

Exploring Gender Bias of Procedural Institutions and Victims of Domestic Violence in India

(with Special reference to Police station, Court, and family counselling cells)

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Abstract

In the past few decades, public consciousness concerning the life-intimidating nature and extremely distressing impression of domestic violence has significantly amplified. Simultaneously, intense alterations have taken place concerning criminal justice and social work strategies and practices relevant to domestic violence intermediation. The present paper aims to explore the circumstances of victims of domestic violence from various socio-economic backgrounds, source of maintenance after separation, money and time taken by court to reach an outcome, and the attitude and behaviour of the police authorities, mediation centres, family court and Court and reasons for approaching or not approaching these procedural institutions. The attitudes of in-laws and husbands at the time of mediation and counselling sessions at family counselling centres and family courts, as well as the reasons for compromise and non-compromise, have also been addressed in this paper. The paper is based on empirical data consisting of a mixed method, collected from 50 women victims of domestic violence. Then, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected from 20 women who approached these procedural institutions, as well as the problems faced by women at social, economic, and cultural levels, by the time the court reaches its decision or the stage of compromise.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Socio-Economic Background, Criminal Justice System, Police Response, Family Courts, Mediation and Counselling, Access to Justice, Women Empowerment.

Introduction

Domestic violence is a configuration of behaviour. This involves violence or abuse by one person against another in a domestic setting.¹ The Indian constitution defines violence against women as any act of gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women.² Domestic violence (DV), defined by the Protection of Women from

¹ Acharya NK (2005) Commentary on protection of women from domestic violence Act.

² Bhattacharya R (2013) Behind the close doors: Domestic violence in India. SAGE Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Domestic Violence Act 2005 as physical, sexual, verbal, emotional, and economic abuse against women by a partner or family member residing in a joint family, plagues the lives of many women in India.³ Domestic violence is one of the crucial concerns for women in India. It was earlier perceived as violence related to dowry, beating of wife or violation of human rights.

Several acts have been passed in India to protect women against domestic violence. With laws such as the Domestic Violence Act 2005 and the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, the government also established facilities like mediation centres and family counselling centres, where cases related to domestic violence are overseen by police officials, inspectors, and other relevant personnel. However, many previous studies have rarely identified the numerous problems women face within procedural institutions like police stations, mediation cells, and courts when they attempt to file a case against their husbands and in-laws. It can be said that women experience institutional patriarchy both at home and within legal institutions.

In the past few decades, public awareness of the frightening nature and highly distressing impact of domestic violence has greatly increased. At the same time, significant changes have occurred in criminal justice and social work strategies and practices related to domestic violence intervention. The Handbook of Domestic Violence Intervention Strategies: Policies, Programs, and Legal Remedies, by Albert R. Roberts, highlights numerous advances in legal remedies, programme developments, treatment protocols, and multidisciplinary perspectives. This comprehensive study covers the latest research, public policies, and responses from legal and criminal justice systems, including federal and state legislation, as well as trends in police and court responses to domestic violence. Leigh Goodmark (2012) argues that the current legal system concerning domestic violence is fundamentally flawed in ways that hinder it from helping many women who suffer abuse. The system implements mandatory policies that strip women of their autonomy and agency, replacing women's goals with the priorities of the state. Drawing on anti-essentialist principles, the author proposes ways to look beyond the system to support women in seeking justice and economic stability, involve men in ending abuse, and foster community accountability. This serves as a foundational study for the research undertaken.

The present paper aims to explore the circumstances of women from various socio-economic backgrounds, the source of maintenance after separation, and the time taken by the court to reach a verdict. It also analyses the attitude and behaviour of police authorities, who are responsible for conducting mediation or counselling for families, and examines the social, economic, and cultural problems faced by women during the court's decision-making process. Additionally, this paper addresses the attitudes of in-laws and husbands during mediation and counselling sessions at family counselling centres and family courts.

³ Kalokhe, A., Del Rio, C., Dunkle, K., Stephenson, R., Metheny, N., Paranjape, A., & Sahay, S. (2017). Domestic violence against women in India: A systematic review of a decade of quantitative studies. *Global public health*, 12(4), 498–513.

Aims and Objectives

This paper aims to conduct an in-depth analysis of the various problems faced by women during the process of filing cases of domestic violence at police stations and courts. It is based on empirical findings obtained through a mixed-methods approach to data collection. Women from different socio-economic backgrounds, mainly classified by social class, were included to understand whether the attitudes of these legal institutions are similar or different towards women from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. One of the central questions explored in this paper is whether procedural institutions are patriarchal in their approach and strategy when addressing women victims of domestic violence. Specifically, the objectives are to examine the role of procedural institutions, such as police stations and counselling centres, in conflict resolution and their impact on women victims. The study also aims to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of such institutions from the victims' perspective. By analysing the attitudes of procedural institutions, police, and family counsellors towards women and domestic violence, the influence of legal provisions on victims, and the various reasons for domestic violence beyond dowry, this paper provides a comprehensive understanding of the issue.

Exploring these issues is mainly important because women face numerous challenges at every stage of handling cases of domestic violence or dowry demand, from registering the First Information Report (FIR) against in-laws and the husband to seeking justice in court. Furthermore, most studies focus solely on the psychological impact on women experiencing domestic violence at home. However, very little attention is given to what these victims endure during family counselling and court proceedings, especially since a divorce case filed on the grounds of domestic violence typically takes around three to seven years within the Indian judicial system.

Methodology

This is empirical research that utilises open-ended questionnaires, telephonic interviews, and in-depth case studies to gather data from victims of domestic violence. A total of 50 women victims were contacted by telephone. Victims of domestic violence were identified through a senior lawyer from a prestigious law agency and another senior lawyer serving in the Delhi High Court to collect data and case studies. Consent for interviews was obtained from the women. The questionnaire was divided into three sections – Section 1 included the respondent's personal details and her experiences with domestic violence; Section 2 covered the victim's experiences, reasons, and perpetrators; and Section 3 addressed her procedural encounters with three institutions: police, court proceedings, and mediation cells. The primary data sources consisted of interviews with women who faced domestic violence, with permission obtained for open-ended questionnaires, case studies, and recordings. A purposive sample of 30 women victims was selected, of whom 20 agreed to participate in detailed case studies. Secondary sources included books, articles, previous judgments on domestic violence, and reports from various United Nations agencies. The research hypothesises that 'Procedural institutions are patriarchal in their approach and strategies when dealing with women victims of domestic violence.'

Analysis of Data

Section-1

Socio-economic and Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Out of 50 victims of domestic violence who were contacted, nine respondents were below the age of 20 years, 19 were in the age group of 21-30 years, 16 were in the age group of 31-40, and six were above 40 years of age.

Categories	Respondents
Below 20	09
Between 21-30	19
Between 31-40	16
Above 40	06
Total	100

Table 1.1: Social Demographic details of victims of domestic violence: Age

Focusing on the occupational status of the victims of domestic violence, 29 of them were homemakers, 17 of them were service holders and professionals, three of the respondents were private workers and entrepreneurs, and one was a daily wage worker.

Categories	Respondents
Home Maker	29
Service Holder/ Professional	17
Private worker/ Entrepreneur	03
Others	01

Table 1.2: Social Demographic details of victims of domestic violence: Social Status

Marital Status

Out of 50 participants, 14 were married, 17 were divorced, and 19 of the respondents were separated. Furthermore, 28 respondents had arranged marriages, 12 had love marriages, and 10 had civil marriages. Regarding the registration of marriage, 26 respondents registered their marriage and provided supporting documents to prove it, while 24 respondents neither registered their marriage nor had any supporting documents to prove it; some of them had their wedding photographs.

Categories	Respondents
Married	14
Divorcee	17
Separated	19

Table 1.3: Social Demographic details of victims of domestic violence: Marital Status

As far as educational status is concerned, nine respondents were illiterate, 10 had primary education, 11 had secondary education, nine were graduates, seven had postgraduate education,

and four respondents had attained some technical education or practical skills related to beauty, nursing, tailoring, etc.

Categories	Respondents
Illiterate	09
Primary education	10
Secondary education	11
Graduate	09
Post - Graduate	07
Technical Education/ practical skills	04

Table 1.4: Social Demographic details of victims of domestic violence: Educational Qualification

Focusing on the family status of the 50 respondents, 31 respondents were from a nuclear family, 19 were in a joint family structure, and 32 had children, while 18 did not have any children.

Section -2

Experiences of Violence- Causes, Frequency and Perpetrators

Out of 50 respondents, 12 reported that violence began a few months after marriage but became intolerable within one year. In comparison, 14 respondents stated that violence became intolerable within one to three years of marriage, 16 within three to five years, and seven within five to seven years. Only one respondent reported experiencing violence after seven years.

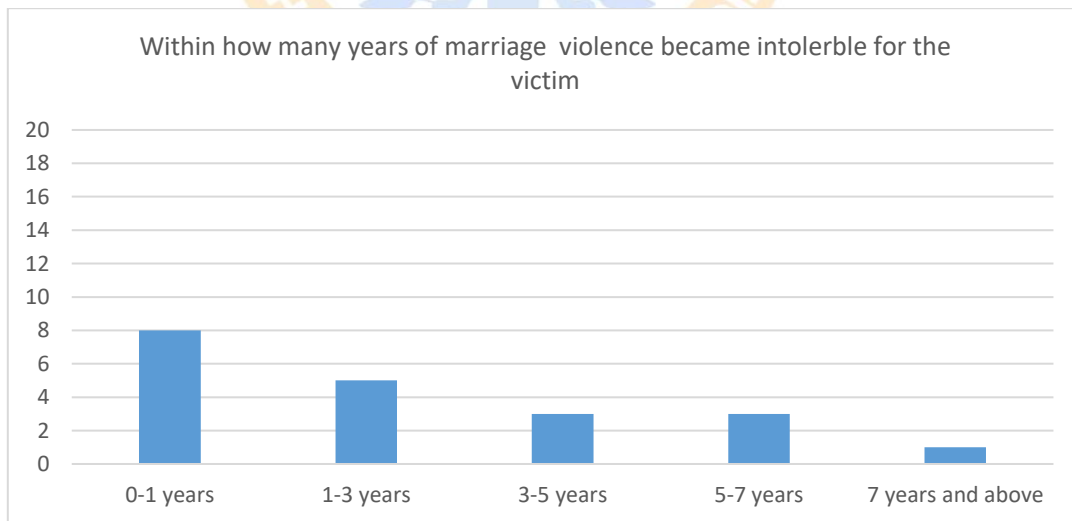


Chart 1.1: Duration when violence became intolerable for victim

The primary reason is the demand for dowry. The data reveal that out of 50 respondents, 20 reported that the dowry was demanded indirectly by their in-laws before marriage, 16 after marriage, and 14 both before and after marriage. Whether demand of dowry was fulfilled, 37

reported that the demand of dowry was fulfilled, while 13 reported that their family was unable to fulfil the demand of dowry.

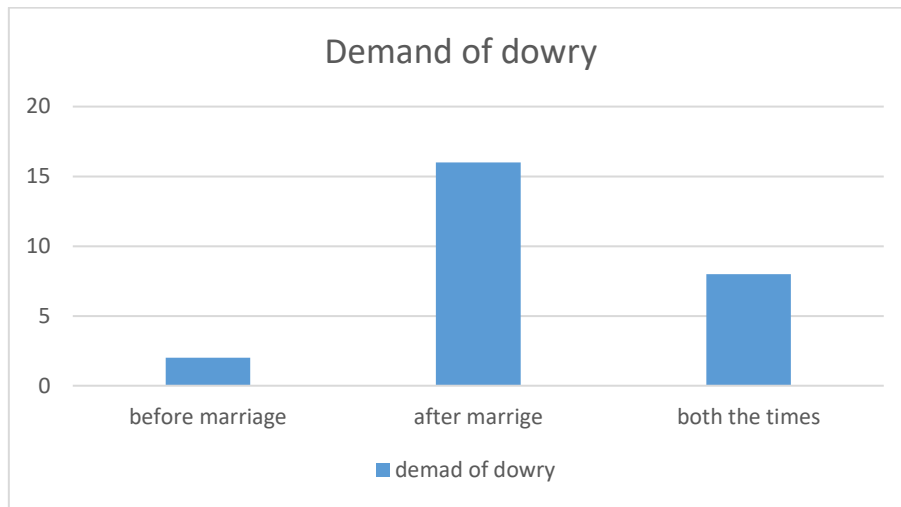


Chart 1.2: Demand of dowry by the in-laws

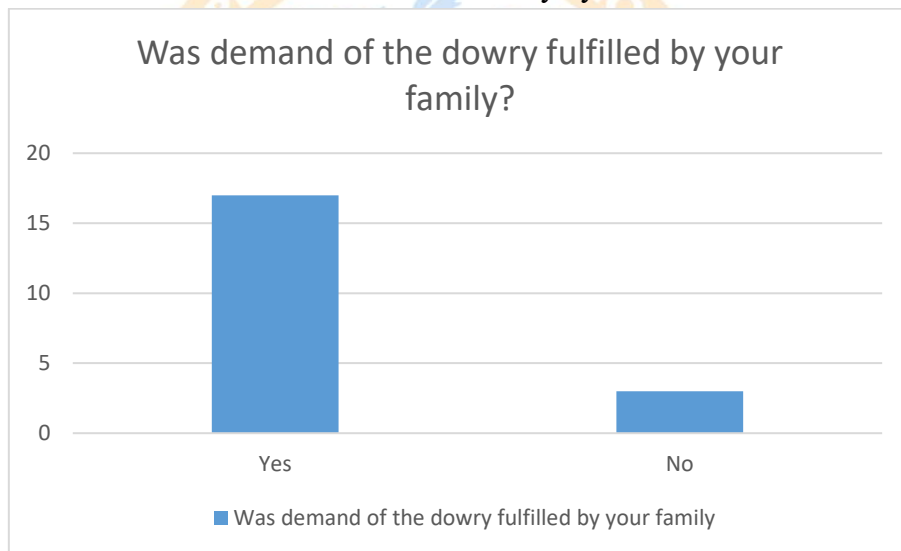


Chart 1.3: If the natal family of the victim able to fulfil the demand of dowry or not

Nature and Types of Violence Faced by the Respondents

To understand the nature of violence, it was classified into five categories: verbal abuse, physical violence, mental abuse, financial abuse, and sexual abuse. Data shows that 34 respondents were frequently verbally abused by their in-laws, while 16 experienced verbal abuse occasionally. Regarding physical violence, 20 respondents reported facing it often, 18 occasionally, and 12 never experienced physical violence during their marriage. Additionally, 21 respondents faced mental abuse frequently, 19 occasionally, and 10 never encountered mental abuse during their marriage. Moreover, 26 respondents experienced financial abuse very frequently, 19 occasionally, and five did not face any financial abuse. Concerning sexual

abuse, data indicates that 13 respondents frequently experienced forced sex, 15 occasionally resulting in unwanted pregnancy, while 22 had no occurrence of sexual abuse.

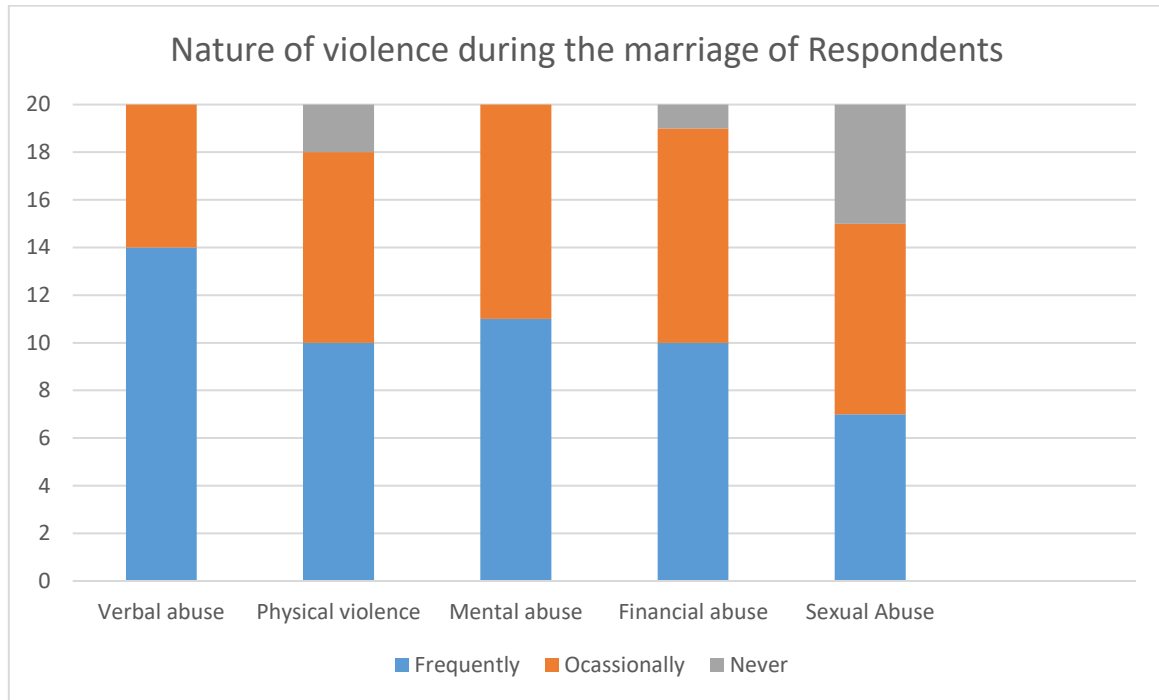


Chart 1.3: Nature of harassment of victims during marriage

So far, the perpetrators are concerned. In 17 cases, the husband was the major perpetrator of violence; in 12 cases, the mother-in-law; in nine cases, the father-in-law; in four cases, the brother-in-law; in six cases, the sister-in-law; and in two instances, respondents considered other acquaintances of the in-laws to be the major perpetrator.

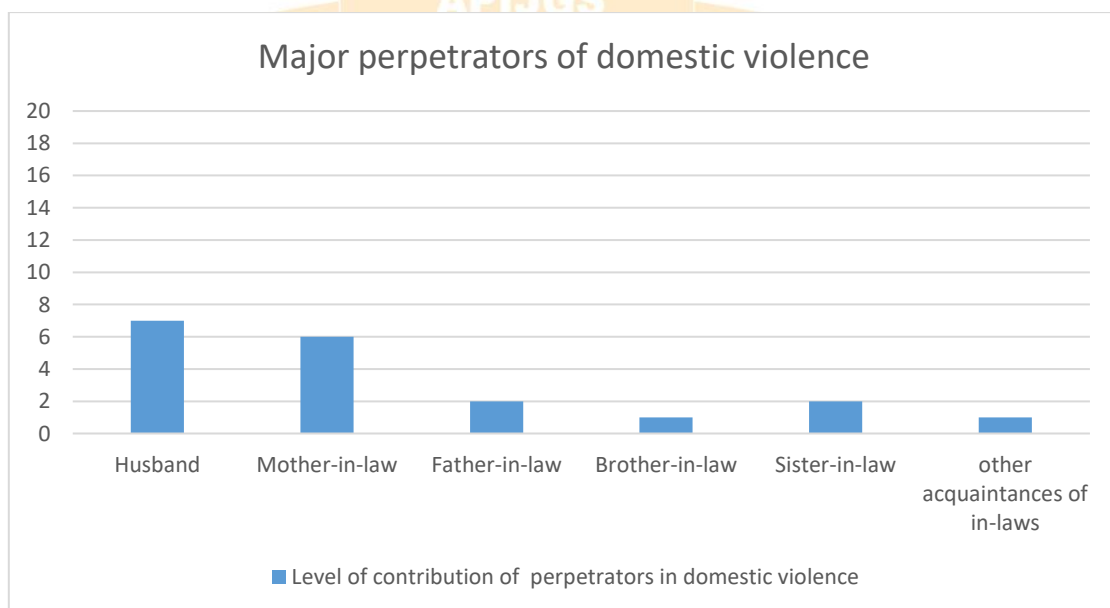


Chart 1.4: Major perpetrators of domestic violence

Case Study 1.1: Multiple Perpetrators of Violence at Home against the Victim

Meera (name changed), aged 30, married to Ram Kumar, a migrant labourer from Bihar, narrated, “The initial two years of marriage went smoothly, but he used to physically assault her occasionally. However, gradually, the frequency of harassment increased. His mother and brother also used to abuse her at times, verbally.

In 2021, her husband had beaten her badly and forced her to leave the house, and filed a false complaint against her at the police station and in court, alleging that she had stolen cash and jewellery from the house and had escaped. Meera filed a complaint at Special Cell for Women and Children, PTC Malviya Nagar, New Delhi, with the help of her relatives. However, instead of helping her, the authorities at the special cell began asking her for essential documents, such as proof of marriage registration, photographs of the marriage, and photographs of her jewellery. She was unable to produce documents at the special cell as all her documents were with her husband. Not being well-educated and technologically savvy, she could not even present the scanned copies of the documents.

Meera began receiving summons from the court to appear at the Dwarka Family Court in Delhi. She used to get presented at the court proceedings, but her husband or in-laws never turned up in court. While recording her case, she was still attending court proceedings and mediation sessions alone, with minimal support from her family.

Frequency of Violence faced by the Respondents

Data reveals that out of 50 respondents, 18 reported that the harassment used to take place in their marriage almost daily in different forms, 16 once a week or a month, while 26 respondents reported the occurrence occasionally.

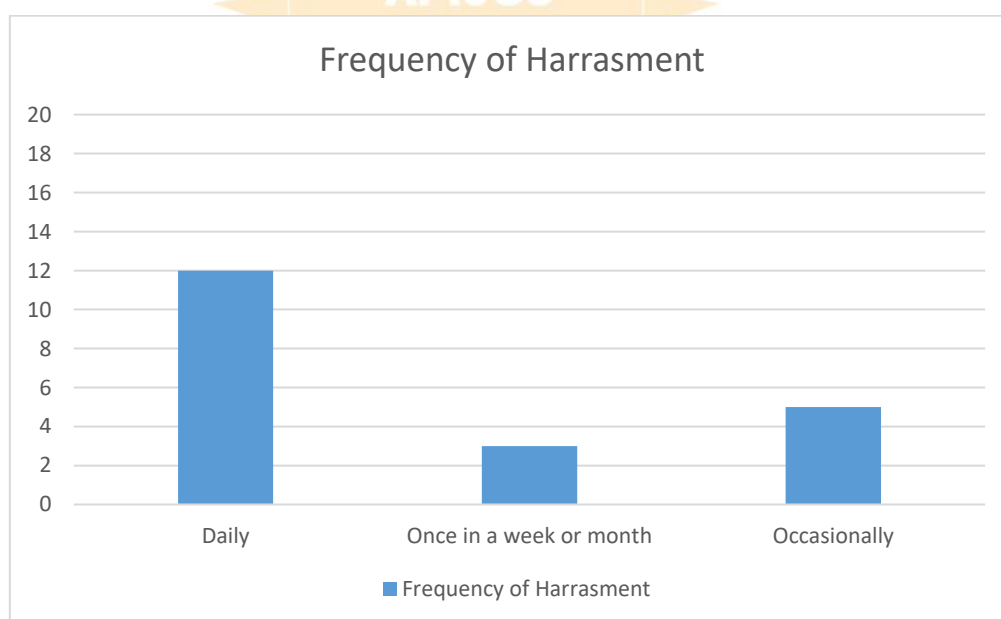
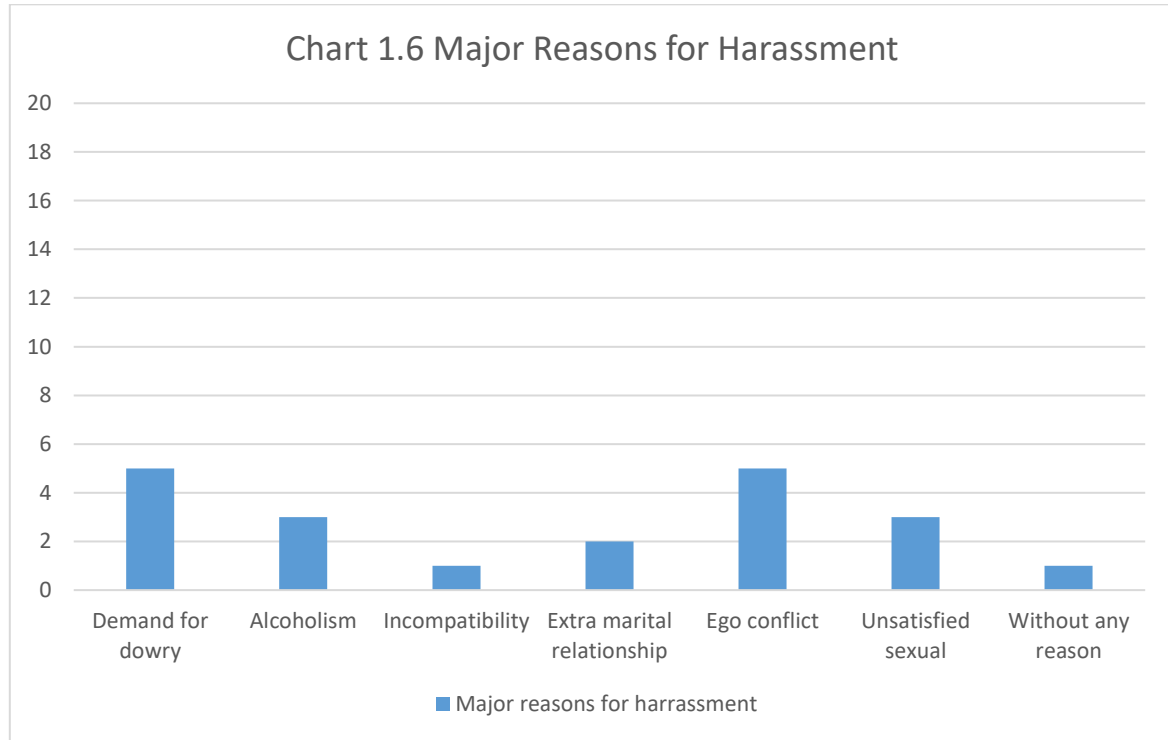


Chart 1.5: Frequency of harassment faced by victim

Regarding the reasons for harassment, five respondents cited demand for dowry as the primary cause of violence, five mentioned ego conflict, three pointed to alcoholism, three cited unsatisfactory sex, two involved extra-marital affairs of their husbands, one indicated no apparent reason for the violence inflicted upon her, and one respondent mentioned incompatibility.



Case Study 1.2: Exceptional Reason for Harassment of Victim of Domestic Violence

Asha (name changed), aged 31, had a love marriage approved by their parents to Ravinder. But within 2-3 months, she started feeling unhappy because of her husband’s impotence, and she wanted a divorce. Her husband, to cover his impotence, used to assault her physically, verbally and emotionally. Ravinder’s parents used to support him and torture Asha very frequently. She approached the Family court within three months of her marriage to file for divorce. Her case was transferred to the mediation cell. Both were ordered by the court to live together for at least one year to ensure the smooth continuation of their relationship. She had no option but to live with her husband against her will. She also tried to make her relationship better in every way. However, all her efforts went in vain, and she decided to file for a mutual divorce in the High Court of Delhi. The procedure for mutual divorce took another five years, as the stridhan and alimony of 5 Lakh rupees were given over three years. After the divorce, Asha remarried and had a son. This case study conveys that despite knowing an apparent reason for violence at home and a woman’s will to file for divorce, the procedure for divorce can take around five years, which ruins several precious years of a woman’s life.

Section 3

Victim’s Experience with Police Station, Mediation Cells and Court Proceedings

This section describes the experiences of 20 women who visited police stations and mediation centres after filing complaints against their husbands and in-laws at the local police station. The data indicate that out of the 20 respondents, three reported that their FIR was registered within 0 to 4 months, 11 within 4 to 8 months, and five within 8 to 12 months, while only one reported a registration time of more than 12 months.

Categories	Respondents
Within 0-4 months	3
Within 4-8 months	11
Within 8-12 months	5
12 months and above	1

Table 2.2: Time to Register FIR (First Information Report)

All 20 victims were asked to attend the family counselling services or mediation by the Police Special Cell for Women and Children. Furthermore, out of these 20 respondents, eight were asked to settle the matter during the mediation itself, five were refused permission to file an FIR, four were informed that the officials had no authority to take any action, and three respondents proceeded to court.

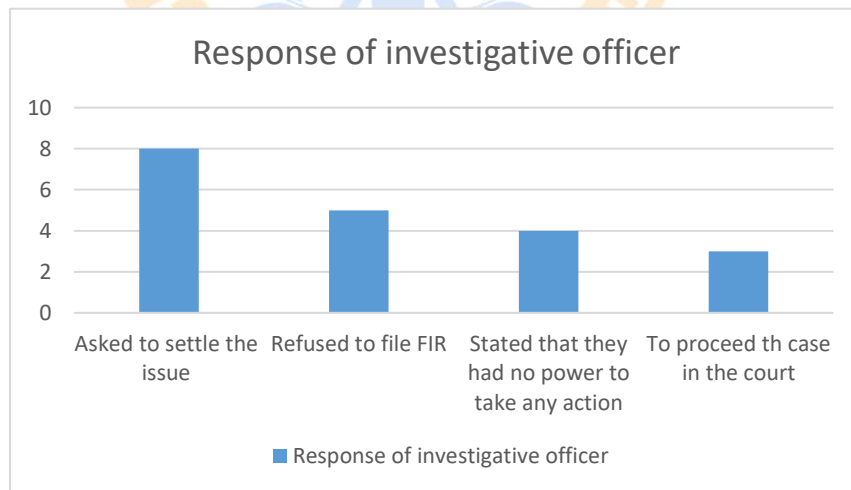
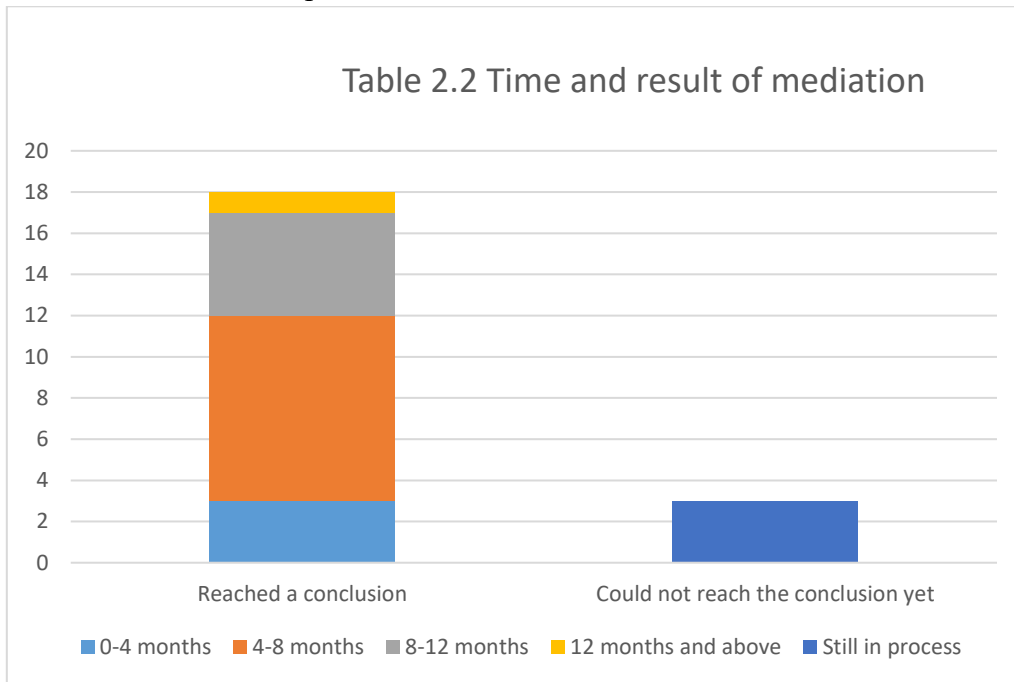


Chart 2.1: Response of investigative officer

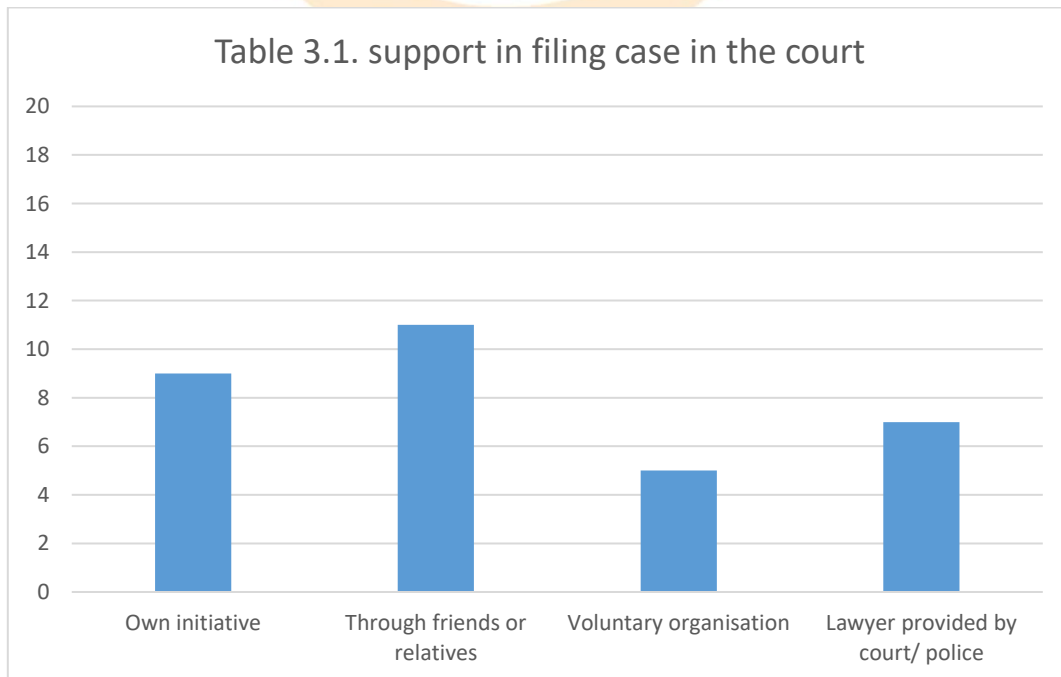
The data show that out of 20 respondents, 16 were helped by the police to retrieve the Stridhan in their custody, while four were unable to retrieve the Stridhan. Furthermore, 11 respondents were assisted by the police in retrieving their Stridhan, while nine were not. Regarding the result of mediation, it took between 0 to 4 months for three respondents for

their case to conclude, 4 to 8 months for nine, 8 to 12 months for five, more than 12 months for one, and the case is still in process for three.



Section 3 - Court Proceedings: Experiences of Victims

All 20 respondents were approached to file a case or move to court for Justice. The data show that out of 20 respondents, nine initiated the case in court, 11 through their friends and relatives, seven with the help of a government lawyer provided by the court or police, and five through voluntary organisations.

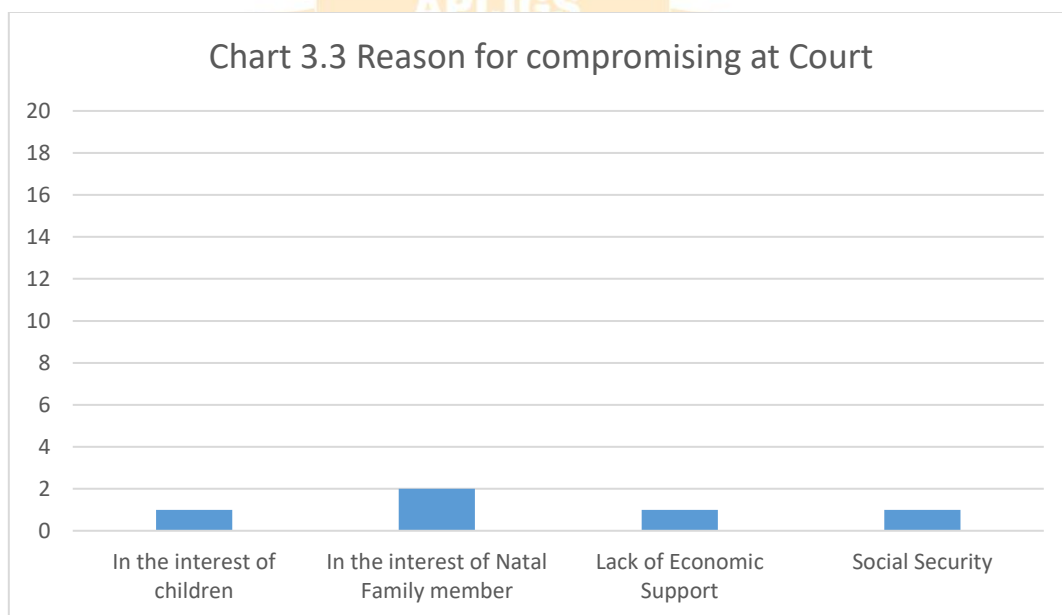


Case Study: Differently abled victim filing complaint against husband

Manisha (name changed), a 31-year-old person with a physical disability, works in the Indian Postal Department. In 2010, she was selected for the post of postal assistant under the quota for people with physical disabilities. In her office, her senior lady officer approached her with a proposal of marriage for her son, Rakesh (name changed). They got married in 2012 and had two children. In 2018, her husband and mother-in-law abandoned her and her children and forced them to leave the house. Her husband wanted to marry another woman. Manisha’s brother was also physically challenged and lived in Hissar (Haryana). Her husband took away Manisha and her children’s fundamental right to shelter. Looking at her helplessness, her distant relatives, neighbours, and colleagues came forward to help her file a complaint at the nearest police station. Later, she was referred to one of the police mediation cells. Her husband and mother-in-law were asked to attend the mediation. However, the mediation cell failed to unite them or reach a favourable conclusion for Manisha. Every time a new date for counselling was given. Her husband and her in-laws denied every responsibility they had towards Manisha and her children, including financial support. This procedure took approximately one year, after which her case was transferred to the court. During this time, Manisha was alone, supporting her children. Eventually, people who came forward to offer a helping hand began to back off. She was not getting cooperation at her work and could not frequently apply for leave at each hearing. Looking at the hardship of Delhi, she voluntarily got transferred to Hisar with her children and stayed with her mother. She has handed over her case to one of the lawyers in Delhi and is earning to give a better life to her children.

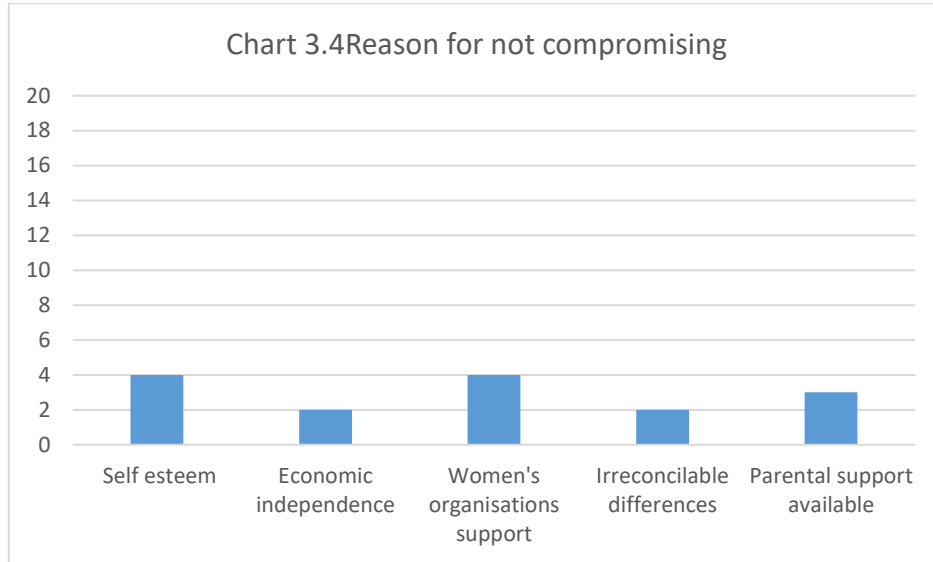
Reasons for Compromise and No Compromise

Out of all the 20 respondents, five respondents compromised in the court with the other party in the interest of children, natal family, lack of economic resources and social security.



However, four respondents did not compromise for their self-esteem/respect. Two were economically independent, four had the support of women’s organisations, two had irreconcilable differences, and three respondents had strong parental support.

Chart 3.3: Reason for not compromising at court



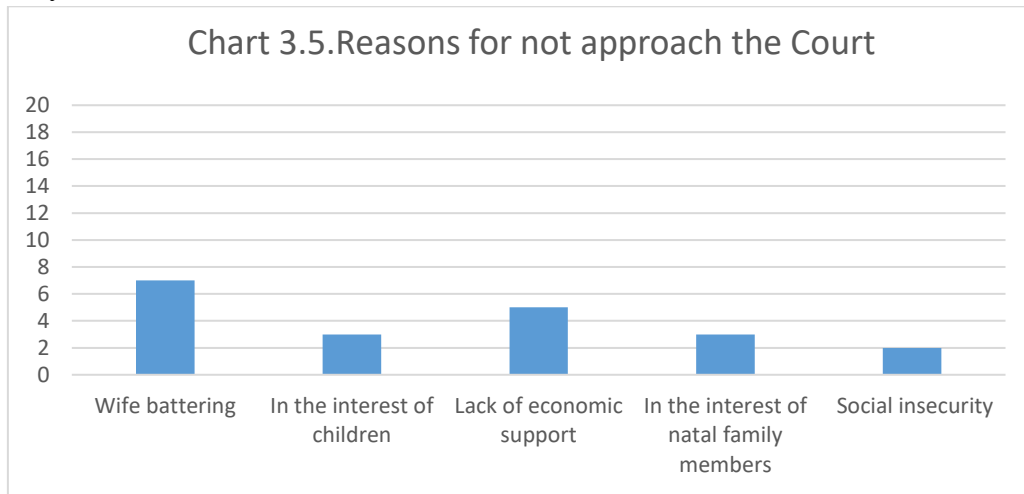
Case Study: Multiple Reasons for a Victim to Compromise in Court

Suman (name changed), a 42-year-old teacher at a government school in Delhi, married Pratik through Shaadi.com (name changed), a travel agency employee, in 2009. For one year, everything went smoothly in their marriage. But after that, he started going on tour frequently and pretended to be depressed due to the debt of 15 to 20 lakh rupees, and started physically and verbally abusing her. Intending to help him get rid of this debt and make the relationship smooth, she handed her savings and jewellery to him. Everything started getting better again in their marriage. But after some time, the whole burden of house rent, bills and other miscellaneous expenses came on Suman’s shoulders. And again, he started remaining escaped in the name of business tours and pretended to work hard. If she asked him for reasons for his frequent escapes over several days, he pretended to work hard to repay her savings and jewellery. It continued for three to four years. One day, a common friend informed her that her husband had been seen with a woman and a child several times in Noida. After pressuring, he disclosed his marriage and a son. Suman filed a case of fraud against Pratik, but the proceedings are still ongoing, consuming a significant amount of time and money. Her husband hardly appears in court proceedings. And it was she who was being harassed, even in court, every time. Finally, she decided to file for divorce against her husband, which took more than a year. She now lives with her parents and is financially independent.

Reasons for Approaching and not Approaching the Court to file a Case

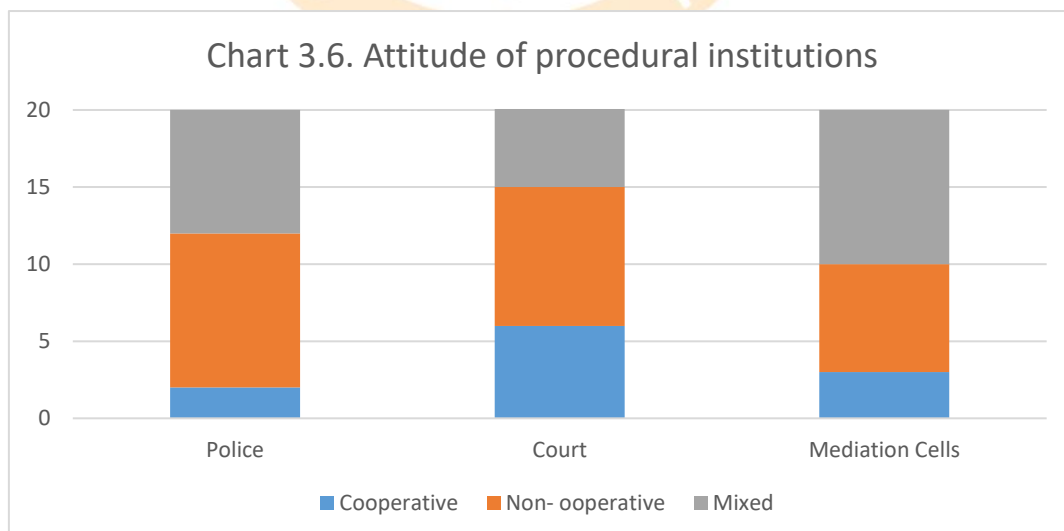
In response to a question as to why victims did not approach the court to file a case of domestic violence, several reasons were cited by the respondents. Out of 20 respondents, seven cited wife

battering, three in the interest of the children, five due to a lack of economic support, three to save family honour, and two due to social insecurities.



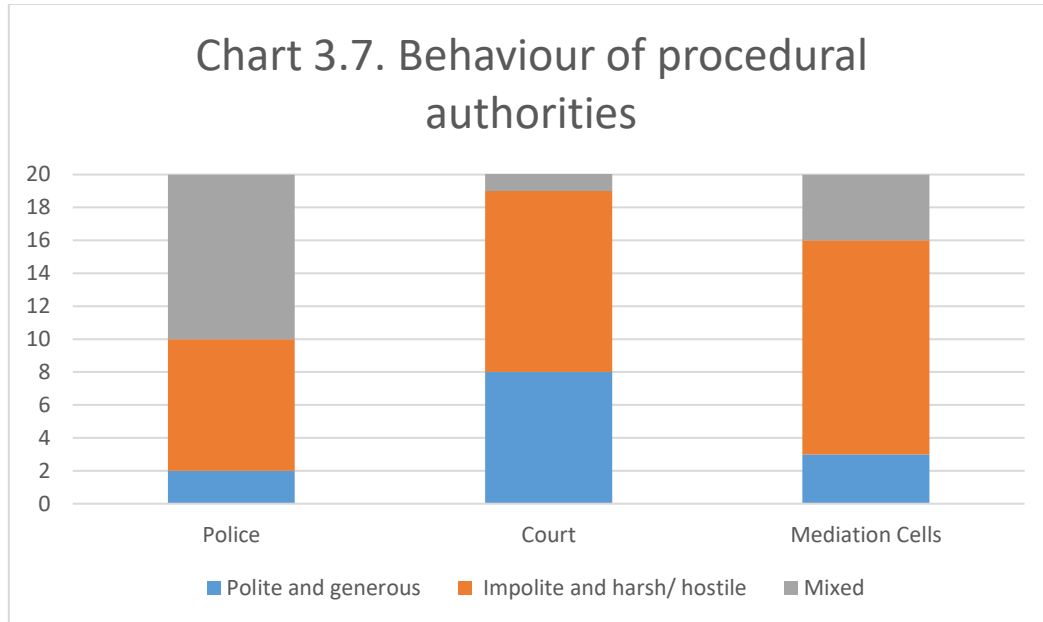
Attitude and Behaviour of Procedural Institutions

In response to the attitude and support of procedural institutions, out of 20 respondents, only two stated that the police attitude was cooperative, 10 found it non-cooperative, and eight found it mixed. As far as the attitude of the court is concerned, six respondents found the court's attitude to be cooperative, nine found it non-cooperative, and five found it mixed. For mediation cells, three respondents found the attitude of the authorities to be co-operative, seven non-cooperative, and ten had a mixed attitude. So, if we examine the overall responses regarding the three procedural institutions (police, court, and mediation cells), the majority of respondents felt that they were non-cooperative.



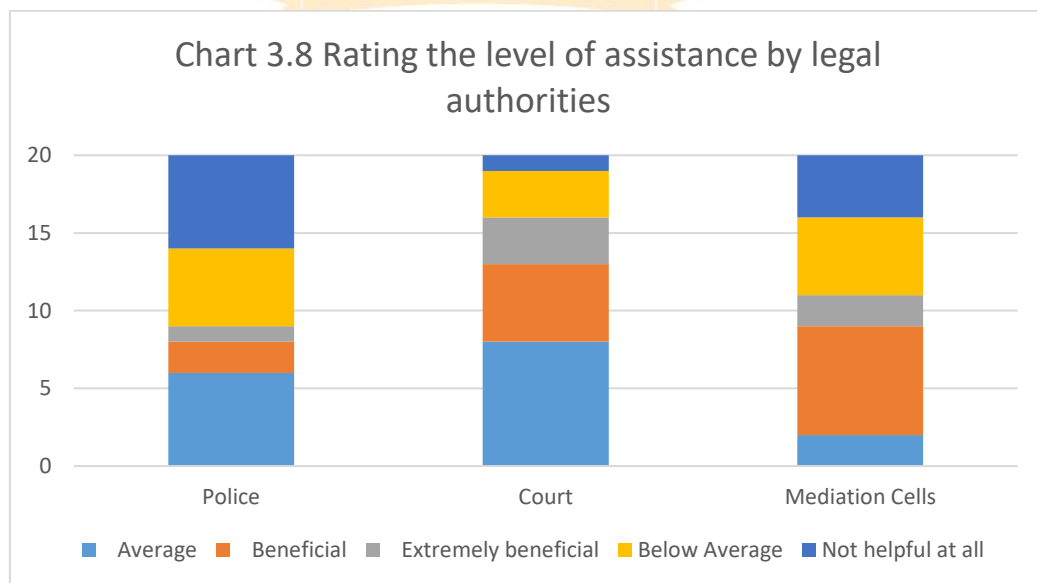
Regarding the behaviour of the procedural authorities, it was found that only two respondents considered the behaviour of the police authorities polite, eight found it impolite or harsh, and for ten respondents, the behaviour was mixed. As far as the behaviour of court authorities is concerned, eight found it polite, 11 found it impolite or harsh, and for four, it was mixed. For

mediation cells, three respondents found the behaviour polite, 13 found it impolite or harsh, and for five, it was mixed. Overall, the attitude and behaviour towards women of all three procedural intuitions were harsh and disrespectful.



Assistance Received by the Procedural Institutions

Out of all the 20 respondents, six rated the level of assistance by police authorities as average, two as beneficial, one as highly beneficial, five as below average, and six as not helpful at all. Regarding the level of assistance provided by the court, eight respondents rated it as average, five as beneficial, three as highly beneficial, three as below average, and four as not helpful at all. The response to mediation centre reveals that two respondents rated the level of assistance as average, seven as beneficial, two as highly beneficial, five as below average, and four respondents as not helpful at all.



Case Study: Unsatisfactory Decision made by the court in the Case of Domestic Violence

Salma (name changed) is 32 years old and runs her beauty parlour. She got married at the age of 21. Within one and a half years of marriage, her husband and her in-laws started torturing and abusing her physically, verbally and emotionally for dowry. Her parents were unable to fulfil the increasing demands of her in-laws. Hence, the violence at home became more severe day by day. One day, during the time of her pregnancy, her husband forced her to leave his house. Salma's parents tried their best to reconcile the matter, but her in-laws refused to take any responsibility for her. She gave birth to a son. Her husband and her in-laws refused to meet her and her son and had cut off all sorts of communication and relations with her. With no choice left, Salma approached the police mediation cell at Kirti Nagar. But her husband and her in-laws refused to cooperate with her and refused to support her financially. The mediation cell started pressuring Salma to divorce her husband. She knocked on the door of the court, including the Supreme Court, with the help of a government lawyer. After a five-year struggle, the court could only provide her with Rs. 50,000. Her husband remarried shortly after the divorce. She is bearing the responsibility of her son alone, including her rent, bills, and other necessities. She said that the mediation centres used to ask for evidence and proof of violence, but she was unable to provide them with any evidence, which, somehow, made her case relatively weak.

What Needs to be Done: Respondents' View

Based on the responses regarding the non-cooperative attitude, behaviour, and lesser assistance received from all three procedural institutions, the respondents were asked to explain their expectations. Out of 20 respondents, 17 advocated for a need to modify how these institutions deal with resolving disputes of domestic violence; only three said no modifications were required. The reasons for modifications were cited as: time-consuming, financial, delayed proceedings, providing evidence, and the need to penalise non-appearance of other parties, as well as to make procedural institutions more empathetic.

Conclusion and Discussion

To conclude, the harassment became intolerable for the victims during the first year of their marriage itself, mainly due to the demand for dowry, which was not fulfilled by the majority of the families. All the victims agreed that the verbal abuse was a pervasive form of insults, mocking, intimidation, swearing and taunts. The majority of the victims considered their husbands and their mother-in-law to be the major perpetrators of violence. Alcoholism and unsatisfied sexual relations are also other reasons for violence. Producing documents of marriage, other party's absence at the hearings, time and money spent, etc., make a woman more vulnerable and deprive them of seeking help from the procedural institutions. Regarding the victim's experience with the Police Station and Mediation Cells, the majority reported that their First Information Report was registered within 8 to 12 months. Still, all of them were required to undergo the procedure of joining counselling sessions at the family counselling cells and mediation cells before filing the First Information Report. In the mediation, the majority of

victims were asked to settle the issue themselves, and also acknowledged the lack of power of police officials or investigative officers to take any action against their in-laws or husbands. The time taken by the mediation cell to reach a decision ranged from eight to twelve months. But for some respondents, the decision is still pending at the mediation cell, even after one year.

As far as victims' experiences with court proceedings are concerned, the initial two to three months were spent providing evidence of marriage-related documents. The majority of the victims compromised in court with the other party, in the interest of their family or children, due to economic and time constraints, as well as the lengthy duration of court proceedings. The attitude and behaviour of the police, court and mediation cells were stated as non-cooperative and impolite. The majority of respondents rated the level of assistance provided by mediation centres and the court as below average and suggested changes to how these procedural institutions handle dispute resolution.

This paper, through qualitative and quantitative data, focused on several vital issues where the procedural institutions were patriarchal and intimidating. The mediation cells, police station and court, remained largely non-cooperative. Most of the time, victims were forced to compromise in the mediation cells as issues of domestic violence are viewed more as a private issue that needs to be settled through reconciliation and compromise. Another critical issue is the time, as it takes a minimum of seven to eight years to reach a conclusion, which highlights the system's insensitivity to time and money. It is the woman who bears the responsibility of raising children with no financial or parental support.

Another major issue reflected in this study is the delay in filing the First Information Report, which delays the entire procedure. The police and the mediation cell often fail to understand that if the victim is driven out of the house by her husband, gathering documents to support her complaint can be a significant challenge. The laws and procedures have been made so complicated and time-consuming that most victims either did not file their case or dropped it within a few months. Based on the findings, it will not be inappropriate to say that the procedural institutions promote the patriarchal mindset. Hence, the hypothesis 'Procedural Institutions are patriarchal with their approach and strategy, while addressing the women victims of domestic violence' is validated.

Recommendations:

Some crucial recommendations based on the qualitative and quantitative findings are:

Laws should eliminate lengthy procedures by providing better counselling services and employing sensible investigative officers. Immediate and stringent action needs to be taken against the husband, in-laws, and other perpetrators if they are found guilty or do not appear in mediation or court hearings. Bail should be approved only after a reasonable settlement of financial security is provided to the victim. Most victims do not trust the government lawyers, as in-laws may bribe them to delay the case. Hence, strict action should be taken against such lawyers. Lastly, the proceedings for the maintenance case should be minimised.

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