case against 293/97 both under Sec 354 IPC. Victim of 293/97, Amina (34) was battered and assaulted upon by Muhammed Kutty (54 years) who is the brother of Amina's younger sisters' partner. Amina's partner Assainu was working in Gulf, at the time of this 'issue'. He had been working there for 15 years; Amina and Assainu have 2 girls of 15 years and 7 years and one boy of 12 years. One day when Amina was coming home after bath from neighbouring pond, with her 3 Children, Muhammed Kutty, Iyyathumma & Suhra came from the opposite direction. 1st accused hindered her way and pressed on her breast and neck, 2nd accused slapped her on back and the third accused threatened her that 'they will kill her'.

"294/97 has been reported by Iyyathutty, Muhammed Kutty's wife telling that the Aminas forcefully entered their house and battered them for having fury towards them as they asked Rs. 15000/- that they lend them before". We first of all visited Amina; she frankly explained all that happened. As they were relatives, he used to 'try' her through sugar coated dialogues (he used to try to embrace her and try to put his hands through her dress and such) ***She told us nobody will think that such an elder fellow will behave like this, towards one who is very younger to him.*** She used to write these issues to her partner. She used to compel him to tell "Moothappa" to direct his son not to behave like this to her. At first Assainu didn't believe her. Later when 'these issues' became serious he took it to his heart. Hearing all these "through her letters", he was unable to come home quickly and he wrote to his Moothappa, to warn Moothappa's son, Muhammed Kutty, the accused of this case, this made things worse and hence these 'unbecomings' from their side. Assainu came after 6 months, in 1998, and didn't go to gulf later.

After the incident Amina's family – brother and father – helped them to report the 'case' and accused were arrested. The very same day Muhammed Kutty reported 'a counter case' to the Police, in the name of his wife Iyyathutty – i.e. Cr. No. 294/97. The case was like this "Assainu was to give Rs. 15000/- to them which they lend to him. They would have given the money. But later they attacked their house" etc., Iyyathutty and family told us Assainu and Amina attacked them. Iyyathutty was hospitalised and 2^d day they reported to the police. Finally case was compounded with the mediation of Mosque committee as both told it. Iyyathutty's case was fraud one we felt from their expressions.

Amina's revealings made it clearer. "Assainu was in Gulf when the case happened. Iyyathutty reported that both Amina and Assainu attacked them. Iyyathutty and family didn't tell anything other than what we got from FIR Index."

Amina's is a case of continuous sexual harassment. She revealed the incidents as follows: Muhammed Kutty used to tempt her off and on to have "sexual inter course" with him. Muhammed Kutty brought the proposal for Amina's daughter in early 1997. After her Nikah, one day Muhammed Kutty came near her telling "Now the way is clear. Everything is okay; your daughter's marriage is over, your "husband" returned to Gulf. Amina, we will have a nice time" Hearing this Amina shouted towards him. Seeing her negative mood Muhammed Kutty forcefully embraced her and pushed her to the cot. Amina cried aloud; her little ones came to the room crying, "please don't do anything to our Umma". Seeing the situation becoming more vulnerable Muhammed Kutty went out telling that, "I will teach you a lesson". It was after this, the incident from outside their house. This telltale incident proves that it was to lighten the case of 293/97 the accused and his family gave a 'counter case'.

RADHA

Radha (the victim of Cr. No. 159/98), while she was staying for a few days with her mother in Vellamcherry Colony, Prabhapuram (Actually she was living with her husband Arumughan, at Kottakkal with their 3 Children.) with her children, was attacked by two men (who were identifiable to them, Radha's family, but they didn't know their name and address) Saidalavi, the reported accused was not the real accused, told Radha's mother to us. It was she who described the incident! On 13/4/98 night, these men forcefully entered their house. When Radha went to the bathroom outside the house, with her little kid, they caught hold of her, threatened her, not to make any noise. She cried aloud, neighbour came, a lot of people gathered, the accused ran away, being afraid of the crowd.

The police records tell that the accused is Saidalavi (22 years) S/o Moideen Kutty, Natyamangalam. He was arrested on 21/4/98 produced before the court and got bail. The case was charged on 30/6/98.

Radha's mother told us they compounded the case and got Rs. 4000/- from the accused. All these are done in an easy manner that it reminds a drama. But as to Radha she deserted by her husband, Arumughan, had he was against compromising the case. Radha's mother is disturbed, and **Radha is unhappy and affected for it was for no fault of hers, she lost her happy life with husband and children** Arumughan belonged to Pondicherry. They lived together for 12½years. They gave 5 pavans and Rs. 5000/- towards dowry at the time of marriage. Arumughan didn't return the same when he deserted her. Now, Radha is living in the house provided by her mother, (in her inherited property.)

This case is a typical example of manipulating the criminal actions to help the accused. Radha's mother told us Saidalavi was only a helper to the accused. The accused had influenced everywhere and they managed to evade from the charges of accused. They went to Dubai with the help of the Police, She blamed, because it was the police who charged the case against Saidalavi only, and spared the real accused.

We asked, "Why did they compromise if Arumughan was ready to continue the case?" They thought what is good in punishing the helper of the accused instead of catching the accused!!

SHEENA

Sheena, victim of the case 238/98 is studying in 10th STD now. When she was in 8th STD, one day she went to the nearby river, to have bath, with her friend Suseela. She was not used to go to river for bath since she had a heart operation. On her way back she was attacked by one Shamsudeen who came from back and forcefully embraced her, catching her 'breast'. There were scratches on her breast. This shocked her and she came home crying and lied down as if fainting. All at home were bewildered and as she was a heart patient, they immediately hospitalised her. The doctor checked and told them there is nothing to worry about. The next day she was discharged from the hospital. Shamsudeen the accused, having a wife and 2 children, is living on the banks of a river, Sheena's house is in the opposite village and through the middle flowed the river.

Sheena's mother Malathy told us ***"They became ready for compromise, thinking that it may affect her future"***. She told, "we are new to this place – We have been here only for the last 4 years. We do not know the pulse of the people

here. More than that, she is a girl who had suffered a lot, what we need is peace".

After the incident, it took many days for her to go out to the public. She was scared to go out and talk to others. It reduced her concentration in studies. She went to school only after two weeks. Later her mother and brother instilled 'interest' in her and helped her to be brave, and face the situation. Sheena's brother is an auto-rikshaw driver. He was very helpful in bringing her to the day-to-day life activities. Sheena is very much okay now.

We had to investigate almost the same but much complicated an incident, which aggravated the agonies of a woman for the rest of her life that is still continuing now. The case is as follows.

VII. Prevention of atrocities against SC-ST : Sec 509 IPC

ELIZABETH & SARAH

The Crime No. 293/92 had been reported under 3 (1) X (1) prevention atrocities against SC/ST act and 509 IPC. During the reported period, only two cases had been reported under this section

Chandramohan, Scientific Assistant, Kerala Agricultural University molested Elizabeth an eight-year-old child. Sarah, Elizabeth's mother who is a college lecturer mentioned the event to us, as we visited them. "Chandramohan's child, who was Elizabeth's friend, and Elizabeth were studying in the same class, 3rd STD. Chandramohan was a close friend of Elizabeth's father. Elizabeth used to behave very frankly to him and used to tell him the "family problems" they had between her mother and father. According to Sarah, Chandramohan "exploited" this situation and

"misbehaved" to her, in the-utmost-unbecoming-way. One day there was no bus due to strike and Chandramohan, seeing the girl from the school, picked her and told her that he will take her home. Before that he told her they have to take 'Anju' (his daughter) also and they went inside the classroom. He asked her "where is Anju's seat"? She showed it to him. Suddenly, in an unanticipated manner he asked her to lay on the bench and forcefully caught her to make her lie. She was scared and cried aloud and ran away from the school".

This incident was not brought to the public first. The offender being her father's close friend, they were feared to report the issue to the police. This incident had collapsed the girl's mood also.

But the turn of events happened at a different point. One Mr. Ramachandran, who happened to hear this 'issue' on 23/10, reported the issue on 12/11. The local people, told us that Ramachandran and Chandramohan were in feud; for the former's wife was having 'illicit relationship' with the later. (Now they have divorced)

Elizabeth, if though very much disturbed and don't like to repeat the stories on her own, is some what balanced now and studying in college. But she is timid and an introvert. She fears if once again she will have to face the 'court' since the case is in Supreme Court now. She is not for any 'legal intricacies' as it is very much affecting her. Elizabeth's mother told us "This incident in heir life have made the whole life top-side-down. Elizabeth's father, who is not at all interested in continuing the case, always nags saying that 'Sarah is the cause of all'. She was ready to submit the issue before the police and court, once it was started, if though by somebody else. Sarah gets scolding for it now also. But Sarah's decision is that once published, they

should seek a justifiable end, so that these atrocious situations should not be repeated to any girl in the future.

Sarah is a typical sufferer of beatings and battering. She revealed whole lot of her experiences, which was never reported to any police or court before. But every body in her college knows that she is a victim of 'wife beating'. Hers is a life of 'house arrest' in her husband's home. She cannot even telephone from her home and feel fear when her friends call her. As she told the telephone is in her father-in-laws room, only at the time of serials in the TV, which her in-laws see regularly, can others call her? She reminded us if we telephone her do it only at the time of serial. Her husband is a Bank officer, and their's could have been a 'good family atmosphere' otherwise, she reflected on the thought that her husband is a good bank officer, good organizer of his employees federation, good to others socially but inside the house, he is "yet another one". He behaves brutally to her, she believes every husband, if though very progressive in outlooks will behave in the same way. On getting acquainted to us she asked us "Are you married? Do your husband love you? Etc."

Everybody in the college knows her tragic issue. She murmured "if not for this engagement I would have finished myself. Every body feel pity for her, but nobody or she herself takes initiative to seek how to dismantle the case. She herself believes 'one day it will change. He is the only son of his parents. Sarah even has no "freedom" to talk to her children in private and vice versa. They say, "She will destroy them". But Sarah sighs and expectingly reiterates, Now a days since the children are growing up, "They – my children – are understanding the situation more, They are very much loving to me. That is enough". Now she had designed her own dissents to in-laws and husband. The family atmosphere is very tense, Mother in-law used to call her "filthy language', for years. One day she decided to call her

back the same 'filthy word'. This shocked mother-in-law and later she didn't call her like that. Sarah herself feels discredited for using such words to her mother-in-law. But she assured us "But it had had its effect".

For three times, on her return from college, she felt the smell of gas in the kitchen. Sarah told us "exactly at the time of her return from college she used to prepare tea and have it." Her mother-in-law knows this. Two times mother-in-law asked her to kindle the gas and she left the kitchen and went to bathroom. (Actually, she is not allowed to prepare food and distribute it in the family.) For the first time, on smelling the gas she thought " oh! It is an accident!" Second time she had some doubt. At the third attempt as she understood it as an attempt on her life, she told her mother-in-law calmly "There is no good if you go and hide in the bathroom. The flame will take the whole home and all of us will die at the same time". After that her mother-in-law never repeated the attempt. Her father / mother in-law calls her "mad".

At first when we went to Sarah's we met Sarah's mother-in-law. She didn't show much interest in receiving us. She didn't mingle with us. She told us Sarah is not here. We told, we are students from the college and came to see the teacher to clear some doubts. Later we visited Sarah from the college and she told us it was good that she was not there when we visited her. She appreciated us for not making confusions by telling out our mission of visiting her. She would not have been able to tell all these from home. She finished saying ***"I depicted all these to you, you may hear a news of unnatural death one day. Then you should remember that teacher had such a life back ground"***.

Chapter VII : Part I

SURVEY REPORT

The third part of the study as per the proposal was to do a survey in Ward III of Ongallur Panchayath, which is one of the densely populated areas in Pattambi Circle. It is an ideal place that satisfies the different economic, social and cultural factors discussed in the study. The idea of doing the survey was to try to enquire and understand the factors that hinder gender justice. Our study proposed that atrocities against women are one of the major problems faced by the whole society. The survey was to enquire openly the opinions of people in intervening these issues and thereby trying to solve them. For this it needed the wholehearted support of the people of the area. We have tried our level best to reach every corner of the village and almost everybody responded very cordially. Many of them expect that studies like ours will help improve the social interactions since people get an opportunity to share their experiences, ideas of what and how they think about transforming their locality & their own life situations and the visions each have concerning socio-cultural and politico-legal provisions towards a gender just social set up.

The selected sample

We selected 50 Females and 50 Males at random from the electoral roll of Ward III of Ongallur Panchayath out of which 10 females and males were unmarried and the rest married. The selected samples approximately satisfy all the attributes of the variables of the study. The questionnaire of the survey included three parts.

Age distribution and marital status of the selected samples

The selected sample constitutes people from four age groups: [refer table 1.0]

18 to 30 Yrs: males and females twelve each, of which five each are married and seven each are unmarried.

30 to 42 Yrs: eleven males (9 married 2 unmarried) and eleven females (8 married and 3 unmarried)

42 to 54 Yrs: thirteen males, all married and thirteen females (12 married and one unmarried)

54 and above: fourteen males and fourteen females all married

In the first part we enquired them the following:

- ☞ Did Marriage hinder continuing education and selecting job?
- ☞ Marriage curbs autonomy?
- ☞ Educational Qualifications of the respondents?
- ☞ Openness in behaviour towards women at home?
- ☞ Do women get the recognition as an individual in family and society?
- ☞ Who help you in solving the family problems and individual issue?
- ☞ Have you been able to do anything to help other?

1. Educational Qualifications of the respondents?

The Educational qualifications of the respondents show that it is a representative sample of the educational scenario of the area of study. Nearly half of the respondents have got high school education. 13 respondents have passed higher secondary, 10 of them are females. 2 females and one male have attained professional qualification. 2 females and 2 males of the respondents are total illiterates. [Ref. Tab 1.1]

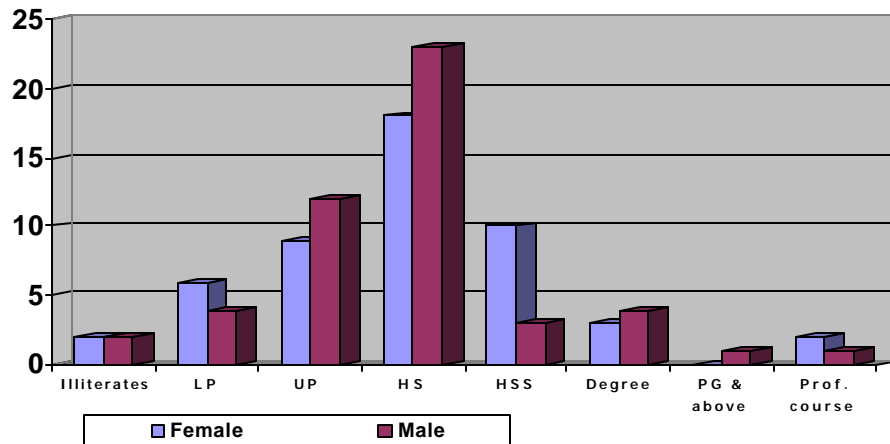


Chart showing the Educational Qualifications of the respondents

2. Did Marriage hinder continuing education and selecting job?

37 Females responded that marriage didn't hinder them in continuing education and selecting job. They are not much bothered education and job, as they are socially trained to give primary importance to maintain the marital life intact. Three females opined that marriage hindered them from continuing education and selecting job. One among them is unhappy for it. 2 females replied that they have no problem for that hindrance. All the married males unanimously replied that marriage didn't hinder them. [Ref. Table 1.2] *This response strengthens the presupposition that the present attitudes values and norms of the society regarding women's roles and rights are not supporting the idea of equal participation. It is as if women consider their situation as "given" and cannot be transformed. Men are always having enough freedom in their married life, to select their job and future.*

3. Marriage curbs autonomy?

42 Females and 45 Males opined that the marriage doesn't curb autonomy. 4 females and 2 males are against the opinion of the majority. 4 unmarried females and 3 unmarried males have 'No response' to the question. It should be noted here that the subordinate marital status of female counterpart is being internalised and reified in the social perception of majority of the population. This in turn works as the common sense behind the perpetuation of subordination of the females along with the masculine domination. [Ref.Tab.1.3]

4. Openness in behaviour towards women at home?

At home almost everybody can behave openly towards women, suggests the survey details. 43 females and 45 males responded YES. 7 females and 5 males are marked NO. This shows that despite the people are trying their best to manage or cope up with the structural properties of the social institutions like family and marriage, may be at times to dissents or protests, foreseeing the fairness in human interactions. [Ref. Tab 1.4]

5. Do women get the recognition as an individual in family and society?

If though almost all the respondents assert that they can behave openly at home they are divided in their opinion regarding the recognition women get as individuals in family and in society. 27 females and 32 males are out each 50 respondents think that women are not getting due recognition as individual in family and society. This is a good sign of changing trends in man – woman relationship and understanding the social. [Ref. Tab 1.5]

6. Who help you in solving the family problems and individual issue?

Majority of the respondents get help in solving their problems from the family members, which affirms that family has a major role in the life activities of both men and women, while 23 females get help from family only 11 males get support from family to solve issues. The next helping hands are Politicians (8 females and 13 males get the politicians' help) 10 respondents from each group solve their problem alone with out seeking help from others. Friends play their part, more in the lives of males than in that of females. Males get more help politicians than females get. Here we can't evade from thinking that the politicians play significant part in the social life. Hence the sensitivity and mentality of the politicians towards the issues women face and towards women's rights and roles of beings subordinate, masculine dominations etc. has prime most importance. It needs sensitising the pubic personalities for transforming the very mentality so as to attain the gender justice in all walks of life. [Ref. Tab 1.6]

Chart V

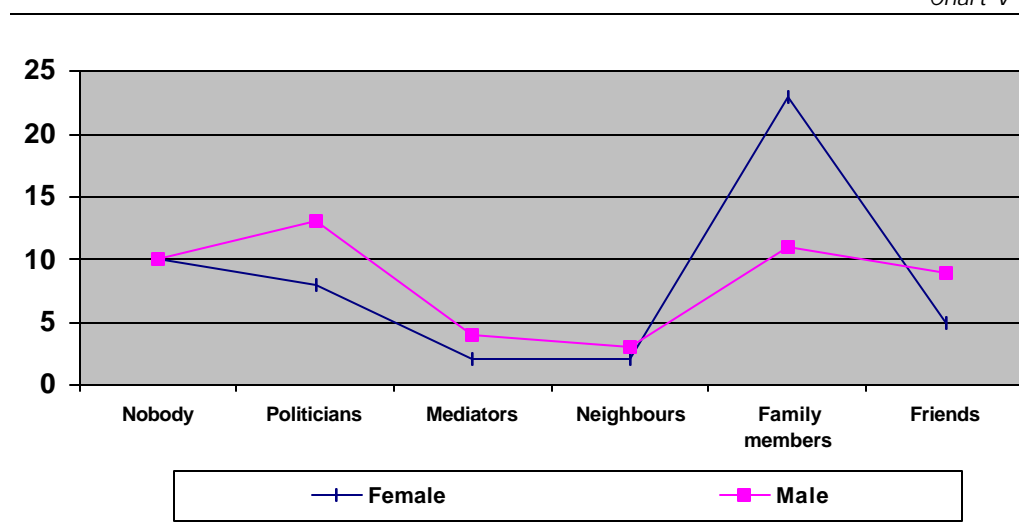


Chart showing the response to who help you in solving the family problems and individual issue

7. Have you been able to do anything to help other?

35 females and 32 males admitted that they have not been able to do anything particular in their life to help others, if though they are interested in such activities. Some responded that lack of economic independence and educational qualifications are the constraints for it.

Chapter VII : Part II

UNDERSTANDING GENDER JUSTICE

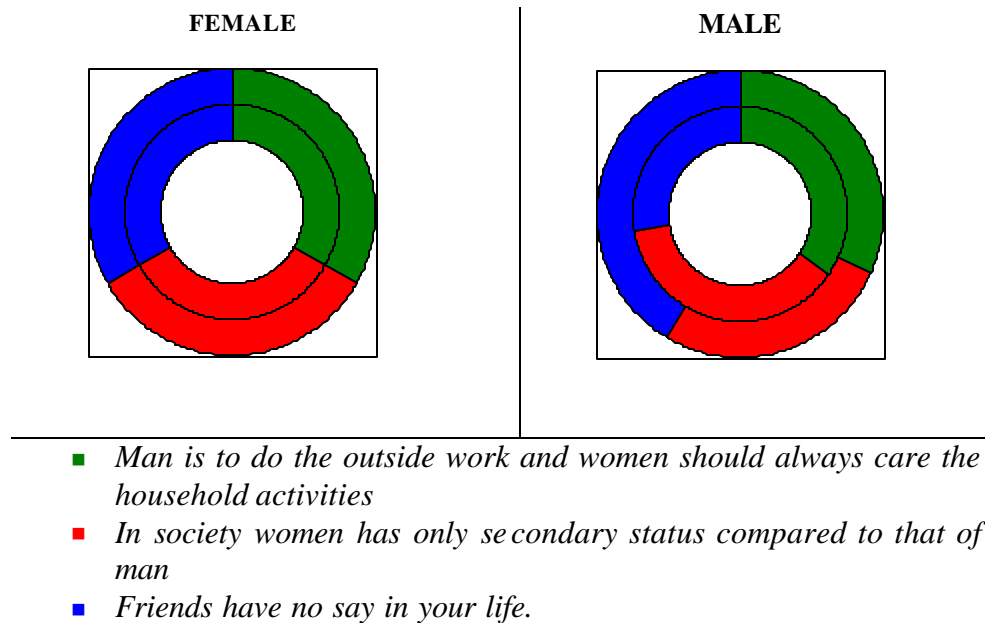
In Part II, the respondents were given 25 statements and asked to mark *True or False*. The statements were mixed and later during coding it was re-arranged in the following manner.

1. Androcentricity in the approach of respondents: The questions asked to understand the male orientedness in the approach of respondents are split into two tables No. 2.1 and 2.2. The table 2.1 was prepared based on the following questions:

- Qn.1 Man is to do the outside work and women should always care the household activities*
- 2. Cooking and managing kitchen, cleaning the house etc., are women's work; man should not intervene in it.*
- 3. Women should obey men and live under the control of man.*
- 6. In society women has only secondary status compared to that of man*
- 15. Friends have no say in your life.*
- 17. Girl should not mingle with others publicly; they should prefer secluded private life.*

Women in a common pattern had answered question no.1, 6, and 15. 60% of females answered "yes" and the rest answered "no". To the Qn. No. 1 males answered in the same manner as that of females but 33 male respondents answered yes and 17 answered "no" to Qn. No. 6. Friends have say in the lives of 24 males but have no say in the lives of 26 males.

Chart VI



Refer table 2.1

These responses remind us how women as well as men have internalised women's "subordinate roles and status" and men's dominant roles. Answer to the second question (*Cooking and managing kitchen, cleaning the house etc., are women's work; man should not intervene in it?*) shows the changing trends of day-to-day life and gender relations despite the hierarchical resource allocation and distribution in particular fields of intimate interactions in the family atmosphere, making this social institution more flexible. It is a fact that nowadays both academics and activists of this area of study have come to the conclusion that female partner's space in a family is cribbed and controlled, compared to that of the male counterpart. In an androcentric social milieu male partner's readiness to share the household works is considered as *helping their women* but not as their primary responsibility. But there will be active and dynamic spaces, which the interacting agents realise, creatively in all the social spaces of human interventions. Even then, 34 females and 36 males believe that *Women should obey men and live under the control of man* (Qn. 3) showing that in such cases men are ready to share the responsibilities at home but they seem

unwilling to consider their "life partners" as equals. Response to the 17th question (*Girl should not mingle with others publicly; they should prefer secluded private life*) shows the way in which the "girls" are brought up as submissive ones, as a part of reproducing masculine domination. 38 males and 44 females say, "yes" to this question. This reminds that the primary socialisation and enculturation of girls and boys are to be taken seriously, for which the mentality of parents are to be problematized in a gender sensitive manner. [Refer table 2.1]

The table 2.2 was prepared based on the following questions:

4. *Women going for employment badly affect the character formation of their children*
5. *There are no specific issues in society that women experience.*
14. *Women's lives end in accepting and completing the roles of beloved, wife, mother, and daughter. She doesn't need self-motivations and life goals of her own.*
16. *I have never thought if I had a good friend...*
18. *There is no value in concepts like women's welfare, status and empowerment etc.*
25. *The works women have in the family should not be considered as labour*

More than 60% of the respondents say 'yes' to Qn. No. 4 and 5, it highlights the importance of employment and economic independence of women in a family. And they agree to the suggestion that women have specific issues they face socially. It's giving more light towards people's understanding of their own life. Males and Females accord in responding self reflexively. Response to the Qn. No. 14 shows that respondents are recognizing the absence of self-motivation and realize the handicaps created by the fencing of the normative aspect of traditional roles such as wifhood, motherhood etc. Majority of females and males feel that women's welfare and empowerment is a must, if the society is to flourish. But a few of them are not ready to consider the women's work in the family as labour. In a typical traditional atmosphere women and men are immersed so deeply that they are not even capacitated with the tools to analytically evaluate and make

themselves capable to retaliate against the normative aspect of the roles ascribed to them.

as per table 2.2

Chart VII



This reminds that the available tools are not at all enough for the people, in trying to understand the complexities of life, which necessitates inventing methods of probing other possibilities of interactions.

2. "The existing socio-political atmosphere is not enough to solve issues faced by women"?

74% of the respondents agreed to the opinion that the existing socio-political atmosphere is not enough to solve issues faced by women out of which 41 out of 50 are females. The rest believe otherwise. This response can be read with the answer to " There are no specific issues in society that women experience." [Ref.Tab.2.3] This *arrows to the thought provoking idea that majority of the respondents do not consider the specific experiences of private life women face, due to their "second status" in family, has focus on necessitating changes in the existing socio-political atmosphere. i.e. both these are linked. This reifies the common sense (which in turn is produced and perpetuated by the rocky structural properties of the social) that social changes and development are something connected with public spheres and private sphere has nothing to do with it. This is to be researched in detail, It can lead to the observations that if we have to attain gender justice as one of the main property of the social, it needs concentrating on the minute and complex levels of human interactions also, beyond dividing these into private and public. This can be taken as a factor to understand the problematic of 'the development model' of our sociological researches. Such a model is inadequate to measure the disadvantages and under privileges that work as the frame of social and gender injustice.*

3."Since there is not much justice and generosity in social affairs, it is unnecessary to have tensions about the problems faced by women"?

If though the respondents notice that there is not much justice and generosity in social affairs, majority of them (73% of the total respondents both females and males) do not think that it is unnecessary to have tensions about the problems faced by women. *The social science researchers have to address this issue seriously as it pulse the day-by-day increasing frustrations and distress in the social arena.*

4. "Drinking, drug addiction etc, affects the human interactions badly".

99 % of the respondents agree with the point that drinking, drug addictions etc. affect the human interactions badly. Only one male is doubtful about the said statement. *Easy agreements on this issue are not enough to analyze the aftermath of these social evils. It needs 'multi disciplinary action plans' to restrict the same since almost everybody suggest that these act as catalyst to atrocities against women.*

5. "Girls should be given equal opportunity with the boys, to get education."

Almost everybody (except one male) say 'yes' to the opinion that Girls should be given equal opportunity with the boys, to get education. But the problem is that the formal education these girls get, does not help them to act on their own against the cribbing roles of marriage and family.

6. Respondents' views on gender justice

To check the respondents' views on gender justice the following questions were asked:

9. *Women ought to have equal property rights with that of men*

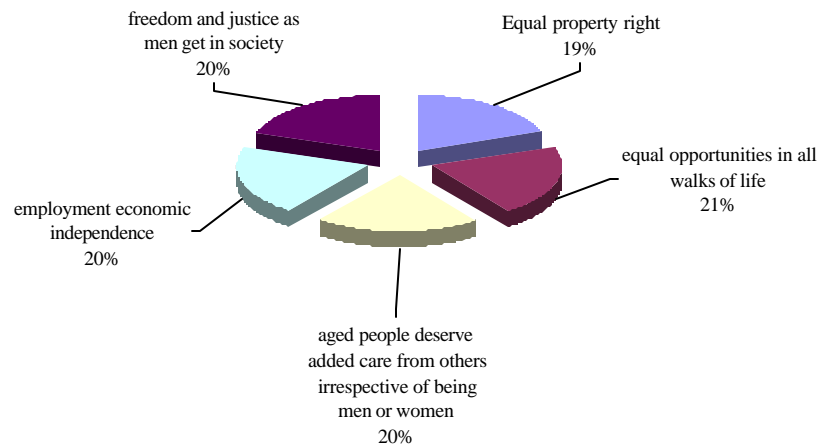
10. *Adults ought to behave in equal terms both to girls and boys. They should get equal opportunities in all walks of life.*

11. *Aged people deserve added care from others irrespective of being men or women*

19. *Women should have employment, own earnings, and economic independence and property etc*

21. *Women should have freedom; get justice, and opportunities as men get in society.*

Chart VIII



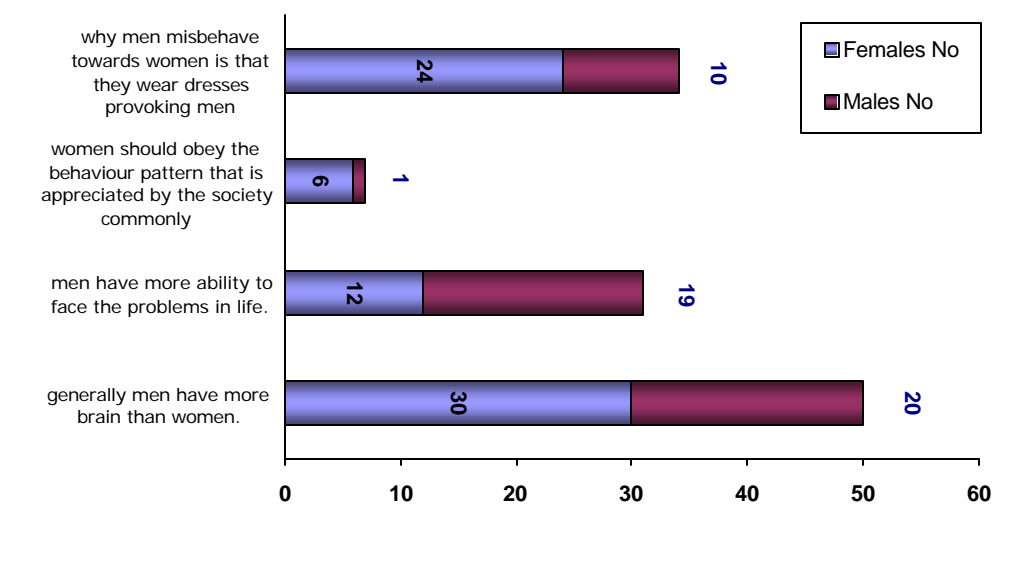
To general questions, as in the case of table 2.7 all most all the respondents agree. They agree to the dynamic concept of equality but the traditional oppression of the women served by and through all the social institutions like family, community, politics etc., hinder the pathways to it.

The table below (2.8) was prepared based on the following statements:

12. *Why men misbehave towards women is that they wear dresses provoking men*
13. *Women should obey the behaviour pattern that is appreciated by the society commonly*
22. *Men have more ability to face the problems in life.*
23. *Generally men have more brain than women.*

These responses show people's conceiving of the common values and norms. Females and males responded to some questions in a different manner. *e.g. 50% of females and 80% males responded 'yes' to Qn. 12.* When they answer to this question men didn't even think that there is every possibility for them not to be provoked by any so called temptations.

Chart IX



Almost all the respondents, irrespective of male and female say 'yes' to the question *women should obey the behaviour pattern that is appreciated by the society commonly*. Only one man and six women say no to this question. This shows females also vote for the androcentric norms and values, which see them as mere bodies that are the sex objects of men. When they answer 'yes' to Qn. 22 and 23, they never reflect that, females also are capable of facing the problems in life and it is not yet scientifically proved otherwise that men have more brain. The answer 'no' to these questions reflects the responses against the androcentric values and norms. It is to be noted here that the responses against androcentricity came more from women than men as per chart shown below [refer table 2.8]. *We specifically added these questions to get an understanding of how far and how much people have internalized the common sensical notions knitting the male-orientedness of the society. These responses clearly depict how unquestioningly majority of people gulp the socially ascribed values and norms and how these affect their mentalities perceptions and the internal dispositions.*

Chapter VII : Part III

SURVEY REPORT

If though we prepared many open-ended questions in this part, almost everybody showed interest in answering 'yes' or 'no' to them. They, both men and women seemed reluctant to reveal details regarding their private lives, such as sexual atrocities, misbehaviour from men, from private/public life situations whether it be from home, school, workplace, during journeys or at any time in their life. Almost all of them (except a few) are unwilling to tell aloud what they think about sex, sexuality, and gender and they cannot demarcate among these.

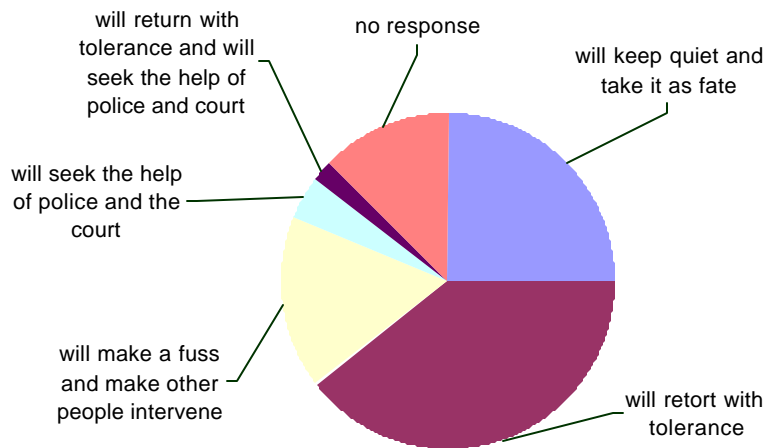
On the experiences of atrocities

More than 85% of the respondents didn't have any experience of misbehaviour/ atrocity from any man from any place nor have they heard or seen such incidents in their life. One female respondent mentioned that her husband always scold and beat her. Two females depicted that men from the roadside attacked them once. [Ref. Tab. 3.1 & 3.14] Four females mentioned to have experienced assaults and physical advances by men, from buses during journeys. If though 90 % do never have the feeling that they will be attacked by men 10 % marked 'yes' towards that question, mentioning that they used to hear that such atrocities are increasing nowadays. One female blamed men for such activities and another thinks that drinking habit of men creates problems in the family.

Nine females out of the 50 assure that they can physically prevent the attacks from men. But, 96 % of the females haven't heard of any atrocious act/threat against women in their neighborhood, village or Panchayath. To this question one female answered that she had heard of a woman being murdered in their village, based on property issues. One is sure that she will deal with the situation intelligently; one suggests if women get practiced to physical trainings they will prove their bravery. If they were to face such

atrocious situations, 12 of them responded that they will keep quiet and take it as fate, 19 told that they will retort with tolerance, 10 assured that they will make a fuss and make other people to intervene. 6 females marked that they will seek the help of police & court. [Ref.Tab.3:7] Nine male respondents have witnessed atrocities women, from vehicles. And eight have seen women being attacked from workplaces. Six among the respondents have seen women being assaulted during journeys. They told they are ready to retort and will help women in managing such situations if women needed it. [Ref.Tab.3: 2, 3:3, 3:3, 3:4, 3:5 & 3:6].

Chart X



On answering the question "How will you manage such situations?" 39% of the respondents replied that they would retort to such a situation with tolerance. 10 each assured that they will make it a fuss and make others to intervene. 12 females and three males wrote that they would keep quiet and

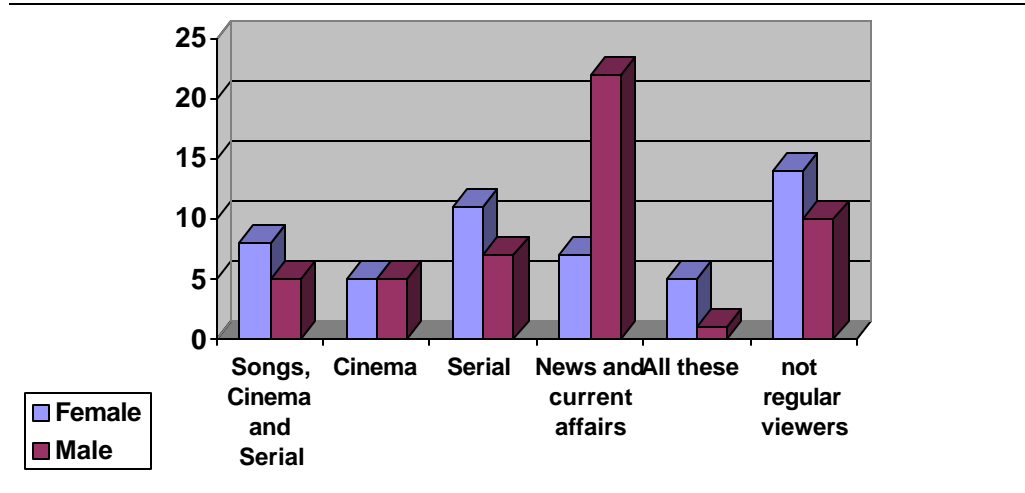
take it as fate. Only two women and nine men stated that they would seek the help of police and the court six females and four males didn't respond. One female and four males suggested that they would retort and try to have help from police and the court at the same time [refer table 3.7]

Respondents' exposure to Media.

39 females and 37 males read newspapers and magazines regularly. One woman openly told that she couldn't read and write. One man responded that since he has no money to buy papers and magazines he is not a regular reader. [refer table 3.8]

84% of the respondents are regular viewers of TV. Three females didn't respond 7 females and 6 males never see TV programme. 14 females and 10 males are no regular viewers. While 11 females see serials 7 males are interested seeing it. 22 males vote for news, but 7 only seven females see news and current affairs. Only 10% (5 each) like to see cinema in TV. All these show that it needs more informative programme that educates all regarding the subordinations and oppressions faced by women, which could help everybody understand their own pathetic conditions and try to overcome it. If though there is a common saying that women are the worst affected one, for their TV seeing, this statistics show that men also actively seeing the programmes with women. [Ref.tab.3.9&3.10]

Chart XI



74% of the respondents are against the saying that "Women are powerless beings." Nine females & eleven males nod yes to it. [Ref. Tab.3:11]. It is creative that almost all women themselves know that they are human beings, the same being their power.

78% of the respondents have no fear in telling out the issues publicly. Four females didn't respond to this question. Those who scare have different reasons to note like, it may affect their life badly, the society will always blame women, they have no enough support from others, and it will be solved by their family itself, etc. Anyhow if one gets motivations from dears and nears she will stand the case, said one female respondent.

30 women respondents are scared to travel during nights. 18 do not scare, 2 didn't respond to the question. But as per the responses received, 44 males are of opinion that their women associates are scared to travel during nights. This shows men's opinion and women's opinion are not the same. Women are not that much scared as men think about them. But men's thoughts always get momentum because of the deep-rooted male-centered social norms. That may be the reason behind the response of 42 females and 41

males that there has not been any necessitating situation in their life to travel during nights. [Ref; tab; 3:15 & 3:16]

About the security in life

It is very much disturbing to note that 22 out of 50 female respondents didn't respond to the question "Is security increasing in your village" [refer 3.18] Only 20 females' assured that security is increasing in the village. At the same time 42 of them admit that women of their village could travel without any disturbance from men of their village. 6 men and 6 women say no to this question. i.e. While 86% agree that women need not worry about traveling in their village only 55% is sure of the increasing security. *One woman exclaimed that she believes security is increasing because of the anticipation that normally human beings are good; one opined that ours is a dense habitat, it has developed a lot, having roads, electricity, all sorts of public institutions etc., which expose the social life. Hence there is no much chance of repeated atrocities against women.*

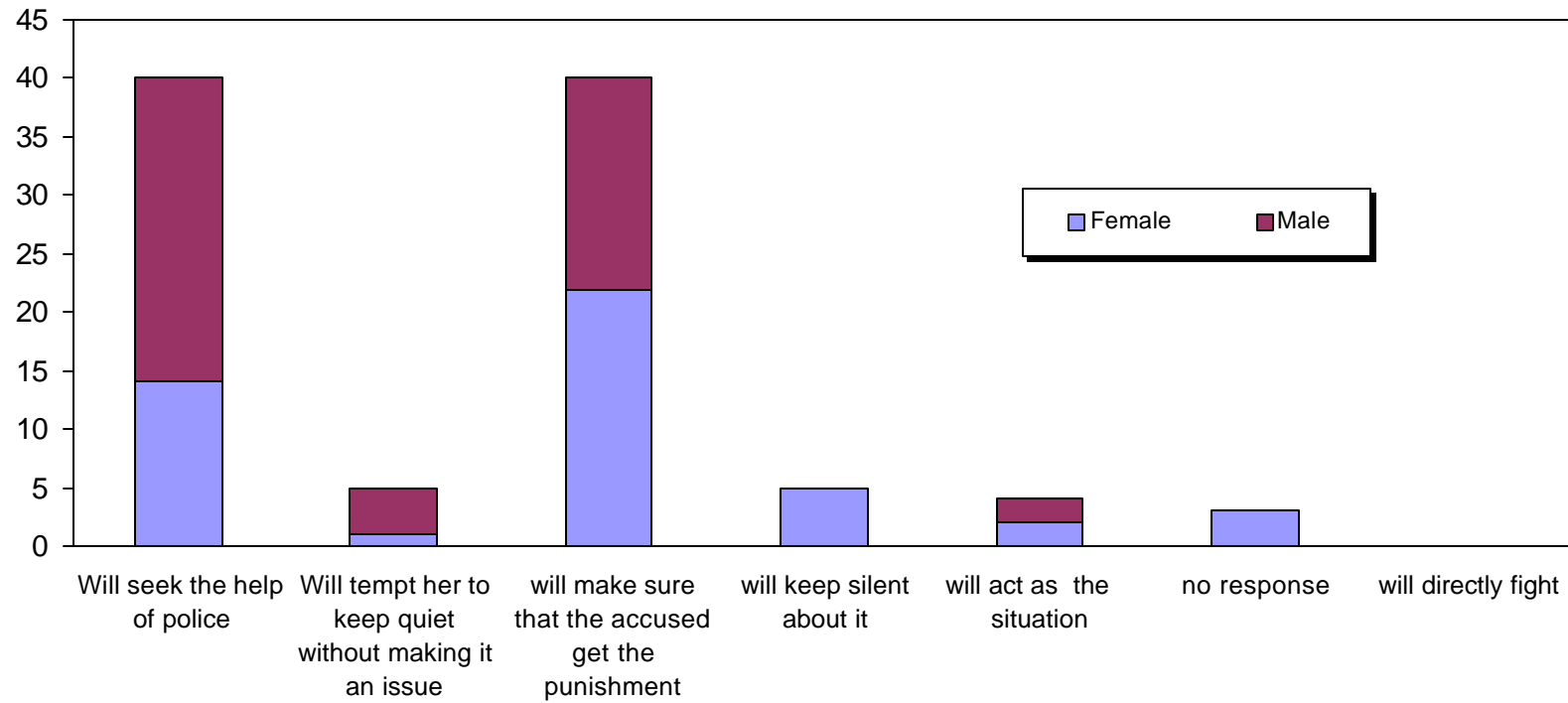
46 out of 50 females marked that they haven't experienced any sexual atrocities in their life. *Four women responded that they have experienced; physical advances from men, hitting slapping, intentionally touching the body parts. It is astonishing to note that no man had ever experienced any sexual atrocities in their life.*

Understanding about the social organizations.

61 respondents (24 being females) of this area of the study are introduced to the organizations that help women in fighting against the atrocities. They know women groups and organizations, political parties, Women's commission, etc., try to intervene in such issues.

27 females and 30 males stated they would seek the help of organizations helping women in such situations. 19 females did not respond to this question. 20 males are reluctant to contact such organizations if their women associates get into such situations.

Chart XII



Response to the events of atrocities.

We asked an open ended question to the respondents that "How will you respond to an event of atrocity against any one of your woman acquaintances", the suggestion we got from them can be indexed in the following manner [Ref. Tab.3.21]

Most of the respondents at first think of seeking the help of the existing legal provisions like police, courts etc., but they don't believe that the existing legal system is sufficient to secure women from such issues. This idea is reflecting in the deep interviews also. *This shows that the provisions and procedures of the politico-legal institutions are unable even to catch the complex atrocious situations faced by women.*

Response to the open ended question "What all can be done socially to stop atrocities against women" include so many suggestions from the respondents. We are presenting here these responses in the order of priority a\majority of the respondents expressed.

- ☞ Organize women and raise consciousness
- ☞ Consult police and court
- ☞ Try to resist directly
- ☞ Government should take necessary actions
- ☞ Mediate and solve the problem
- ☞ Women should try not to get into such issues since nobody could save them
- ☞ There should be strong women organizations
- ☞ Men should specifically be educated not to behave atrociously against women.
- ☞ These issues should be the part of our education

- ☞ There should be a revolutionary change and women should be part of every political activity, all women organization should unite to attain the goals
- ☞ Strong legal actions should taken against the accused
- ☞ Sex education and mixed education will help
- ☞ Men themselves should take initiatives to curb atrocities against women
- ☞ Every man should think that every woman is an individual like him and then only the situations will change.
- ☞ Self employment groups should be created to empower women
- ☞ Panchayath members and socio-political volunteers can help

The above mentioned suggestions being the just responses from the milieu demands further discussions necessitating plans for actions encompassing the wide spectrum of all walks of life.

48 males and 37 females are ready to co-operate in future efforts that foresee reducing atrocity against women. [Ref.Tab.3.23]

Chart XIII

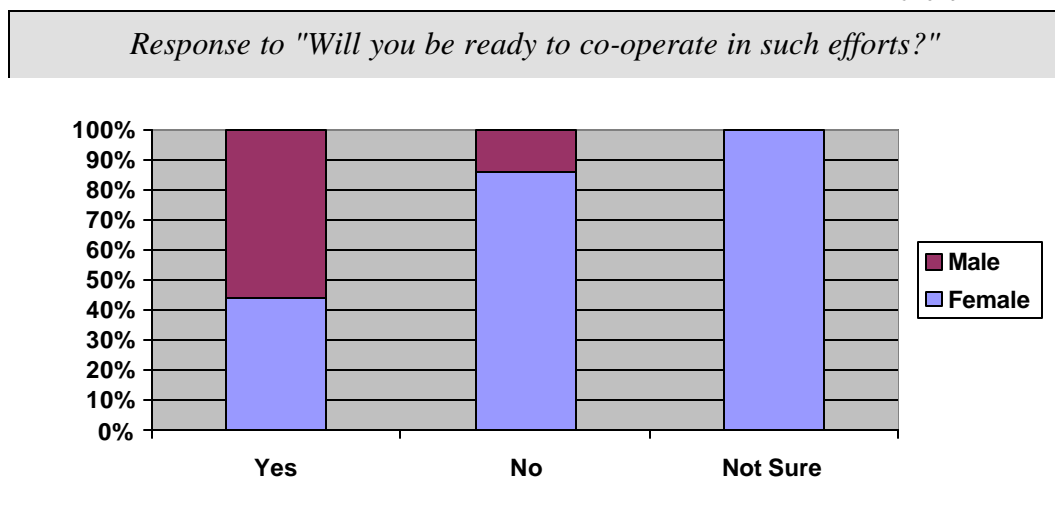


Chart XIV

| Response to "Have you ever gone to police/court" | Response to "Did they discourage you from" |

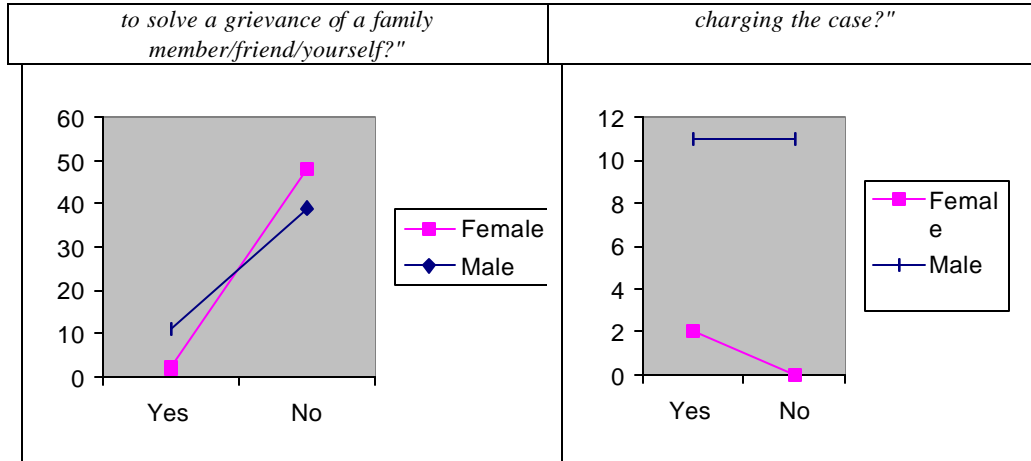
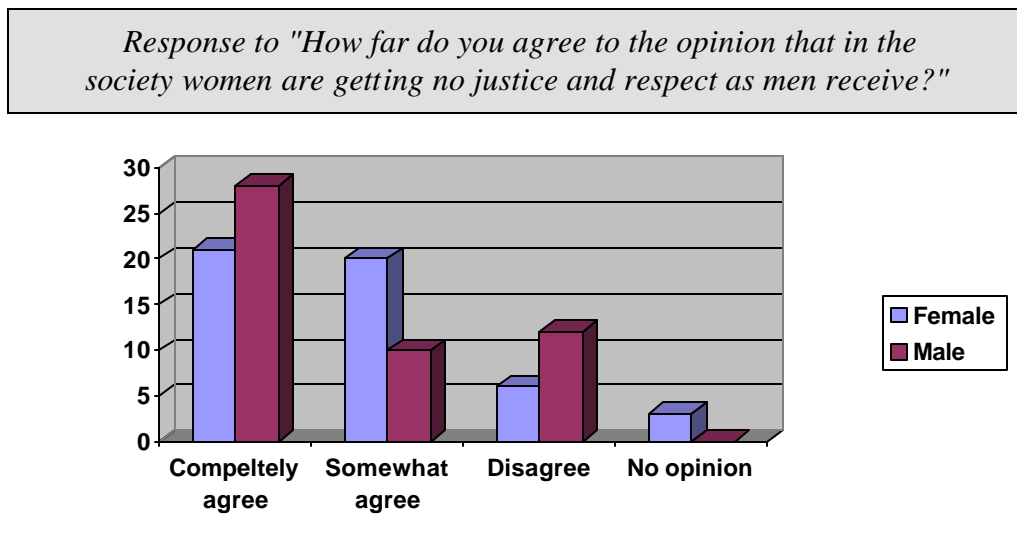
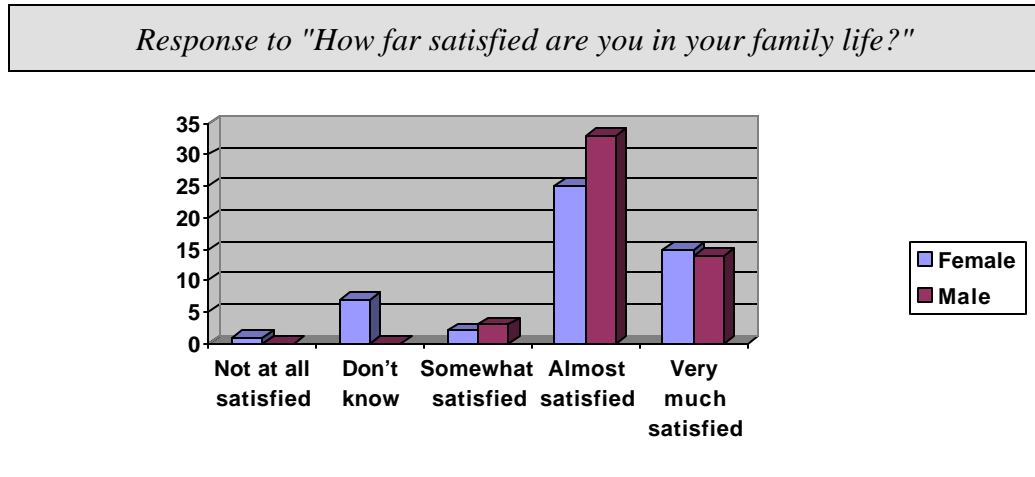


Chart XV



45 females and 39 males have never gone to police/court, in their life. The policemen discouraged both the females, from charging the case. But males (eleven of them) stated that the policemen did not discourage them [Ref.Tab. 3.24 & 3.25] This, along with the responses to *"How far do you agree to the opinion that in the society women are getting no justice and respect as men receive"* [Ref. Tab.3.26] clearly shows how our mentality works to reify the androcentric social norms and values through the institutional provisions and the interacting agents add to perpetuating the same.

Chart XVI



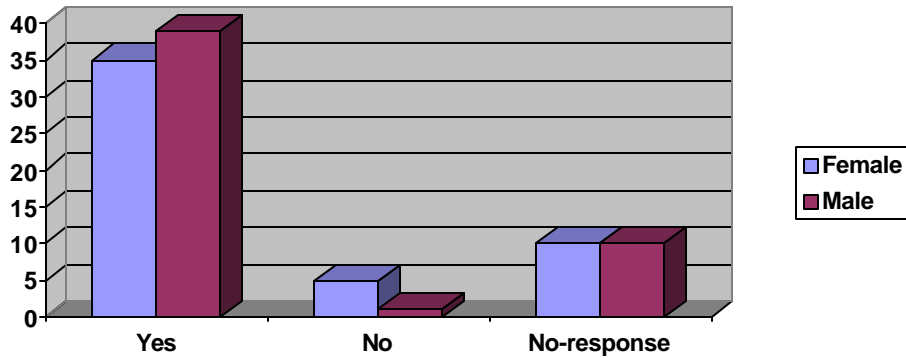
25 females and 33 males stated that they are 'almost satisfied' in their family life while 15 females and 14 males are very much satisfied. 'No' man responds that he is not at all satisfied but one woman responds otherwise. Seven females don't know whether they are satisfied or not.

Answer to the question *"Whether you have been able to tell openly from your home about the sexual problems you face"* suggests that females are getting more chances to openly discuss their sexual problems from the house. Males are not getting as much space to share their problems, in the family atmosphere. *Whether such situations enhance frustrations is to be researched an area.* [Ref. Tab. 3.28]

Responses to *"Are you able to tell frankly about your sexual issues to your partner and make sure that you get co-operation"* suggest that almost all the females and males are able to discuss sexual issues with the partner frankly. Unmarried people, barring gender didn't respond to this question. 5 females and one male do not get the co-operation from the partner in such issues. [refer : Table 3.29]

Chart XVII

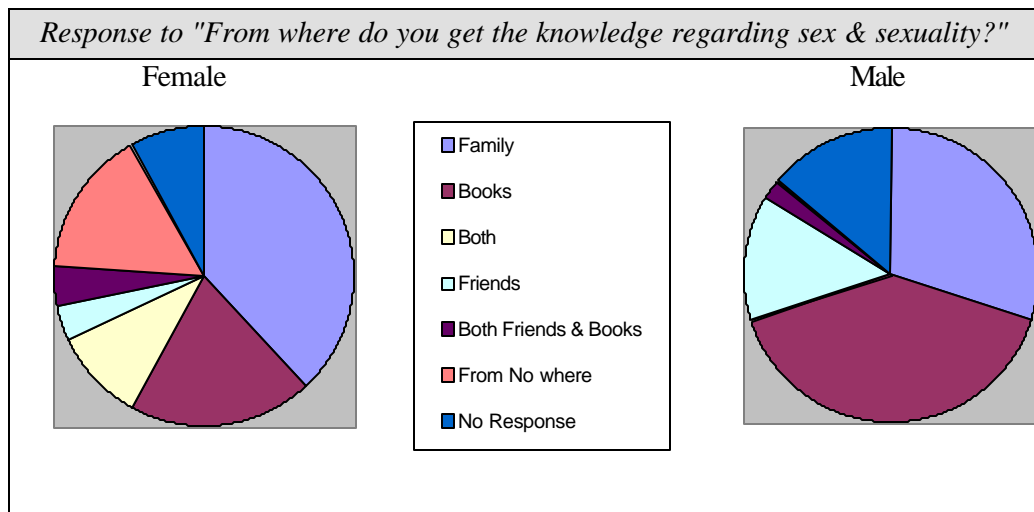
Response to "Are you able to tell frankly about your sexual issues to your partner and make sure that you get co-operation?"



Almost everybody agree to the suggestion that it needs the mental preparation of women in the matters of conceiving, delivery etc. [refer : Table 3.30]

Nearly 70% of the respondents get the knowledge regarding sex and sexuality from family and books. Eight females state that they do not get knowledge from anywhere.

Chart XVIII



Seven males and four females didn't respond. This shows that family and books are play very important role in moulding and modifying their "habitus". [Ref.Tab.3.31]

74 % of the respondents (both equally) share the idea that sex education will help reduce the atrocities against women.

Almost all the females stand with 'arranged marriages' as if they are not ready to face life situations on their own responsibility. More males prefer self-choice marriages. Their response to remarriage shows that 19 females and 40 males act according to life situations. Many of the females are not interested in remarriage. [Ref.Tab.3.32, 3.33 and 3.34]

These responses add to the findings of the deep interviews of the cases coming under 498A. (Of the 25 cases deep interviewed almost all males have remarried and females along with their children are living with their parents, three among them who have no children in first marriage have remarried). Here the whole responsibility of nurturing children comes under the mother's or her family's shoulders.

Questions regarding the best and worst behaviour of the partners had been put as open ended ones to check whether any additional indicator that helps to identify hitherto neglected areas will arise. Drinking and Gambling behaviour of men makes problems to eleven females out of fifty. Nineteen males have 'nothing special' to tell about the bad behaviour of their partners, making us exposed to the ideas that these males are either not bothering about such behavioural fluctuations that their partners may have or the partners themselves are subservient to the males so that the behavioural changes are not counted and considered seriously.

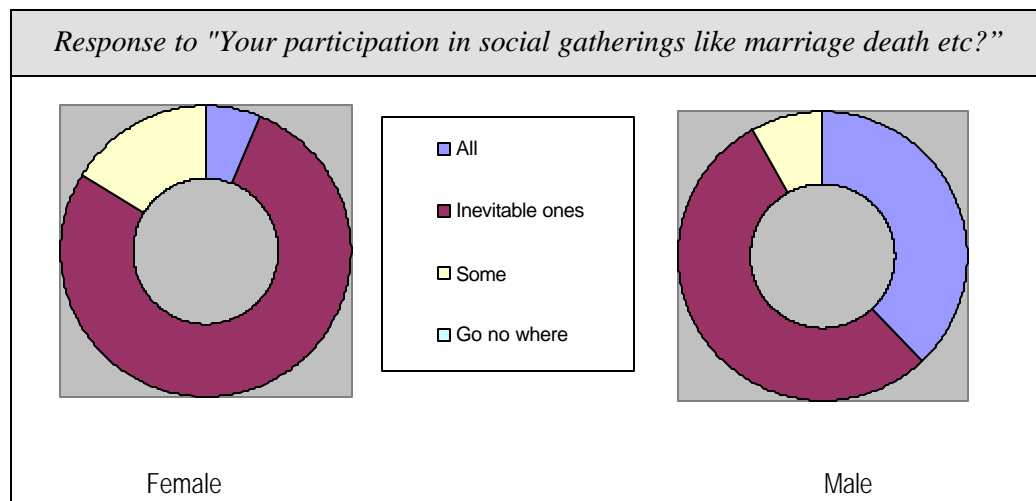
Thirty-eight respondents, males and females both equally respond that they/their partners unable to take independent decisions in the issues and atrocities they face for they being economically dependent. Eight females

have responded that they have their own earnings. This shows light to the point that the respondents think the necessity of economic independence.

Nearly sixty percent of the respondents state that the male members of the family 'always actively participate in all household activities' showing the changing trends in domestic life. Majority of respondents participate only in 'inevitable social gatherings'. Nineteen males participate in all social gatherings like marriage and death etc.

Most of the respondents show their anger and uneasiness to themselves. More females show their uneasiness and anger to their children; six males show their irritations to their wives. [Ref. Tab.3.35, 3.36, 3.39 and 3.40]

Chart XIX



Responses to "Barring family affairs which area of life activity does you like most?" are as follows; Twenty-four males and fourteen females are interested in socio-political activities; eighteen males and twenty-five

females are not interested in any activity other than family affairs. Eleven percent of the respondents are interested in cultural activities one female has opined that she is interested in music and reading. [refer 3.41]

The priority of the suggestions made by the respondents, *in initiating activities aiming at the welfare and better position of women socially*, is marked in ascending order as follows:

1. Small groups lead by women should do the welfare activities of the women
2. The Government should start new projects and programme
3. The Panchayath should start vigilance committees
4. Both 1 & 3
5. Not known [Ref.Tab.3.42]

According to the respondents, *the main disadvantages faced by women in their life* are as follows:

1. Absence of right of decision making in all walks life
2. Physical and mental atrocities against women
3. Lack of earnings property land etc.,
4. All of these [1,2, 3 and 5]
5. Absence of enough political participation of women
6. Something other than these [1 and 5]
7. Both 1 and 3. [Ref. Tab.3.43]

We received varied responses to the open ended question "*According to you what can be the reason for the specific issues faced by women in society*" as follows, in the order of preference: [refer tab 3.44]

1. Lack of education
2. Lack of economic independence
3. Both 1 and 2
4. They must get social exposure
5. Badness of male/Female & Family problems
6. No opinion
7. Social under privileges
8. Women should understand themselves that it is not slavish to work in the family
9. Women aren't capable of fighting against the issues

The respondents take *the critical life situations like disease and aging* in a balanced manner. While twenty-five females and twenty-two males are worried about such situations twenty-five females and twenty-eight males have no worry in facing these situations. [refer tab 3.45]

Sixty five percent of the respondents suggest that both men and women involved in sex work should be 'equally treated and punished'. The present situation of treating only women badly, men involved in the same, face no problem socially, should be changed according to them. Some opined that the 'males are dissemblers and they also should be exposed'. To change the situation the government should take necessary actions as they stated. [refer tab 3.46]

Respondents reactions to the open-ended question, *"What is your understanding about the socio-economic situations in which women are forced to adapt to sex work"* can be clustered as follows: [refer tab 3.47]

1. Scarcity of money
2. The problem is created by the capitalist mode of economy. It should be changed to socialist mode of economy
3. They should be tempted, rehabilitated and provided some other job
4. It is a social issue into which females are caught in accidentally and continuing the same fearing isolation
5. No response
6. It needs social change
7. Sex education should be given
8. They are greedy to earn money
9. Drug addiction and alcoholism

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION

The common perception that helps creating and perpetuating atrocities in different areas of the social is that womenfolk stand subservient to men. The connection between the acts of aggression and the commonsense is so complex and intertwined that dismantling one from the other makes both muffled. The social properties, legitimized by and through the dominant ideology of patriarchy, interactions of the beings therein and thereby, commonsense, and atrocities against women, all these make the research situation more complex.

This research project enquires the modes and events of the reported atrocities committed to women and experienced by them, in Pattambi police station area. Through the experiences depicted directly by the affected subjectivities of the selected reported cases, the social, cultural, economic and political factors involved in these atrocious situations are unveiled, almost in many cases which needs no further comments even. These tell tale atrocious acts are in themselves apt to reflect the issues of justice involved in man woman relationships which otherwise should have capacitated just interactions between them. Our hope is that this study will have its role in sensitizing the social interventions into the visibly invisible violence in human relationships. The respondents of the survey suggested, it needs awareness programmes for the prevention of atrocities. Despite mere awareness programmes from outside it needs change in the perception of the human agents concerned. This reminds that if the perceptions of the human agents are to be transformed, spaces for “social affirmation of selves” are very much necessary. Research project had been a pathway towards understanding the interconnectedness of the different mechanisms through

which patriarchal social properties work and how it is specifically reified in (and through) each events of human interaction. Regarding the deep interviews, it had been a dialogue between the research team and the researched, in a completely uncontrolled setting so that the very knowledge out of the dialogue had emerged unpredictably, at times making the research team silent. We have tried best to describe the minute details, as we think it will do good to understand the cases in a self-reflexive way, as the moments of interactions are the only reliable sources of data, the social science researchers could get.

The deep interviews we had had with the affected women show that they face the situations not through any awareness campaigns (it doesn't mean that awareness campaign will never do help) but they try to overcome the atrocious situations and attain perceptions regarding their everyday life and by and through themselves. There are not much effective support mechanisms for the social affirmation of their "selves" and "social distribution of power" (power as we conceive, in this study, is the human being, active aspect according to Ahammed Nizar's, views on the aspects of reflexivity in social theorizing.)

As per Ahammed Nizar's views being is the active aspect or power in which individualization, subjectivity, or even habitus-formation etc is grounded. Being discussed here means not the essence but the active aspect or power that is "the originary point" brought to account for the effectiveness of the subject, habitus, etc. The interconnection between the interiority of the being along with its exteriority, i.e. the body and the habitat in which it inhabits and interacts causes the construction of the self. The self is constructed after a human's birth and it will be present only till death. But its ontology exists even after one human is dead. Self can be understood as the state of being attentive. The observation that the self is the reflexive property of the being is a novel idea applicable to the understanding of gender issues also, physical atrocities

even. Self in its content is a social construction. But the bearing, that part which depends on the interiority that contains the experiences, is connected with the being of the human. That is why we are unable to understand the whole of human life by mere social explanation

The fundamental determination of the active aspect or the distribution of power (of being) is partially or wholly interactive i.e. social. This in turn transform the meanings of the very social distribution of the being and "trans-substance" the being. The interactions of human beings and the "active aspect or the power" (the being) that enables the interaction determines the identity on the interacting agents. Meanings, signs, symbols, all these participate in the determination of the being of human. Here the co-mingling of ontology and ideology happens. The subjects in specific time space contexts can be the subjections, as well as the projections of the self. The projections and the subjections of self are not contradictory but complimentary ones.

All the deep interviews suggest the strong hierarchical elements in the "intimate" relations and interactions, where the accepted norm is that adult males of the house holds "rule" (and use force) over the females and all the adults rule "children". Domination is maintained through threatening, abusing, punishments, wherever and whenever the hierarchical social arrangements gets problematized.

This study helps us to conclude that events of atrocities against women are also the effects of the breeding, socialization and enculturation of children – both girl and boy in such a way that men are trained and taught to have masculine ascriptions, of dominating over women who are brought up so as to be subservient to men, which is counted among feminine characteristics. These add to the making of the mentality of human beings. Here social effectiveness of people is in such a way that the sexist social properties, reinforced and

reproduced through social institutions, such as family, religion, education, state, etc., maintaining the traditional social arrangements thereby.

This shows that atrocities against women are inescapably connected with the breeding and reifying of “violence” in all walks of life. To end “atrocities” what we will have to catch then will be the rocky area of solidified sexist social properties that help in creating the dominated/dominating, privileged/underprivileged; advantaged/disadvantaged subjectivities. This will lead to an understanding that sexist stereotyping, such as “all women are incapable of being violent and all men are capable of showing violence” are to be problematized. Problematizing the atrocious situations we enquired remind us that the society that we discuss and enquire with all the hue and cry is not “given” and “out there” but the construction of “the social” is happening by and through the interacting agents. It leads us not to stick on prescriptions or stereotyping but to create new perceptions regarding human interactions; and thereby retrieve our social responsibility through trust and care overcoming the dualist culture reinforced through the social institutions.

It is significant to note that the people get more support and help from the politicians’ side and ofcourse from the family. It directs us to the thought that sensitizing these socio-political and cultural leaders by pressuring to problematize their own lives will do help. Almost all the parents see the marriage as the ultimate goal for their children to attain. They succumb to “rare combinations” as they are poor and can evade giving dowry. It reminds us that the government should think about the ways and means for reinforcing the Dowry Prohibition Act 1962. Dowry system points to women’s subordinate status and they have no control on their own property or they have no access to property all. Women’s access to property is to be established strongly and they should be capacitated to have control over the property and earnings so that they can be independent to certain extend.

The significance of this study, as we understand it, is that the depictions of the cases studied are to be used in the future, by the policy makers and the activists and academics who struggle against 'the atrocities against women', to create social situations so as to facilitate women to recognize their own "being" ('being' here means the active aspect/power that constitute 'what we are') and get empowered themselves. This study hence understands that it is not mere depictions of the cases but how to overcome these handicaps are of importance. How women in particular life situations become reflexive to the dissonances, and how they prove not being passive victims but active agents so that they try to knit their own life, notwithstanding the subordinating system of androcentricity, which always try to hinder "the social distribution of power". For this what we need will be to disrupt all the hierarchical elements in all sorts of relationships and interactions, if though there will be offences against this idea even at the conceptual level itself.

Atrocities against women whether it be acted out in the domestic atmosphere or any of the other social spaces, is considered commonsensically, rewardable and "beating" women is regarded as part of "guardianship" of males. A man's ability is measured as per how and how far he is capable of "moulding" women and ofcourse much disadvantaged ones children, to the prescribed sexist patterns through socialization. The very attitude of the interacting ones, both men and women is moulded in a way to valorize those who exert force, control and dominate women and uphold masculinity in every walk of life. The guardianship of masculinity over femininity is to be problematized, if atrocities against women are to be ended. This problematizing will strengthen the idea that equating masculinity to force control, domination and leadership, violence and thereby by privilege and advantage; and femininity to subservience, care, trust, love, vanity, chastity, child rearing and nurturing etc. is "dehumanizing" the whole social. If humans are socialized and encultured trained to trust care and love, rear, nurture etc. (not only females) and they are trained not to be

violent and dominant; there can be crossroads in human interactions and a sort of social 'trans-gendering' will happen. These prescriptions of masculinity and femininity to be "man" and "woman" will then be transformed and human beings can question the prescriptive role models in their lives. Going beyond the prescribed lives will thus help us (the very "beings") to uproot the deep-rooted patriarchy making it into "mere shell". It may help us to think beyond the prescriptions of the so called "thinkable".

ANNEXURE-I

SECONDARY DATA: TABLES

Details of Tables Attached – Regarding Secondary Data

1.	Table I	Year wise distribution of total number of cases and cases having women victims
2.	Table II	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1990
3.	Table III	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1991
4.	Table IV	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1992
5.	Table V	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1993
6.	Table VI	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1994
7.	Table VII	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1995
8.	Table VIII	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1996
9.	Table IX	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1997
10.	Table X	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1998
11.	Table XI	Detailed section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims
12.	Table XII	Detailed year wise and section wise statement of the total reported cases having women victims – 1990 – 1998

TABLE - I**Year wise Distribution of Total Number of Cases**

Sl. No	Year	Total Number of cases reported	Total Number of cases having women victims
1	1990	311	52
2	1991	306	42
3	1992	348	32
4	1993	341	29
5	1994	315	25
6	1995	342	32
7	1996	317	26
8	1997	368	65
9	1998	531	91
Total		3179	394

TABLE - II

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1990**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	7, 10, 18 (Child), 73, 83, 103, 134 162, 166, 178, 180, 206, 234 243, 244, 245, 259, 263, 278, 283, 299, 300, 302, 304 & 306	25
2	302, 303, 394 & 452	28 and 211 (File transferred to CBI)	2
3	313 only	102 only	1
4	324	87 and 301	2
5	323, 324, 427, 447, 448, 501 (Read with 34 IPC)	2, 15, 20, 91, 154, 177 & 221	7
6	339 to 348	13, 62, 155 and 217	4
7	351 to 354	53, 78, 95, 108, 201 and 247	6
8	359 to 367 Kidnapping	280 only	1
9	498 (A)	67, 92, 265 and 269	4
Total			52
Total reported cases			311

TABLE - III

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1991**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	4, 5, 12, 69, 78, 122, 185, 186, 192, 206, 245, 257 and 299	13
2	Woman missing	135 and 246	2
3	277	219 only	1
4	294 and 506	96 only	1
5	323	283 only	1
6	324, 341, 447, 448, 354 & 506 IPC	79, 90, 138, 182, 225, 226, 181, 261, 298, 18, 19, 39, 73, 102, 147, 196, 199, 220	18
7	498 (A)	33, 137, 144, 166, 228 and 272	6
Total			42
Total reported cases			306

TABLE - IV

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1992**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	33, 49, 65, 102, 104, 236, 306, 337, 339, 341	10
2	324 IPC	109 and 206	2
3	323, 324, 342, 447, 448, 354, 506, 509, (Read with 34 IPC)	116, 134, 195, 198, 209, 197, 224, 274	8
4	339 to 348	83, 92, 94, 95, 347, 74, 105,	7
5	351 to 354	5, 18, 233	3
6	498 (A), 309 IPC	213 only	1
7	509 IPC Prevention of Atrocities Act 3(I) X(I)	293 only	1
Total			32
Total reported cases			348

TABLE - V

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1993**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. As per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	50, 59, 104, 126, 140, 171, 176, 207 236, 243, 244 and 318	12
2	Woman missing	190 only	1
3	3 (I) X (I) Prevention of Atrocities	76 only	1
4	302, 303, 394 and 452	93 only	1
5	324	174	1
6	323, 324, 427, 448, 447	35, 47, 86, 107, 161, 165, 182 and 281	8
7	351 to 354	181 and 249	2
8	498 (A)	19, 158 and 180	3
Total			29
Total reported cases			341

TABLE – VI

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1994**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	2, 24, 41, 52, 100, 116, 119, 171 and 260	9
2	324 IPC	10, 61, 132, 180, 188 and 211	6
3	323, 324, 447, 448, 501 IPC & 339 to 348 & 451	4, 44, 208, 305 and 308	5
4	351 to 354	45 only	1
5	371 to 376	51 only	1
6	498 (A)	262, 269 & 289	3
Total			25
Total reported cases			315

TABLE – VII

**Detailed Section Wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1995**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. As per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	5, 45, 50, 117, 154, 158, 208, 209, 227, 240, 285, 293, 315 and 339	14
2	323, 324, 447, 448, 341 & 451 Read with 149 IPC etc.	27, 35, 43, 64, 65, 143, 237, 287 and 338	9
3	354 R/W 34 IPC	57 only	1
4	376 IPC and 3 (1) X (1) PA act 1989	138 only	1
5	498 (A)	9, 18, 96, 137, 155, 273 and 291	7
		Total	32
		Total reported cases	342

TABLE – VIII

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1996**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	34, 49, 68, 120, 128, 157, 158, 205, 216, 237 and 288	11
2	324.	51 and 311	2
3	323, 324, 427, 447, 448 & 501, 509 Read with 34 IPC.	143, 46, 227, 164, 225, 235 and 291	7
4	351 to 354	88 and 305	2
5	498 (A)	60, 69, 161 and 214	4
Total			26
Total reported cases			317

TABLE – IX

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1997**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	50, 92, 112, 113, 137, 145, 157, 160, 172, 184, 193, 234, 235, 237, 238, 261 and 348	16+1=17 (Suspected murder)
2	Women missing	146, 244 and 263	3
3	324	12 only	1
4	323, 324, 427, 447, 448, 501 and 509 IPC.	28, 6, 13, 32, 61, 101, 128, 143, 161, 162, 209, 210, 225, 242, 249, 257, 303, 227, 250, 251 and 285	21
5	351 to 354	44, 95, 142, 147, 159, 167, 180, 197, 247, 280, 293, 294 and 270	13
6	359 to 367	96 and 206	2
7	371 to 376	41, 187 and 228	3
8	498 (A)	17, 69, 272 and 338	4
9	506 3(1) X 3(2) VI SC/ST PA 1989	33	1
Total			65
Total reported cases			368

TABLE – X

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims - 1998**

Sl. No	Section No. & Details	Crime No. as per FIR INDEX	Total Cases
1	Unnatural Death	1, 21, 22, 74, 84, 94, 166, 191, 196, 254, 272, 327, 436, 450, 485 and 528	15+1 (altered to 304 IPC)
2	Women missing	324 and 429 [altered to section 363, 366 & 376 IPC]	2
3	447, 294, 506 Read with 34 IPC	119 and 185	2
4	324 only	138 and 516	2
5	323, 324, 447 and 448	55, 57, 223, 182, 380, 515, 79 and 529	8
6	339 to 348	178, 181, 248, 329, 330, 422, 468, 526, 93, 109, 197 and 243	12
7	351 to 354	44, 78, 87, 92, 108, 127, 152, 159, 164, 180, 194, 238, 258, 309, 314, 317, 356, 431, 503 and 505	20
8	371 to 376	42, 103 and 517	3
9	498 (A)	6, 7, 24, 36, 48, 58, 86, 132, 136, 141, 160, 235, 267, 279, 315, 342, 401, 441, 443, 445, 446, 449, 472, 490, 497 and 506	26
Total			91
Total reported cases			531

TABLE – XI

**Detailed Section wise Statement of the
Total Reported Cases Having Women Victims – (1990-1998)**

Sl. No	Section No. (IPC)	Details	1990 to 1998
1	--	Unnatural Death	126+1 (altered to 304 IPC)
2	--	Women missing	8
3	3 (I) X(I)	Prevention of Atrocities Act - 1989	2
4	277	Polluting water used by public with waste, excreta etc.	1
5	294, 506	Using obscene languages songs and actions	4
6	302-303, 394 and 452	Murder	3
7	313	Forceful abortion	1
8	324 IPC	Beatings and confrontation	17
9	323, 324, 427, 447 and 448 (Read with 34 IPC) 501 and 509	Interpersonal beatings & violence	91
10	339 to 348	Wrongful confinement	23
11	351 to 354	Assault and Battering	48
12	359 to 367	Kidnapping etc.	3
13	371 to 376	Rape	8
14	498 (A)	Dowry Demands & related violence	58
Total			394

TABLE – XII

**DETAILED SECTION WISE STATEMENT OF THE TOTAL REPORTED CASES OF 1990-1998
HAVING WOMEN VICTIMS IN PATTAMBI POLICE STATION AREA**

Year	Total No. of Cases	Unnatural Death	Women missing	3(I) X (I) Prevention of Atrocities & 509 IPC	277	294 to 506	302, 303, 394 & 452	313	324 IPC	323, 324, 427 447, 448, 501 & 509 <small>[read with 34 IPC]</small>	339 to 348	351 to 354	359 to 367	371 to 376	498 (A)
1990	52	25	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	7	4	6	1	-	4
1991	42	13	2	-	1	1	-	-	1 <small>323 only</small>	18	-	-	-	-	6
1992	32	10	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	8	7	3	-	-	1
1993	29	12	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	8	-	2	-	-	3
1994	25	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	1	-	1	3
1995	32	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	1	-	1	7
1996	26	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	7	-	2	-	-	4
1997	65	17 <small>one suspected as murder</small>	3	-	-	1	-	-	1	21	-	13	2	3	4
1998	90	15+1 <small>one altered to 304</small>	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	8	12	20	-	3	26
Total	394	127	8	2	1	4	3	1	17	91	23	48	3	8	58

ANNEXURE - II

DEEP INTERVIEWED CASES

**SECONDARY DATA: DATA
BASE**

I. Dowry Demands (Section 498-A)

SI No	Crime Number	Date of occurrence	Date of reporting	Name and address of victim	Name and address of accused	Brief	Remarks
1.	269/90	30-6-90 to 1-11-90	17-11-90	Krishnaveni D/o Bhanumathi amma Vallikkunnu Parappa cherukode	Kunjukkuttan Puthoor veedu Naduvattor Vilathoor	Mental and physical harassment from husband demanding more and more money towards dowry	Charged on 3-12-90 accused acquitted u/s 248(1) on 28-1-92
2.	33/91	4-10-90	4-2-91	Pathumma D/o Alavi Thekkummal Pattambi Pallipuram	Ummathumma (Mother in Law), Hamsa(husband)	Mental and physical harassment from husband and mother in law	Charged on 27-2-91 accused acquitted u/s 248(1) on 29-7-92
3.	144/91	17-6-91	19-6-91	Valli D/o Karappan Korichanmaril veedu Kizhayoor Pattambi	(1) Bhaskaran(husband) S/o Karappan (2) Selam C/o Chakkali parambil Moideen Mele Pattambi	Dowry demands, Mental and physical harassment by husband	Charged on 23-6-91 accused acquitted u/s 248(1) on 25-8-92
4.	19/93	15-1-93	16-1-93	Sulfath D/o Maimuna "Sruthi" thekkummuri Sankara mangalam	Muhammad kutty (husband) Nabeesakkutty, Suhara, Abdullakkutty (in-laws) Near ganesh tile works ottappalam	Beating and physical assault by all accused	Transferred to Ottapalam police station.
5.	180/93	3-7-93	5-7-93	Rasheeda D/o Alikkutty Panangattuthodi Naduvattom	Muhammad kutty S/o Saithalikkutty Panakkattil Naduvattom	Severe Physical assault, Demanding more ornaments.	Arrested on 7-7-93 charged on 12-11-93 parties compounded u/s 320(8) on 25-8-94

6.	262/94	25-1-94 to 26-10-94	16-10-94	Beena D/o Ramadevi Gokulam Perumudiyoor	Mohandas (husband), Ramankutty (brother in law) S/o Balakrishna Tharakan, Poonthira Thodiyil Kattukulam Mangalamkunnu	Severe Physical assault, Demanding more ornaments and money.	Mistake of fact on 30- 11-94
7.	96/95	26-12-94	10-4-95	Hairunnisa D/o Muhammad Kutty Vattapparambil Narippambu Thiruvegappura	Kunjimhammad(husband)S/ o Haidru Kariana parambil Athippatta	Demanding more money and ornaments as dowry wounding her physically	Charged on 20-4-95 accused acquitted u/s 248(1) on 18-1-95
8.	137/95	24-5-95	1-6-95	Rukhiya D/o Muhammad Vadakkethil Keezhmury Naduvattom	Muhammadali (husband), moideenkutty (father in law), Fathima (mother in law)	Demanding more money and ornaments as dowry wounding her physically	charged on 6-7-95 A2 and A3 accused acquitted u/s 248(1) on 31-7-98 Case under courts Reference.
9.	60/96	13-1-96	16-2-96	Aminamma D/o Muhammed Pattamaruthodi Pulasseri	Veerankutty (husband) Aminamma, Sulekha (Sisters in law)	Demand for more money and more ornaments, All accused harassed her mentally and physically	Accused.1.produced before court on 21-3- 97,Accused acquitted on 31-5-97
10.	17/97	21-1-97	22-1-97	Raji W/o Vasu Kolpully thodi Muthuthala	Vasu (husband) Neeli (mother in law)	Committed suicide taking poison for the severe mental and physical harassment from both accused	Charged on 31-3-97

11.	69/97	17-11-91 to 27-2-96	4-3-96	Haseena D/o Abdulrahman Pullaniyil, Nhangattiri Thrithala	Abdulsalam S/o Puthanpurayil Muhammed Puthanpurayil veedu Cheruvathani Thrissur	Demand for more money and ornaments, Beatings, scoldings, Mental and physical harassments	Transferred to Kunnamkulam Police station on 5-3-96
12.	338/97	1991 onwards, till 10-12-97	16-12-97	Umaiba D/o Muhammad Haji Viralikattil Chundampatta Natyamangalam	Aboobacker (Husband) Laila (Abu's second wife) Kunhumammed (Laila's brother)	Repeated beatings ,physical and mental harassment from all accused	Charged on 31-7-97, CDFile submitted to DYSP's office on 25-3-97
13.	6/98	2-1-98 and before times	3-1-98	Serifa D/oAbduMeleppattu thodi Pulasserikoppam	Youseph S/o Mochikkattil Hassan Pathumma(Sister of Youseph	Severe Mental Physical harassments, Kickings, beatings from Husband's house	Charged on 30-3-98
14.	24/98	12-11-96 to 28-5-97	15-1-98	Latha D/o Parameswaran nambiar Pazhavara veettil Thirumittakode	Rajan S/o Unnikrishnamenon Vattakkavil Kizhayoor Unnikrishnamenon(father in law)Thankam Nethiar (mother in law)	""	" 19-2-98
15.	36/98	For the last four years till 25-1-98	25-1-98	Subaida D/oMaimali Illikattuthodi Thiruvegappura	Moosa(husband) Melethil house Nariparamba Thiruvegapura	""	"" 28-2-98 Accused got anticipatory bail from session's court on 19- 2-98

16.	49/98	September 1997 onwards	2-2-98	Rani D/o Lakshmi Karuvath Pulasseri	Ramadas (husband) S/o Narayanan Santhapurath Kuruvattur	""	"" 24-2-98
17.	58/98	May 1997 to 31-1-98	7-2-98	Pankajam D/o Ayyappan Parayil Thiruvegapura	E.T.Vijayan(husband) S/o AppunniThrikanapuram Thavanur Kalyani(mother in law) Girija(sister in law) Krishnan(Husband of Girija)	""	" 30-3-98
18.	132/98	26/2/89 to10/3/98	25/3/98	Rahmathunnisa D/o Khadir Pattiparambil Veedu Thiruvegapura Kaipuram	Saidali (30) (husband) S/o Muhammed Paloor Pulamanthole Perinthalmanna	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, severe mental and physical harassments	Accused arrested on 21/3/98 Produced before court on 28/3/98 Charged on 30/4/98
19.	136/98	29/3/98	31/3/98	Fathimathu Suhara D/o Muhammed Kutty Thottathil Veedu Parappuram Kaarakkad	Moidunni S/o Hussain Thachukuzhiyil Koorkkaparampu	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, severe mental and physical harassments	Accused arrested on 1/4/98 Produced before court Charged on 30/4/98
20.	214/96	April 1995 onwards	21-8-96	Nabeesa D/o hamsa Mundarambath veedu Paruthur	Sulaiman(husband) Moidunni(father in law) Nabeesa(mother in law)	"	Charged on 16-12-96 Accused acquitted on 17-10-97

21.	279/98	1/97 to 28/6/98	16/7/98	Sareena D/o Hamsa Kallithodiyil Thiruvegapura Kaippuram	(1) Siddique Koriyottuparambil Kodumunda (2) Hamsa (father-in-law) (3) Kunhimma (Mother-in-law)	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, severe mental and physical harassments	Charged on 24/10/98
22.	342/98	24/7/98	26/8/98	Kadeeja (35) D/o Saidalavi Muriyamkottil Velluthur	Shoukathali (38) S/o Kutteparambil Saidalavi Pailipuram	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, severe mental and physical harassments, complaints that she is not beautiful	Accused arrested on 19/9/98 and charged on 30/9/98 got bail from Sessions Court
23.	441/98	10/97 to 27/10/98	27/10/98	Premakumari D/o Thamikkutty Varikkakkuzhiyil Karambathur Paruthur	(1)T.V.Raghavan S/oKaruppunni Thottakkaravalappil Perassannur Kuttippuram (2)Kuttan(brother in law) Sarojini(W/oKuttan) Kunhumani(Brother in law)	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, severe mental and physical harassments	All accused surrendered in the court charged on 30/12/98
24.	490/98	6/6/93 to 25/11/98	1/12/98	Ramani D/o Achuthan Kodipalliyalil, Pallipuram	(1) Jayan Thalappily Kattukampal (2) Kothammu (mother-in-law) (3) Chandran (brother-in-law) (4) Bhargavi (Wife of Chandran) (5) Ambika (sister-in-law)	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, severe mental and physical harassments and complaints that she is not beautiful	Not charged
25.	497/98	12/93 to 4/12/98	4/12/98	Rasiya (23) D/o Koyamma Parakkathody Pulakkottu Nellya	(1) Saidalavi Karimpana Palliyalil Vallapuzha (2) Beepathu (sister-in-law) (3) Bapputty (husband of Beepathu) (4) Saidalavi's Mother	Demands for more gold ornaments and money as dowry, mental and physical harassments and compulsion on her to get out of his house	Not charged

II. Rape (Section. 376 IPC)

SI No.	Crime Number	Date of occurrence	Date of reporting	Name and address of victim	Name and address of accused	Brief	Remarks
1.	41/97	13/2/97	19/2/97	Souda (14) Thottathil Azhakankandathil Keezhmuri Naduvattom	(1) Abbaz (2) Kammukutty, Keezhmuri Naduvattom	A1 A2 threatened the victim and kidnapped her took to a deserted house, A1 forcefully raped the victim	Arrested on 12/3/97 charged on 18/12/97
2.	187/97	27/7/97	28/7/97	Nabeesa Chakkuparambil Vilayur	Rasheed Ambalavattathuveedu Puramannur	Accused raped the victim as she went to give milk to them	Arrested on 10/9/97 got bail from the courts 21/10/97 The accused undergone chemical test on 24/11/97
3.	42/98	31/10/97	28/1/98	Pushpalatha Kizhakepurakkal Muthuthala	Sasikumar Kizhakethil Muthuthala	Tempted the victim by promising to marry and had had forceful sexual relationship the victim becoming pregnant	Material object collected and sent to Ernakulam for chemical test on 12/5/98 charged on 20/2/98
4.	103/98	6/3/98	9/3/98	Sameera D/o Nabeesa Lakshumveedu Parakkad	Saidali Parakkad	Tempted the victim by promising to marry and kidnapped her taking Rs. 700/- and 4.1/2 Pavan Gold and having forceful sexual intercourse	Material object collected and sent to Ernakulam Chemical Lab on 12/5/98 accused arrested on 12/11/98
5.	517/98	20/12/98	24/12/98	Saleena (14) Palathinkal Nadaparambu Paruthur	Babu Kunnupurathu Paruthur	Attempted rape from the nearby jungle	Reports not cognized yet

III. Unnatural Death

SL No	Crime No	Date of Occurrence	Date of reporting	Name and address of deceased	Name and address of reporter	Brief	Remarks
1	207/93	15/8/93	15/8/93	Sulaikha (22) W/o Hamsa Vallappuzha	Muhammedkutty S/o Koyakkutty Ponnathazhath Thirumittakkode	Suicide due to hanging from husband's house, Hamsa the accused arrested on 10/9/93, Charged on 29/4/93, Acquitted u/s 248(1) on 25/9/93	
2	158/95	28/6/95	28/6/95	Geetha (22) W/o Vijayan Kodayath Kizhayur	Premkumar S/o Madhavan Nair Kodayath Kizhayur	Suicide death due to burning for the new born was suspected to have Mental and physical handicap	12/7/95
3	184/97	26/7/97	26/7/97	Yasodamma (57) W/o Late Govindan Nair KodayAth Kizhayur	Rappayi ASI,Pattambi Police station	Seen lying dead in her house, by the ASI of Police as he went there to enquire another case	Awaiting chemical report from Ernakulam
4	94/98	26/2/98 night	27/2/98	Suhara alias Jameela W/o Isahak. (24) Vazhiyil Veedu, Choorakkaodu Pancharathu Padi.	1. Hamzappa (Brother-in-law) 2. Isahak (husband) 3. Ayisha (w/o Hamzappa) 4. Aisha (Mother-in-law) 6. Mohammed Kutty - (Brother-in-law)	Victim seen dead, (as reported by Saidalavi, Suhara's Cousin) due to stabbing seen deep wound on the neck, from husband house	Altered to IPC 304, file transferred to CBI for further investigation
5	272/98	11/7/98	11/7/98	Sobhana,Schoolteacher,(28)W/o Sasi Madayipallath Chundampatta	M.P.Krishnankutty(54) (uncle of the deceased) S/o Kunchuezhuthachan	Suicide by hanging for being mentally depressed	29/7/98

IV. Women Missing

SI No	Crime No	Date of missing	Date of reporting	Name an address of missed	Name and address of reporter	Brief	Remarks
1.	135/91	6/87	5/6/91	Jameela (44) Arupurathody Churakode	Abdul Rahiman (father)	one day Jameela got out of the house and didn't return later	Undetected / 31.10.91
2.	146/97	16/6/97	17/6/97	Geetha (17) D/o Kolavan Kizhakkumpurathu Veedu Ongallur, Pallipuram	Rajan (Brother) Kizhakkumpurathu Veedu Ongallur, Pallipuram	Geetha went to her school, to receive transfer certificate, at 8'o clock in the morning, but didn't return till the date.	Altered to 363 IPC, case closed "un-detected on 12/6/98, further action dropped
3.	244/97	22/9/97	24/9/97	Sathi (19) D/o Gopalakrishnan Ariyelli Veettil Kodallur	Gopalakrishnan (father) Ariyelli Veettil Kodallur	Mother scolded sathi for quarreling with her sister being unhappy she eloped and didn't return	
4.	263/97	11/10/97	16/10/97	Nirmala (28) W/o Subramanian Maadambil Kalrikkal Paruthu	Subramanian S/o Kuttykrishnan Nair Maadambil Kalrikkal Paruthu	Nirmala went in the morning to the work place but didn't return	produced before the court on 25/10/97 and went home with husband further action dropped
5.	429/98	21/10/98	23/10/98	Sarfunnisa D/o Mohammed Elampulakkad Karinganadu Koppam	Mohammed Elampulakkad Karinganadu Koppam	Studying in 10th standard went to school but didn't return	Accused Shamzudin (27) Korathody Kudallur arrested on 3.11.98

V. Kidnapping : 359 – 367 IPC

SI No	Crime Number	Date of occurrence	Date of reporting	Name and address of victim	Name and address of accused	Brief	Remarks
	96/97	15/4/97	17/4/97	Reena Karuvadiyilveedu Kulukallur	Murali Naduvakattil Kulukallur	Victim kidnapped by the accused	Charged on 25/6/97
	206/97	21/8/97	21/8/97	Vijayalakshmi Kokkath Thathanampally Vilayur	(1) Muraleedharan (2) Ramankutty Nair	Victim was mentally tortured by her husband Murali (A1) who along with A2 kidnapped Reena victim of Crime No.96/97	Charged on 31/1/98

VI. Physical & Sexual Assaults: 351 – 354 IPC

SL No	Crime Number	Date of occurrence	Date of reporting	Name and address of victim	Name and address of accused	Brief
1.	45/94	12/2/94	12/2/94	Hafsath(17)D/o Abdu Karimpatta Vallappuzha	Ilyas S/o Abdulla Chathankulam Vallappuzha	From the public road while drinking water he dragged, embraced, forcefully kissed and tried to assault
2.	167/97	12/7/97	12/7/97	Partvathyamma Cholayil Palapatta Churakode	Chandran Vayilala Churakode	Forcefully entered the home of the victim, biting the nose, upper thigh and threatened
3.	180/97	14/1/97	23/7/97	Yasoda D/o Lakshmi Amma Nethirimangalam Kizhayoor, Pallipram	1. Kunhiraman Nair 2. Madhavan Nair 3. Chathodi Mohammed	Forcefully entered the home of the victim, kicking and tearing the dress and assaulted.
4.	293/97	8/11/97	10/11/97	Aamina Kollaruthody Cherukode	(1) Mohammed (2) Iyathutti (3) Suhara	Attacked from the public place and biting the hands, dragging on the hair caught of the breast threatened and assaulted
5.	294/97	8/11/97	10/11/97	Iyathutti Kollaruthody Cherukode	(1) Assainu (2) Aamina (3) Moithuppa (4) Hamza Kollaruthody Cherukode	Attacked from the public place and biting the hands, dragging on the hair caught of the breast threatened and assaulted
6.	159/98	13/4/98	14/4/98	Radha Vellancherry Prabhapuram	Saidalavi Thonnykadavu Naattymangalam	Forcefully entered the home of the victim, threatened to marry and caught her on the neck and assaulted
7.	238/98	8/6/98	8/6/98	Sheena (15) Melepurathu Edapalam Vilayur	Shamzuddin Paankuzhi Edapalam Vilayur	Attacked from the public place and forcefully caught hold of the breast and assaulted

VII. Prevention of atrocities against SC-ST : Sec 509 IPC

SL No	Crime Number	Date of occurrence	Date of reporting	Name and address of victim	Name and address of accused	Brief
1	293/92	23/10/92	12/11/92	Elizabeth P Kora (8) D/o Sara Lecturer Govt. Sanskrit College, Pattambi	P M Chandramohan, Scientific Asst. Soil Research Lab. Agri University Pattambi	Sexual Assault on Elizabeth P Kora (8) D/o Sara Lecturer Govt. U Pattambi Govt. U 3.30 PM, the victim was a Mala-Araya Caste Christian-ST)

ANNEXURE - III

SURVEY REPORT :

TABLES

SURVEY REPORT

TABLES

PART - I

Table: 1.0 Age distribution marital status of the selected samples

Age Groups	Female			Male		
	<i>Married</i>	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Unmarried</i>	<i>Total</i>
18 to 30 Yrs	5	7	12	5	7	12
30 to 42 Yrs	9	2	11	8	3	11
42 to 54 Yrs	12	1	13	13	-	13
54 and above	14	-	14	14	-	14
	40	10	50	40	10	50

Table: 1.1 Educational Qualifications of the respondents

	Illiterates	LP	UP	HS	HSS	Degree	PG & above	Prof. course
Female	2	6	9	18	10	3	0	2
Male	2	4	12	23	3	4	1	1

Table: 1.2 Did Marriage hinder continuing education and selecting job?

Married	Female			Male		
	Yes		No	Yes		No
	Unhappy	No problem		Unhappy	No problem	
	1	2	37	-	-	40

Unmarried	Not applicable	Not applicable
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Married 80 and Unmarried 20

Table: 1.3 Marriage curbs autonomy?

	Female			Male		
	Yes	No	No response	Yes	No	No response
Married	3	37	-	1	39	-
Unmarried	1	5	4	1	6	3

Married 80 and Unmarried 20

Table: 1.4: Openness in behaviour towards women at home

	Female		Male	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Married	38	2	38	2
Unmarried	5	5	7	3

Married 80 and Unmarried 20

Table: 1.5: Do women get the recognition as an individual in family and society?

	Female		Male	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Married	21	19	15	25
Unmarried	2	8	3	7

Married 80 and Unmarried 20

Table 1.6 : Who help you in solving the family problems and individual issues ?

	Nobody	Politicians	Mediators	Neighbours	Family members	Friends
Female	10	8	2	2	23	5
Male	10	13	4	3	11	9

Table: 1.7 : Have you been able to do anything to help others?

Female		Male	
Yes	No	Yes	No
15	35	18	32

SURVEY REPORT

TABLES

PART - II

Table 2.1: Showing androcentricity in the approach of respondents?

Qn. No	Female		Male	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1	30	20	30	20
2	25	25	24	26
3	34	16	36	14
6	30	20	33	17
15	30	20	24	26
17	38	12	44	6

Table 2.2: Showing androcentricity in the approach of respondents

Qn. No	Female		Male	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
4	19	31	19	31
5	19	31	19	31
14	11	39	11	39
16	20	30	20	30
18	10	40	11	39
25	11	39	13	37

Table 2.3: Response to "The existing socio-political atmosphere is not enough to solve issues faced by women"

Female	Yes	No
	41	9

Male	33	17
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Female 50, Male 50

Table 2.4: Response to "Since there is not much justice and generosity in social affairs, it is unnecessary to have tensions about the problems faced by women"

	Yes	No
Female	11	39
Male	13	37

Table 2.5: Response to "Drinking, drug addiction etc, affects the human interactions badly"

	Yes	No
Female	50	0
Male	49	1

Female 50, Male 50

Table 2.6: Response to "Girls should be given equal opportunity with the boys, to get education."

	Yes	No
Female	50	0
Male	49	1

Female 50, Male 50

Table 2.7: Respondents' views on gender justice.

Qn. No	Female		Male	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
9	47	3	49	1
10	50	0	50	0
11	49	1	50	0
19	48	2	47	3
21	48	2	49	1

Table 2.8: Responses to common values and norms.

Qn. No	Female		Male	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
12	26	24	40	10
13	44	6	49	1
22	38	12	41	9
23	20	30	30	20

SURVEY REPORT

TABLES

PART - III

Table 3.1: Response to "Did anybody in life misbehave towards you just for being a woman?"

Female	Yes	No
	5	45
<i>Response to "Have you been witness to any sort of atrocity towards women?"</i>		
Male	9	41

Table 3.2: Response to "Have anybody misbehaved towards you from school/college/workplace?"

Female	Yes	No
	1	49
<i>Response to "Have you been witness to any atrocity against women from school/college/workplace?"</i>		
Male	8	42

Table 3.3: Response to "Have you ever experienced any atrocity during journeys?"

Female	Yes	No
	5	45

<i>Response to "have you been witness to any atrocity against women during journeys?"</i>		
Male	6	44

Table 3.4: Response to "Do you have the feeling that you will be attacked by men at any time?"

Female	Yes	No
	5	45
<i>Response to "Did you experience any atrocity from any woman?"</i>		
Male	1	49

Table 3.5: Response to "Do you have the feeling that you can physically prevent the attack from men?"

Female	Yes	No
	9	41

Table 3.6: Response to "Have you ever seen/heard about any sexually/physically atrocious act /threat against women in your neighbourhood/village/panchayath?"

Female	Yes	No
	9	41
Male	7	43

Table 3:7: Response to "How will you manage such situations?"

Female	A	B	C	D	B&D	F
	12	19	10	2	1	6
Male	3	20	10	9	4	4

Table 3.8: Response to "Do you read newspapers and magazines?"

Female	Yes	No
	39	11
Male	37	13

Table 3.9: Response to "Do you attend to the news coming in TV and newspapers regarding atrocities against women?"

Female	Yes	No
	40	10

Male	44	6
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Table 3.10: Response to "Which TV programme do you like best?"

	A	B	C	D	E	G
Female	8	5	11	7	5	14
Male	5	5	7	22	1	10

A = Songs, cinema and serial B = Cinema C = Serial D= News& Current Affairs E = All these F = Not regular viewers.

Table 3.11: Response to "Women are powerless beings. How will you respond to this statement" ?

	Yes	No
Female	9	41
Male	12	38

Table 3.12: Response to "Do you have any scare in telling out the issues publicly, if at all you face "as woman?"

	Yes	No
Female	7	43
<i>Response to " Do you have any scare in telling out the issues publicly, if at all your close women associates face "as woman?"</i>		
Male	11	39

Table 3.13: Response to "Do you go to public places alone or with somebody at home?"

Female	Yes			No
	Alone	With somebody	Both	9
	17	17	7	
<i>Response to "Do your close women associates go to public places alone or with somebody at home?"</i>				
Male	20	16	36	14

Table 3.14: Response to "Have you experienced any misbehaviour from men from public places?"

Female	Yes	No
	2	48
<i>Response to "Have your close women associates experienced any misbehaviour from men from public places?"</i>		
Male	6	44

Table 3.15: Response to "Is there any necessitating situation in your life to travel during night?"

Female	Yes			No
	Alone	With somebody	Both	45
	5	3	2	
<i>Response to "Is there any necessitating situation in the life of women close to you to travel during night?"</i>				
Male	4	5	0	41

Table 3.16: Response to "Are you scared of travelling during nights?"

Female	Yes	No
	30	20
<i>Response to "Do your women associates scare to travel during nights?"</i>		
Male	44	6

Table 3.17: Response to "Do you have the opinion that women of your village can travel without any disturbance from men?"

Female	Yes	No
	42	8
Male	44	6

Table 3.18: Response to "Is security increasing in your village?"

Female	Yes	No	No response
	20	8	22
Male	35	15	0

Table 3.19: Response to "Have you ever heard of any organizations that help women in such issues?"

	Yes	No
Female	24	26
Male	37	13

Table 3.20: Response to "will you contact them during necessary situations?"

	Yes	No	No response
Female	27	4	19
Male	30	20	0

Table 3.21: Response to "How will you respond to an event of atrocity against any one of your woman acquaintances?"

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Both A&C
Female	14	1	22	5	2	3	0	3
Male	26	4	18	0	2	0	0	0

A = Will seek the help of police B = will tempt her to keep quiet without making it an issue C = will make sure that the accused gets punishment D = will keep silent about it E = will act as per the situation F = no response G = will directly fight

Table 3.22: Response to "Do you think that the existing legal system is sufficient to secure women from such issues?"

Female	Yes	No
	18	32
Male	23	27

Table 3.23: Response to "Will you be ready to co-operate in such efforts?"

Female	Yes	No	Not sure
	37	12	1
Male	48	2	0

Table 3.24: Response to "Have you ever gone to police/court to solve a grievance of a family member/friend/yourself?"

Female	Yes	No
	2	48
Male	11	39

Table 3.25: Response to "Did they discourage you from charging the case?"

	Yes	No
Female	2	0
Male	0	11

Table 3.26: Response to "How far do you agree to the opinion that in the society women are getting no justice and respect as men receive?"

	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	No opinion
Female	21	20	6	3
Male	28	10	12	0

Table 3.27: Response to "How far satisfied are you in your family life?"

	Not at all satisfied	Don't know	Somewhat satisfied	Almost satisfied	Very much satisfied
Female	1	7	2	25	15
Male	0	0	3	33	14

Table 3.28: Response to "Whether you have been able to tell openly from your home about the sexual problems you face?"

	Yes	No	No response
Female	22	26	2
Male	18	32	0

Table 3.29: Response to "Are you able to tell frankly about your sexual issues to your partner and make sure that you get - co operation?"

Table 3.31: *Response to "Are you able to tell frankly about your sexual issues to your partner and make sure that you get - co operation?"*

	Yes	No	No-response
Female	35	5	10
Male	39	1	10

Table 3.30: Response to "Do you agree to the opinion that it needs the mental preparation of women in the matters of conceiving, delivery etc.?"

	Yes	No	Not known
Female	48	1	1
Male	49	1	0

Table 3.31: Response to "From where do you get the knowledge regarding sex & sexuality?"

Female	Family	Books	Both	Friends	Both Friends & Books	From no where	No Response
		19	10	5	2	2	8
Male	15	20	0	7	1	0	7

Table 3.32: Response to "Do you agree to the opinion that sex education will reduce atrocity against women?"

Female	Yes	No	Not known
		37	11
Male	37	13	0

Table 3.33: Response to "Which type of marriage does you prefer-arranged or self-choice?"

Female	Arranged	Self choice	Both
		43	2
Male	28	17	5

Table 3.34: Response to "What is your opinion about remarriage?"

Female	Not interested	According to life situations	Agree to
	23	19	8
Male	1	40	9

Table 3.35: Response to "Can you mention one of the best behaviour of your partner that you like most?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
10	4	6	6	2	2	1	7	1	1	10	
Male	14	2	4	13	1	-	-	-	6	-	10

Female: A = Behaves lovingly B = we take to journey C = Likes profession D = Trustworthy and frank

E = Simplicity F = Discuss views G = Reading H = Nothing special I = No response J = Widow K = Unmarried

Male: A=prepare very nice food B=interested in journeys C=going for films D=open behaviour E=very tolerant F=no response

Table 3.36: Response to "Can you mention one of the bad behaviour you don't like?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
11	5	8	7	10	1	6	2	
Male	4	9	7	19	10	1	-	-

Female: A = Drinking & Gambling B = Gets angry quickly C = No response D = Nothing special E = Unmarried F = Undeserving blaming G = Smoking H = Self decision (female)

Male: A = self decisive B=keep the house untidy C=unnecessary anger D=nothing special E=unmarried F=over interest in costly materials.

Table 3.37: Response to "Have You ever been unable to take independent decisions in the issues and atrocities you face for not having your own earnings?"

Female	Yes	No	Have own earnings
	19	23	8
<i>Response to "Have your women associates been unable to take independent decisions in the issues and atrocities they face for not having their own earnings"</i>			
Male	19	31	0

Table 3.38: Response to "When at home, how the male members of your family consume the leisure time?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	A+B	B+C	NA
	4	4	3	30	2	1	5	1
<i>Response to "When at home, how you consume the leisure time"</i>								
Male	4	4	5	31	0	0	0	6 (do all these)

A = don't do anything seriously B = Will hear radio and watch cinema C = Read newspapers and books D = Always actively participate in all household activities E = will attend to teaching children NA = Not applicable

Table 3.39: Response to "Your participation in social gatherings like marriage death etc?"

Female	All	Inevitable ones	Some	Go no where
		3	39	8
Male	19	27	4	0

Table 3.40: Response to " To whom do you show your anger and uneasiness?"

Female	A	B	A+B	C	D	E	D+E	F
		27	15	1	0	1	2	2
Male	41	1	0	2	6	-	-	-

A = Self B = Children C = Friends D = Husband/wife, father & brother E = Mother & Sister, F = Never gets angry

Table 3.41: Response to "Barring family affairs which area of life activity does you like most?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	F
		14	6	25	1	3
Male	24	5	18	1	2	0

A = Socio-political activities B = Cultural activities C = Nothing special D = Something other than A & B E = A+B, F = Reading and Music

Table 3.42: Response to "Which of the following should be given

priority in initiating activities aiming at the welfare and better position of women socially?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E
	13	27	6	2	2
Male	15	19	10	6	0

A = The Government should start new projects and programme B = Small groups lead by women should do the welfare activities C = The Panchayath should start vigilance committees D = A+C, E = Not known

Table 3.43: Response to "According to you what is the main disadvantage in women's life?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	1	11	14	10	9	3	2
Male	5	9	19	5	8	1	3

A = Absence of enough political participation of women B = Physical and mental atrocities against women C = Absence of right of decision making in all walks life D = Lack of earnings property land etc., E = All of these F = Something other than these (A+C) G = C + D

Table 3.44: Response to "According to you what can be the reason for the specific issues faced by women in society?"

Female	A	B	A+B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	12	13	10	4	1	2	1	3	4
Male	17	10	5	6	3	0	5	2	2

A = Lack of education B = Lack of economic independence A+B C = They must get social exposure D = women should understand themselves that it is not slavish to work in the family E = Women aren't capable of fighting against the issues F = No opinion G = Social under privileges H = Badness of male/Female & Family problems

Table 3.45: Response to "Are you worried about critical life situations such as disease and aging?"

Female	Yes	No
	25	25
Male	22	28

Table 3.46: Response to "Women involved in sex work are treated badly and men involved in the same face no problem socially. What is your response to this situation?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	30	3	7	5	1	1	0	2	1
Male	35	6	1	2	2	2	1	1	1

A = Both should be equally treated and punished B = Hate both of them, should be changed socially and Government should take necessary actions C = It is not righteousness of both men and women. They should be exposed D = Males are dissemblers E = Males are also guilty F = No response G = Alcohol / and man get into trap H = Women having subservient roles to men I = Social change should be needed.

Table 3.47: Response to "What is your understanding about the socio-economic situations in which women are forced to adapt to sex work?"

Female	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	17	8	15	2	0	2	6	0	0
Male	11	16	9	3	1	4	3	2	1

A = Scarcity of money B = The problem is created by the capitalist mode of economy. it should be changed to socialist mode of economy C =They should be tempted, rehabilitated and provided some other job D =It needs social change E = Drug addiction and alcoholism F =No response G =It is a social issue into which females are caught in accidentally and continuing the same fearing isolation H =sex education should be given I =They are greedy to earn money

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