

# **VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN KERALA: PREVALENCE AND CORRELATES**

**Amitha C. A.<sup>1</sup>, Dr. Sr. V. J. Kochuthresia<sup>2</sup>**

*Research Scholar, Centre for Doctoral Research, Rajagiri College of Social Sciences, Kalamassery,  
Kochi, Kerala, India.*

*Research Guide, Centre for Doctoral Research, Rajagiri of Social Sciences, Kalamassery, Kochi,  
Kerala, India.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

The act of sexual orientation based viciousness is inescapable around the globe, experienced by one in three ladies in their lifetimes. The disposal of such savagery has been progressively perceived as a need for the global community. (Klugman, 2017)

Almost the half of the total world population is constituted by women. In many parts of the world, developing and industrialised countries alike, gender based violence is a common reality in the lives of women and girls. Gender based violence has been recognised as a violation of basic human rights of women and of their exercise of fundamental freedom. Cutting across the lines of income, class and culture women and girls are subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse in all societies, to a greater or lesser degree. Both low social and economic status of women can be a cause and a consequence of this violence. (UNFPA, 2006)

One of the most prevalent human rights violations in the world is the violence against women and girls which knows no social, economic or national boundaries. It is estimated that one in three women will experience physical or sexual abuse in her lifetime worldwide.

*“(GBV) or Gender-based violence is the general term used to capture violence that occurs as a result of the normative role expectations associated with each gender, along with the unequal power relationships between the two genders, within the context of a specific society.” (Bloom, 2008)*

### **Definition**

Brutality against ladies is at times a system for subordination or once in a while ladies' unequal status supports their helplessness to savagery.

According to the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1993, violence against women is defined as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (United Nation Report, 1994)

A mission was undertaken by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences (UN Human Rights Council, 2014) in India from 22 April to 1 May 2013., She observed in her report dated 1 April 2014 that:

Following the brutal gang rape, , and tragic death of a young student in New Delhi on 16 (United Nation Report, 1994)December 2012, violence against women became a priority political issue. Widespread social mobilization of citizens demanding justice, accountability and more protection for

women and girls was resulted by the outrage and condemnation that followed in India. (United Nation Report, 1994)

The dominant part of people influenced by sexual orientation based savagery are ladies and young ladies, because of unequal dissemination of intensity in the public arena amongst ladies and men. As a result of gender discrimination women and girls victims of violence suffer specific consequences.

**UNFPA sum up this by stating that:**

*“The primary targets of GBV are women and adolescent girls, but not only are they at high risk of GBV, they also suffer exacerbated consequences as compared with what men endure. As a result of gender discrimination and their lower socio-economic status, women have fewer options and less resources at their disposal to avoid or escape abusive situations and to seek justice. They also suffer (...) consequences [on their sexual and reproductive health], including forced and unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and resulting deaths, traumatic fistula, and higher risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV.”* (UNFPA, 2008-2011)

**FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

**Domestic violence**

Abusive behavior at home is a worldwide issue coming to cross over national limits and in addition to financial, social, racial and class qualifications. Aggressive behavior at home is across the board, profoundly instilled and seriously affects ladies' wellbeing and prosperity (WHO, 2007). As a pattern of perpetrator behaviors used against a survivor, domestic violence is not an isolated, individual event.

Aggressive behavior at home isn't just a contention. It is an example of coercive control that one individual activities over another. Physical and sexual violence, threats, emotional insults are used by abusers and economic deprivation as a way to dominate their victims and get their way”.

Physical violence	<p>Several forms of physical force that results in bodily injury, pain, or impairment. Ranging from minimal tissue damage and broken bones the severity of physical violence and injury goes up to permanent injury and death. Acts of physical violence include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• slapping, shoving, pushing, punching, beating, scratching, choking, biting, grabbing, shaking, spitting, burning, twisting of a body part, forcing the ingestion of an unwanted substance;</li> <li>• restraining a woman to prevent her from seeking medical treatment or other help; and</li> <li>• Hitting or stabbing a woman, using household objects or using weapons (knives, guns).</li> </ul>
Sexual violence	<p>Any act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality, using coercion, by any person, regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including, but not limited to home and work (WHO 2002, cited in WHO 2013). Acts of sexual violence include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• rape, other forms of sexual assault;</li> <li>• unwanted sexual advances or sexual harassment (including demands for sex in exchange for job promotion or advancement or higher school marks or grades);</li> <li>• trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation;</li> <li>• forced exposure to pornography;</li> <li>• forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, forced abortion;</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• forced marriage, early/child marriage;</li> <li>• female genital mutilation;</li> <li>• virginity testing; and</li> <li>• incest.</li> </ul>
Psychological violence (sometimes also referred to as emotional violence)	<p>An action or set of actions that directly impair the woman’s psychological integrity. Acts of psychological violence include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• threats of violence and harm against the woman or somebody close to her, through words or actions (e.g. through stalking or displaying weapons);</li> <li>• harassment and mobbing at the work place;</li> <li>• humiliating and insulting comments; and</li> <li>• isolation and restrictions on communication (e.g. through locking her up in the house, forcing her to quit her job or prohibiting her from seeing a doctor),</li> <li>• use of children by a violent intimate partner to control or hurt the woman (e.g. through attacking a child, forcing children to watch attacks against their mother, threatening to take children away, or kidnapping the child). These acts constitute both, violence against children as well as violence against women.</li> </ul>
Economic violence	<p>Used to deny and control a woman’s access to resources, including time, money, transportation, food or clothing. Acts of economic violence include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• prohibiting a woman from working;</li> <li>• excluding her from financial decision making in the family;</li> <li>• withholding money or financial information;</li> <li>• refusing to pay bills or maintenance for her or the children; and</li> <li>• destroying jointly owned assets.</li> </ul>

Sources: adapted from Warshaw/Ganley 1996, WHO 2003, WHO 2013 (Ganley, 1998)

In her Mission report dated 1 April 2014 The UN Special Rapporteur then commented: ‘In India violence against women is systematic and occurs in the public and private spheres. Violence against women in India is underpinned by the persistence of patriarchal social norms and inter- and intragender hierarchies. Not only on the basis of sex, women are discriminated against and subordinated but also on other grounds, such as caste, class, ability, sexual orientation, tradition and other realities. Continuum of violence is exposed and throughout the life cycle, commonly referred to as existing “from the womb to the tomb”. The inequality in structural and institutional level that is a reality for most women in India is reflected in the manifestations of violence against women (UN Human Rights Council, 2014)

**The life-cycle approach to gender-based violence**

Throughout a woman’s life cycle gender-based violence against women occurs and it takes many forms. The different forms of violence that women experience throughout their lifespan is described by Heise *et. al.* (1994)

Pre-birth	Sex-selective abortions, battering during pregnancy (emotional and physical effects on the woman; effects on birth outcome); coerced pregnancy (for example, mass rape in war)
Infancy	Female infanticide; emotional and physical abuse; differential access to food and medical care for girl infants

Girlhood	Child marriage; genital mutilation; sexual abuse by family members and strangers; differential access to food and medical care; child prostitution; child labour; neglect of girl child
Adolescence	Early and forced marriage; dating and courtship violence (e.g. date rape); economically coerced sex; sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution; trafficking in women; limitations in access to education; dowry/kalim” and other marriage related practices
Reproductive age	Marital rape, partner femicide, psychological abuse, battering during pregnancy and other forms of intimate partner violence; abuse by in –laws and other relatives; dowry abuse and age murders; sexual abuse or harassment at the workplace; rape; extreme exploitation of household labour; kidnapping; forced abortion
Old age	Abuse of widows; against older women

Source: adapted from Heise et al 1994 (Heise, Pitanguy, Jacqueline, Germain, & Adrienne, 1994)

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Strauss, (1980) had revealed that 11.6 to 12.6 percent of couples beat up each other sooner or later amid their relationship; yet he didn't discover long haul pervasiveness of brutality against people, in the national likelihood tests that he analyzed in spite of the fact that 28 to 30 percent of couples had encountered some aggressive behavior at home over the span of their marriage life. By and large a mean of six brutal scenes were accounted for every year. Regular use of liquor by the male accomplice has been observed to be related with improved probability of savagery in the home.

Visaria, (1999) found in Kheda district of Gujarat that 66% of the ladies had experienced some type of mental, physical or sexual mishandle. Each type of manhandle cut over all ages, ranks, and education all levels. The most every now and again revealed sorts of savagery against ladies were injurious dialect (80 percent), beating (63 percent), driving ladies back to their parental home (52 percent) and dangers to tossed them out (51 percent).

An essential finding in this examination is that ladies living in atomic families announced more viciousness than ladies living in expanded or joint families and that higher extent of ladies wedded for significant lots of time detailed a bigger number of scenes of physical brutality than recently wedded ladies.

No society public can be called well developed if one portion of its mankind stays voiceless, imperceptible and underestimated' Seetha Prabhu, (2003). In any case, oppression the female sex is a global occurring in human advancement, however the degree of divergence differs from nation to nation.

Investigation of NFHS3 evaluated the national pervasiveness of aggressive behavior at home in Indian and recognized lifetime experience of a few physical brutality and sexual viciousness at 10 percent and 8 percent separately for ever-hitched ladies matured 15 to 49 years of age (Dalal & Lindqvist, 2010). Notwithstanding, drifts in levels of sex based savagery in India are clashing, proposing are Indian ladies ending up more freed as well as that there is more viciousness against ladies conceivably as a male reaction to progressively "present day" states of mind among Indian ladies (Simister & Mehta, 2010).

R.N.Nithya (2013) directed an investigation on 'High Literacy and Mounting Violence: A Case of Women in Kerala, India', an unassuming endeavor has been made to examine the structures and kinds of savagery against ladies. In all social orders, to a more prominent or lesser degree, ladies and young ladies are subjected to physical, sexual and mental manhandle that cuts crosswise over lines of pay, class and culture. It has been perceived as an infringement of essential human privileges of ladies and of their activity of crucial flexibility. In spite of the fact that there were a few endeavors to redesign the status of ladies, the state of ladies continues as before yet for a couple of changes among a few areas of ladies. Kerala, a standout amongst the most created conditions of the nation as far as human improvement files, is sadly no special case in the matter of violations against ladies. The Kerala model of advancement owes its ascribed accomplishment to the accomplishments in the territories of wellbeing and training where the commitment of ladies is especially noteworthy. Generally the state has been very not the same as whatever is left of the nation regarding the pointers of ladies' advancement. Government and deliberate offices are doing their level best to secure ladies and wipe out this negative marker of advancement yet it keeps on expanding step by step. The paper likewise proposes healing measures for counteracting viciousness against ladies.

Studies on sexual orientation based brutality in Kerala, conducted by Sakhi in 2004 for the Kerala government's department of health, uncovered that 40% of respondents had encountered viciousness in the home sooner or later in their lives. The International Center for Research on Women (ICRW, 2000) study found that Thiruvananthapuram had a high commonness of aggressive behavior at home. Brutality in Thiruvananthapuram is around 64% in urban non-slum territories and 71% in rural areas. The recent National Family Health Survey 3 appears to propose that aggressive behavior at home influences just 16% of families. Be that as it may, as indicated by an ICRW-INCLIN (International Center for Research on Women and International Clinical Epidemiologist Network) study in (2000), Thiruvananthapuram, the capital city of Kerala, positions first among five urban areas in India in pervasiveness of aggressive behavior at home. Brutality in Thiruvananthapuram is around 64% in urban non-slum territories and 71% in rural regions.

A similar report directed in Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram) by Dr. Raj Mohan of R-CERTC and Dr. M.K.C Nair of Child Development Center, Trivandrum states that generally 45% of ladies revealed at least one episode of physical savagery in their lifetime. Mental and physical savagery was accounted for in higher numbers by ladies who have less social help. Notwithstanding the savagery over 95% of ladies stayed in their marriage. The investigation likewise examined that if the hole amongst a couple instruction and business status (particularly if the ladies is more taught and preferred utilized over her significant other) is more prominent, the likelihood of Psychological and physical savagery is more noteworthy. A fierce scene brings about a normal Rs.2000 of lost wages and medicinal services for their wounds. Brutality against ladies traverses all topographical locale, financial strata, training levels, and age and work status. It could be seen that in spite of the aggregate education and worldwide model of advancement, Kerala tops the rundown in Domestic Violence, as indicated by the study led by ICRW.

### **PREVALENCE AND CORRELATES**

Physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner have been experienced by almost one third (30%) of all women who have been in a relationship. Intimate partner violence prevalence estimate is ranging from 23.2% in high-income countries and 24.6% in the WHO Western Pacific region to 37% in the WHO Eastern Mediterranean region, and 37.7% in the WHO South-East Asia region. Comprehensively upwards of 38% of all killings of ladies are conferred by suggest accomplices. Notwithstanding cozy accomplice brutality, universally 7% of ladies report having been sexually attacked by somebody other than an accomplice, despite the fact that information for non-accomplice sexual savagery are more restricted. Suggest accomplice and sexual brutality are for the most part executed by men against ladies.



The status and position of the present day ladies in India is viewed as high in current Indian Culture. The number of inhabitants in ladies is half of the aggregate populace of India. A nation or a network can't be viewed as edified where ladies are not regarded.

In spite of the fact that the Indian law does not separate amongst people, the status of ladies of our nation today is for all intents and purposes far underneath the status of men. Spouse consuming for inability to pay share as requested additionally proceeds unabated all finished India. It involves extraordinary stun that such cases are expanding in consistently. In our nation lady of the hour is singed or killed for non-installment of settlement. The proficiency rate of ladies is likewise lower than that of male people all finished India.

According to the National Family Health Survey report around 1.2% women had suffered brutality during their pregnancy. While Manipur topped the chart at 53.1% and Sikkim recorded the lowest figure (2.6%)., Almost everyone in Kerala is literate; 98.7% men and 97.9% women. 72.2percentage of women are having 10 or more years of schooling. Among the married women 92% usually participate in household decisions and 70.6% have bank or savings account they use independently (Roy, 2013).

A huge number of ladies and young ladies every year are casualties of sexual orientation savagery in India – and the latest reports from the National Crime Records Bureau's demonstrate that violations against ladies have expanded 34% in the previous four years.

India propelled fast track courts and a harder rape law that incorporated capital punishment after an abhorrent ambush on a young lady stunned the nation in 2012, yet crime reports demonstrate the circumstance has deteriorated, worse, from that point forward. The gang rape and murder of an eight-year-old girl in Jammu and Kashmir's Kathua and the capture of a BJP official for the rape of an adolescent in Uttar Pradesh's Unnao region have started across the country shock, drawing nightmarish parallels with the pack gang rape and murder of a student in New Delhi six years back. Figures demonstrate that since 2012, detailed rape cases climbed 60 percent to around 40,000 in 2016, with child rape representing around 40 percent.

As of late, after an across the nation tumult over the rape and killing of a 8-year-old girl, India's cabinet affirmed an alteration to the law shielding kids from sexual offenses that will set the base punishment for the gang rape of a girl under 12 to life detainment or demise, and the base for the rape of a girl to 20 years up to a most extreme sentence of critical. It additionally multiplied, to 20 years, the base discipline for the rape of a kid under 16 (World Economic Forum, 2018).

### **Kerala at a glance**

In terms of social welfare and quality of life, Kerala is one of India's most progressive states.. The State brags of one of India's most elevated education rates, most elevated future in terms of longevity and least child death rates. The education rate for ladies in Kerala is one of the most noteworthy in all of Asia (Kerala Tourism, 2018).

The total reported cases of crime against women for the year 2015(upto September) is 9344 which registers a decline from 10690 in 2014 as per the figures brought out by the State Crime Records Bureau. Surprisingly cruelty by husband/relatives still constitutes a major component in crime against women. According to the data from National Crime Records Bureau, Kerala is a state where "Rate of total cognizable Crimes" (incidence of crime per one lakh female population) is much higher than the national level. Notwithstanding when we need ladies to leave their homes and take up work, the uncertainties inside the family remain. More noteworthy endeavors are required toward this path, to

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empower ladies to take up significant financial exercises outside the domain of their families. (State Crime Records Bureau, 2015)

Crimes against Women in Kerala During the Period 2007-2017 (Provisional)

SI. No	Crime head	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017 (Provisional)
1	Rape	500	548	554	617	1132	1019	1221	1347	1256	1656	1987
2	Molestation	2604	2756	2539	2939	3756	3735	4362	4367	3987	4029	4498
3	Kidnaping & Abduction	166	167	171	175	221	214	185	143	192	166	200
4	Eve teasing	262	255	394	539	573	498	404	257	267	328	394
5	Dowry death (304(B) IPC)	22	25	21	21	15	32	21	28	8	25	13
6	Cruelty by husband / relatives	3976	4135	3976	4788	5377	5216	4820	4919	3668	3455	2863
7	Other offences	1851	1820	1699	1702	2205	2288	2725	3463	3107	5455	4299
	Total	9381	9706	9354	10781	13279	13002	13738	14524	12485	15114	14254

Crime against women - district wise statistics

SL. No.	Name of Dist/city	Rape	Molestation (354 IPC)	Kidnapping & Abduction	Eve-teasing 509 IPC	Dowry Deaths	Cruelty by husband or relatives	Other Offences	Total
1	Trivandrum City	77	235	13	23	0	78	107	533
2	Trivandrum Rural	210	537	14	17	4	207	251	1240
3	Kollam City	95	183	11	12	1	153	90	545
4	Kollam Rural	113	286	3	19	1	138	60	620
5	Pathanamthitta	83	153	4	8	0	84	616	948
6	Alappuzha	95	284	17	18	2	117	332	865
7	Kottayam	104	217	15	28	0	99	75	538
8	Idukki	110	258	10	16	1	128	33	556
9	Ernakulam	85	253	10	51	0	108	555	1062

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	City								
10	Ernakulam Rural	116	283	17	54	0	156	282	908
11	Thrissur City	60	119	8	18	0	69	130	404
12	Thrissur Rural	122	267	7	47	0	237	222	902
13	Palakkad	143	156	21	9	0	211	108	648
14	Malappuram	171	356	7	20	3	367	399	1323
15	Kozhikode City	54	107	9	14	0	124	236	544
16	Kozhikode Rural	92	291	14	7	0	248	192	844
17	Wyanad	98	150	8	13	0	86	39	394
18	Kannur	74	157	4	6	1	138	286	666
19	Kasaragod	85	155	7	12	0	115	207	591
20	Railways	0	51	1	2	0	0	69	123

Source: Adapted from WHO Fact Sheet, Violence against Women: Intimate partner and sexual violence against women (2017)

In Alappuzha district the women are still becoming the victims of cruelties, harassment and physical and mental abuse by men.

Crime against women is increasing year after year as per the statistics available with the police. Not at all like the city, Thiruvananthapuram rural limit has the questionable refinement of enrolling all the more such cases (Krishnachand, 2018).

In particular sexual abuse toward adolescents and pre-adolescents is significantly prevalent among the form of violence against women. In Swaziland, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Haiti on an average, 28 to 38 percent of young girls and 9 to 18 percent of young boys said they had experienced sexual abuse before they were 18 years of age, surveys showed. Between 2011 and 2020 around 140,000,000 forced marriages of child brides is expected to occur. Furthermore, around 125,000,000 young girls and women alive today are affected by female genital mutilation/cutting (Borgen Project, 2018).

A whopping 1,240 crimes against women been reported in rural limits while 533 cases reported in the city limits last year. The courage of women coming forward with complaints is praised by the police as a positive sign which equates the registration of number cases, but the law enforcers or the society seems to have failed to prevent such crimes. In 2017, 210 rape cases were registered by the rural police while numbers stood at 77 in the city limits. Rural police registered 537 molestation cases while 235 cases were filed in the city. The rural limits saw four dowry deaths in 2017 alone according to police data. Similarly, domestic violence against women is also high in rural police limits and 207 cases have been reported last year, where 78 cases were reported in city limits.

In 2016, a total number of 138 rape cases were registered in rural police limits and the city police had registered only 66 cases. 540 molestation cases were reported in rural limits while 250 cases were reported within city limits. Only one dowry death was reported in city limits compared to three dowry deaths being reported in rural limits. In 2015, rural police registered 129 rape cases while 38 rape cases reported within city limits.

In spite of the introduction of the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act in 2005, domestic violence against women continues to rise in the state. The most recent occasion was the demise of a house wife at the Medical College Hospital, Thiruvananthapuram, on Sunday. Biji Balan,



35, from Nooranadu passed away as her spinal string was smashed when her better half pushed her down to the floor on June 17. Her husband other, Ramesan, 42, a tippler, was booked for killing. S. Jeeja, district women protection officer, said Biji was quietly bearing his torment for quite a long time. After the Domestic Violence Act became effective, there are numerous systems to help powerless ladies. Be that as it may, it doesn't have any arrangement to rebuff the guilty parties. The Act is generally implied as an intercession instrument for hardship torn families. By and by, ladies are more mindful of their rights and consequently, more cases are brought to police officials for action. Solid lawful framework to secure ladies, formation of the Kerala State Legal Services Authority (KELSA), the neighborly and accommodating demeanor of the police towards ladies and the nearness of Janamaithri police stations had neither cut the crime rate down nor expanded the enrollment of genuine cases in the police headquarters. It additionally uncovered that political obstruction thwarted the smooth procedures in the cases. Numerous ladies pull back their cases because of obstruction by government officials, the examination brought up. As indicated by the quarterly figures of the police reports, cases identifying with abusive behavior at home have ascended to 296 every day this year contrasted with 287 a year ago demonstrating right around ten percent. A year ago, it was 3,455 and the number till April this year is 1,187. No less than four dowry deaths (304(B) IPC) have been accounted for in the initial four months of the current year (Deccan Chronicle, 2018).

### **STRATEGIES**

The following list gives examples of results for interventions to stop Gender Based Violence and should be kept in mind that carefully planned results have to be formulated based on the observed needs.

#### **Supporting legitimate and institutional system:**

- Expanded harmonization of the national enactment in the territory of GBV with global human rights standards
- Elucidated methodology for national reaction components
- National Referral Systems for the treatment of survivors of viciousness formed
- Enhanced structures for help and recovery of survivors formed
- Spending plan for good quality health and wellbeing administrations for survivors of viciousness guaranteed

### **PREVENTION**

- \* Increased consciousness of brutality against ladies among health workers, instructors and social workers
- \* Proportion of individuals who have been presented to preventive messages against brutality against women
- \* Increased information about examples of brutality in the region among the overall population
- \* Hotline giving data on help administrations built up
- \* Proportion of young ladies who feel ready to say no to sexual action
- \* Increase in early confinements of culprits

#### **Protection and support:**

- \* Improved security of survivors
- \* Improved measures for recognizable proof and managing survivors of brutality
- \* Legal system for the assurance of survivors reinforced
- \* Proportion of health units with no less than one qualified service provider ready to watch over and

allude survivors of viciousness

\* Improved framework for managing minors as survivors of viciousness

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\* Increased number of help offices for survivors

\* Enhanced and thorough administrations (therapeutic, legal, social) for survivors of brutality

\* Proportion of individuals who might help the ladies being beaten by her accomplice

\* Proportion of rape survivors who got exhaustive care

### Prosecution:

- Lawful framework for the indictment of culprits reinforced
- Expanded number of instances of aggressive behavior at home dealt with in courts
- Expanded number of instances of savagery brought forward to the concerned authorities.(UNFPA and WAVE, 2014)

### CONCLUSION

Savagery against ladies is the most inescapable yet under perceived human rights infringement on the planet. It is additionally a significant medical issue that saps ladies' vitality, bargains their physical and psychological wellness, and disintegrates their confidence (Ellsberg & Lori, 2005).

Taught ladies are simply on the limit of change from custom to innovation. The ladies themselves want that their status and position in the public eye should ascend higher. Despite the fact that an appropriate atmosphere for such a change is as yet needing, yet there have been numerous auxiliary and statutory advancements for the change of their position. The customary status and role sets of ladies are separating and new role-sets in light of accomplishment, autonomy and uniformity are slowly setting in (Important India, 2015).

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