Proceedings of the 11th World Conference on Women's Studies, Vol. 10, Issue. 1, 2025, pp. 45-59

ISSN 2424-6743online
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17501/24246743.2025.10104

THE ENTANGLEMENT OF VIOLENCE AND MODESTY: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDIA

Nakane S*

Department of Global Studies, Faculty of International Studies, Ryukoku University, Japan.

Abstract: This paper examines the structural relationship between female modesty norms and gender-based violence in contemporary India. It aims to clarify how cultural ideals of female modesty intersect with institutional responses to violence, reinforcing women's vulnerability within both social and legal frameworks. Drawing on court verdicts, legal reforms, and public discourses surrounding gender and violence, the paper analyzes how social expectations of purity, sacrifice, and silence operate not merely as personal virtues but as mechanisms of regulation that shape women's treatment in society. Applying Kate Manne's feminist theory of misogyny, it conceptualizes misogynistic violence not as an aberration but as a structural response to perceived violations of patriarchal modesty norms. The paper concludes that these norms normalize and justify harm, rendering violence seemingly deserved or invisible, and expose a paradox in which the legal system simultaneously condemns violence while legitimizing the social ideals that sustain it.

Keyword: gender-based violence, modesty, legal discourse, patriarchy, misogyny, India

Introduction

Public discussions of violence against women in India frequently invoke the language of protection, morality, and national honor. Political leaders such as Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his Independence Day addresses regularly express outrage at gender-based violence and call for stronger laws and moral responsibility. While these statements reflect a genuine concern for women's safety, they also reveal a persistent paradox: the state positions itself as the heroic protector of women while simultaneously reinforcing the patriarchal logic that defines women primarily through vulnerability and modesty.

Within this moral framework, women are valued insofar as they embody ideals of purity, restraint, and devotion. Violence against women is thereby understood not as a symptom of structural inequality but as a deviation from expected feminine virtue something to be corrected through protection rather than through social transformation. It is precisely this contradiction that this paper seeks to analyze through the dual lenses of structural violence and female modesty.

Theoretical and Literature Background

The concept of structural violence, first developed by Galtung (1969), refers to the systematic and often invisible forms of harm embedded within social, economic, and institutional arrangements that prevent individuals or groups from fulfilling their basic needs. Rather than manifesting as direct aggression, structural violence operates through inequality through the unequal distribution of power,

*Corresponding Author's Email: satoko@world.ryukoku.ac.jp

resources, and opportunities. Farmer (2004) later applied the concept to public health and global inequality, illustrating how structural arrangements translate into suffering and bodily harm.

Building on these foundations, feminist and gender scholars have expanded the concept to reveal its gendered dimensions. Moser (2001) articulated the "gendered continuum of violence," highlighting how structural, symbolic, and interpersonal violence reinforce each other within patriarchal social systems. Merry (2006) and True (2012) further demonstrated that gender-based violence is not an aberration but a structural outcome of political, economic, and cultural hierarchies that normalize women's subordination. These studies collectively underscore that the persistence of gender-based violence must be understood as embedded in institutional, legal, and moral frameworks rather than as isolated acts of deviance.

Within this broader structure, cultural ideals of female modesty function as a key mechanism through which patriarchal systems maintain their moral authority. While modesty is often celebrated as a feminine virtue associated with purity, humility, and restraint, feminist theorists have emphasized its disciplinary function. Bartky (1990) argues that feminine virtue operates as an internalized form of patriarchal control, producing "a disciplined body" that conforms to gendered expectations. Mahmood (2005), in her study of women's piety movements in Egypt, complicates Western notions of agency by showing how practices of modesty can simultaneously empower and constrain—granting moral legitimacy while reinforcing the social hierarchies they appear to resist.

In the Indian context, ideals of modesty are often articulated through cultural notions such as *lajja* (modesty or shame) and *maryada* (honor or social propriety). While *lajja* emphasizes an inner sense of restraint and moral self-control, *maryada* signifies the external boundaries of honor and social respectability. Together, they extend beyond individual behavior to encompass family honor and national morality. Scholars such as Chatterjee (1993), Uberoi (2000), and Kapur (2005) have observed that the ideal of the "virtuous woman" serves as a symbolic site where cultural purity, legal structures, and patriarchal authority converge.

Bringing these perspectives together, this study conceptualizes female modesty as a mechanism of structural violence. It establishes moral hierarchies that determine which women are deemed respectable, worthy of protection, or conversely, deserving of blame. By linking modesty to structural violence, the study illuminates how cultural expectations, legal institutions, and political rhetoric co-produce women's vulnerability—rendering violence both socially intelligible and morally permissible.

Research Objective and Methodology

This study addresses a conceptual gap in existing feminist and sociological analyses of gender-based violence. While prior research has illuminated the structural and institutional dimensions of misogyny and patriarchal power, the specific role of *female modesty norms*—as moral and affective mechanisms that legitimize and normalize violence—remains underexplored. By bringing together theories of

structural violence and feminist analyses of modesty, this study seeks to conceptualize how moral expectations surrounding women's behavior function as instruments of structural harm.

Accordingly, the study asks:
How do patriarchal ideals of female modesty operate as mechanisms of structural violence, shaping both the occurrence of violence and women's access to justice in contemporary India?

Methodologically, the study employs qualitative content analysis of court verdicts, legal reforms, and public discourses related to violence against women, contextualized through Kate Manne's (2018) feminist theory of misogyny. This framework enables a conceptual reading of misogynistic violence not as deviant behavior but as a structural response to perceived violations of modesty norms. The combination of legal, political, and cultural materials allows the study to reveal how state institutions and societal norms intersect in legitimizing gendered hierarchies.

The following sections analyze how institutional and cultural systems together normalize and legitimize violence against women, and how this paradox complicates India's pursuit of gender justice.

Current Situation of Violence Against Women in India

In its 1993 "Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women," the United Nations defined violence against women as follows:

"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 in private life" (United Nations, 1993, p. 2).

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), approximately one in three women globally has experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner or non-partner in her lifetime (WHO, 2021). Among women aged 15 to 49, the prevalence rate in South and Southeast Asia is 34%, slightly higher than the global average of 31%. In India, the lifetime prevalence rate of intimate partner violence is 35%, exceeding the global figure of 27% (WHO, 2021).

The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), under India's Ministry of Home Affairs, publishes the *Crime in India* report annually, which compiles data on cognizable crimes reported to police stations nationwide. The report includes a chapter dedicated to "Crimes Against Women," tracking both the number of reported cases and the crime rate per 100,000 female population. Figure 1 below summarizes data from 2012 (the year current methods of data compilation were introduced) through 2022, the most recent year available at the time of this writing.

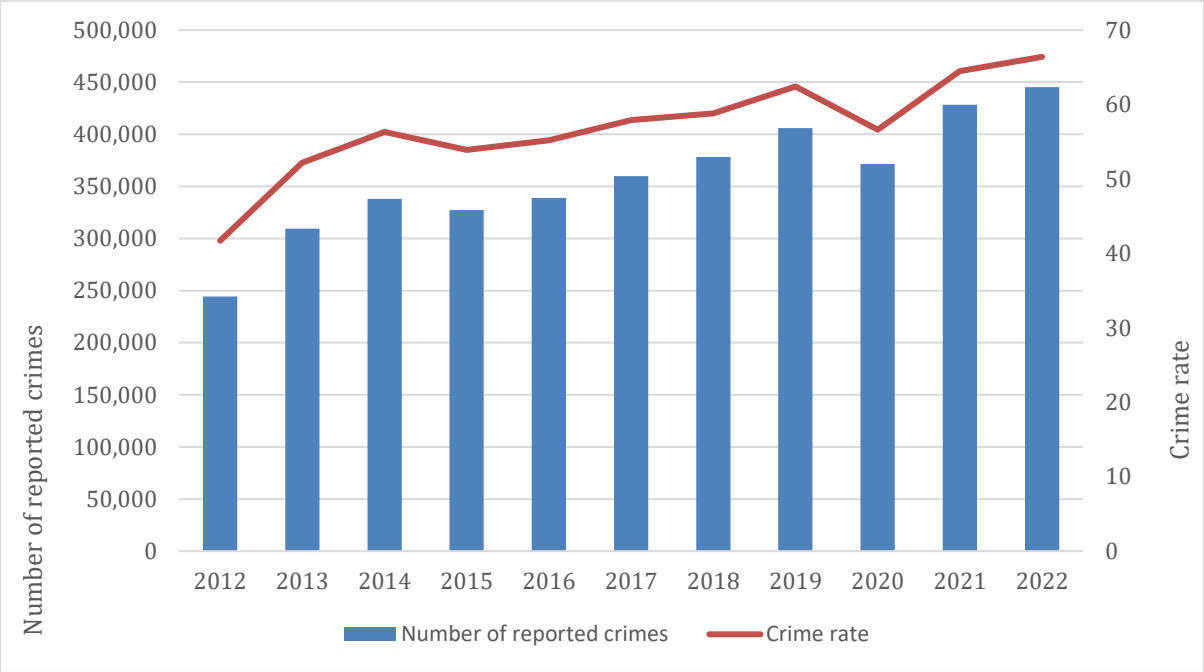

Figure 1: Number of Reported "Crimes Against Women" and Crime Rate in India (2012–2022)

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs (2013–2023), compiled by the author.

The number of reported crimes reflects cases reported to the police, while the crime rate indicates the number of such reports per 100,000 women. Comparing 2012 to 2022, the number of reported cases increased from 244,270 to 445,256—an approximately 1.8-fold rise. The crime rate increased from 41.7 to 66.4—an approximately 1.6-fold rise (NCRB, 2023). Considering that the female population only grew by a factor of 1.1 during the same period (World Bank, 2025), both the number and rate of crimes against women have risen well beyond population growth.

However, this upward trend should not be interpreted simplistically as a mere increase in violence. Rather, it reflects the social production of visibility—a complex process influenced by women's growing willingness to report, shifting definitions of violence, and evolving thresholds of public tolerance. The rise in numbers thus represents not only a deterioration of safety but also a form of resistance against patriarchal silence. Violence, when reported, becomes both a symptom of harm and a signal of defiance.

At the same time, these statistics are not neutral indicators of social reality. They are shaped by what the state chooses to define, categorize, and count as "violence." The very structure of the NCRB

report reflects an implicit moral coding of gendered harm: categories such as "outraging the modesty of a woman" and "insult to the modesty of a woman" presume that female virtue rather than autonomy is what has been violated. Through such formulations, official data re-inscribe the patriarchal logic that ties women's value to lajja (modesty) and maryada (honor).

Thus, statistical evidence must be read critically as both documentation of harm and reproduction of the cultural frameworks that sustain it. The next section examines how this moral economy of modesty is further institutionalized through legal discourse, shaping how gender-based violence is conceptualized, adjudicated, and legitimized in contemporary India.

Law, Violence, and Women's Modesty

An examination of how "crimes against women" are defined under Indian law reveals how deeply these definitions are shaped by gender norms and patriarchal values. A crime against a woman is not simply a crime in which the victim happens to be female. Gender-based violence is violence enacted against individuals due to their gender, and while anyone can be a victim, most victims are women or sexual minorities. The term "gender-based" draws attention to the power imbalances—particularly between men and women—that underlie such acts.

Table 1 summarizes the offenses classified under "crimes against women" in 2022, as defined by the Indian Penal Code (IPC). The total number of female victims exceeded 370,000 that year. The most reported offense was cruelty by husbands or their relatives, comprising about 30% of the total. This was followed by crimes related to "modesty" (over 90,000 cases), kidnapping and abduction (around 88,000), and rape (over 30,000 including attempted cases). Other crimes specific to South Asia, such as dowry deaths and acid attacks, were also reported.

Table 1: Crimes Against Women and Number of Victims in India (2022)

Section of IPC	Offense	Number of Victims
Section 498A	Cruelty by husband or relatives	144,593
Section 354	Assault to outrage modesty	85,300
Section 509	Insult to modesty	9,286
Sections 363–369	Kidnapping and abduction of women	88,273
Section 376	Rape	31,982
Section 376/511	Attempt to rape	3,447
Section 376 (with 302 or 376D)	Rape with murder / gang rape	250
Section 304B	Dowry death	6,516
Sections 305/306	Abetment of suicide	5,107

Section of IPC	Offense	Number of Victims
Sections 370/370A	Human trafficking	1,153
Sections 313/314	Miscarriage	240
Section 326A	Acid attack	140
Section 326B	Attempted acid attack	38
Sections 372/373	Sale of minor girls	14
Total		376,339

Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs (2023), Crime in India 2022, pp. 211–221, compiled by the author.

Crucially, laws that aim to protect women from such violence often carry normative expectations about how women should behave. Among these, the legal provisions concerning "modesty" are particularly revealing.

Provisions addressing women's modesty have existed in Indian criminal law since the IPC was enacted in 1860. Two main sections are relevant:

- Section 354: Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any woman, intending to outrage or knowing it to be likely that he will there by outrage her modesty[1], shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which shall not be less than one year but which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine.

- Section 509: Whoever, intending to insult the modesty of any woman, utters any word, makes any sound or gesture, or exhibits any object, intending that such word or sound shall be heard, or that such gesture or object shall be seen, by such woman, or intrudes upon the privacy of such woman, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, and also with fine.

These offenses encompass not only physical assault but also acts such as inappropriate touching, attempts to strip clothing in public, indecent gestures, or vulgar verbal remarks—collectively known in India as "eve-teasing."

Notably, neither of these provisions explicitly defines what "modesty" entails or who possesses it. The prevailing legal interpretation stems from a 1966 Supreme Court judgment involving the sexual assault of a seven-month-old girl (Tajaswi, Choudhary, & Pandey, 2024). In that ruling, the Court stated:

"The essence of a woman's modesty is her sex. Even a female of tender age from her very birth possesses the modesty which is the attribute of her sex. [...] the section (354) was intended as much in the interest of the woman concerned as in the interest of public morality and decent behavior and the object of the section could be achieved only if the word 'modesty' was considered to be an attribute of a human female irrespective of whether she had developed enough understanding to realise that an act was offensive to decent female behaviour or not." (Supreme Court of India, 1966)

Since then, this interpretation has been repeatedly cited in similar cases. Sections 354 and 509, which originally sought to protect "a woman's modesty," thus came to reflect a deeper essentialist view that ties modesty to femininity itself. Modesty is constructed as a natural attribute of all women and, therefore, as a quality deserving of legal protection.

In response to such gendered definitions, a bill was introduced in the upper house of India's Parliament in 2019 to revise sexual offense laws and make them gender-neutral (Gupta, 2021). The proposed bill sought to expand legal protection beyond women to include men and transgender individuals. It also proposed a redefinition of modesty:

"Modesty is an attribute which attaches to the personality with regard to commonly held belief of morality, decency and integrity of speech and behaviour, in any man, woman or a transgender." (Rajya Sabha, 2019).

However, this bill, introduced by a member of the opposition Indian National Congress, lacked sufficient support to pass. One reason was concern that gender-neutral laws might weaken existing protections for women.

Conversely, in 2023, Amit Shah, Union Home Minister and a key BJP leader, introduced a bill in the lower house to overhaul the Indian Penal Code. Framed as a decolonization initiative, the new law—titled Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS)—aimed to modernize colonial-era laws by streamlining procedures and embracing technological updates. However, it also consolidated state power by replacing sedition charges with new offenses such as "acts against the nation" (Pandey, Dash, & Satish, 2024).

Crimes against women were given a dedicated chapter (Chapter 5) titled "Offenses Against Women and Children," grouping women with children as subjects needing special protection. The offenses concerning modesty were retained almost unchanged, with Sections 354 and 509 carried over into BNS as Sections 74 and 79, still tied exclusively to women. The removal of legal penalties for non-consensual same-sex relations in the BNS further reinforced a binary gender model and traditional gender roles.

When the BNS passed the lower house, Minister Shah declared,

"Under the leadership of Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi, for the first time, changes have been made in the three laws governing the nearly 150 years old criminal justice system, concerning Indianness, Indian Constitution and people of India" (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2023).

The bill passed the upper house the following day and came into effect in July 2024.

While laws to prevent violence are essential, defining modesty solely as a feminine trait implies that women are expected to embody modesty by default. This grants legal endorsement to patriarchal expectations about women's behavior. Thus, a crucial question arises: Do these laws genuinely protect women's rights and freedoms, or do they preserve a patriarchal social order that dictates how women should behave?

This dynamic resonates with feminist analyses of misogyny, particularly Kate Manne's (2018) argument that misogyny functions not merely as individual hostility toward women but as a system of social enforcement that disciplines women who fail to conform to patriarchal norms. In this sense, legal definitions of "modesty" operate as part of a broader moral apparatus that sustains patriarchal order by rewarding conformity and punishing transgression—a theme further explored in the following section.

Violence Against Women and Misogyny

To deepen our understanding of the relationship between violence against women and patriarchy, it is essential to examine how patriarchal norms shape social attitudes, power relations, and institutional responses surrounding such violence. Central to this examination is the concept of misogyny.

Traditionally, misogyny has been understood as "hatred" or "contempt" for women. However, feminist philosopher Kate Manne challenges this "naïve" interpretation, arguing that it overlooks the systemic function of misogyny in patriarchal societies. In her view, misogyny should not be seen merely as an individual's emotional response to women but rather as a structural mechanism within patriarchy (Manne, 2017).

According to Manne, misogyny is the enforcement wing of patriarchy. It monitors and punishes women who defy patriarchal norms while rewarding those who comply. Misogyny thus operates

politically, depending ontologically on the patriarchal order. It distinguishes between "good" women who uphold patriarchal values and "bad" women who violate them—rewarding the former and punishing the latter. In this way, misogyny acts as a regulatory system that sustains male dominance. Applied to the Indian context, Manne's framework makes visible the structural logic of patriarchal violence through these dynamics of reward and punishment, allowing acts of gender-based violence to be reinterpreted not as isolated crimes but as systemic responses to perceived violations of patriarchal control.

As seen in Table 1, the most frequently reported crime against women in 2022 was cruelty by husbands or their relatives. Despite increasing nuclearization of households, many Indian women still live in joint family structures, where they are often isolated and subject to the rules of their marital households. When marriage is regarded as a union between families—especially with consideration to caste and economic status—the bride is expected to submit to the patriarchal authority of her husband's family. Dowry-related deaths, in which women are killed or driven to suicide over dowry disputes, are similarly rooted in viewing women as economic liabilities confined to household duties.

Among the nearly 90,000 cases of kidnapping and abduction of women, a significant portion involved forced marriages, also referred to as bride abductions. In 2022, about 30% of these cases were classified as such, involving both adults and minors in roughly equal numbers (NCRB, 2023). Forced marriage without the woman's consent constitutes a human rights violation and reflects deeply patriarchal values. In some instances, families may push for marriage as a way to "resolve" such cases and restore family honor, particularly when a woman's chastity is perceived as having been compromised by abduction. This reinforces the idea that a woman's sexual purity must be transferred and managed through marriage within a patriarchal contract.

Conversely, when couples elope without familial approval, the woman may be accused of having been kidnapped—even if the relationship was consensual. In both cases, a woman's sexual autonomy is subsumed under the honor of her family and community. While elopement may appear as resistance to patriarchal norms, such acts are often reframed in ways that ultimately reinforce patriarchal control (Chala Tesfaye, 2022).

Acid attacks—acts of throwing corrosive substances such as sulfuric acid onto a person's face or body—are typically perpetrated by men against women or girls. These attacks are intended to inflict long-term physical, psychological, and social harm, particularly by disfiguring a woman's appearance. Common motivations include rejection of romantic or sexual advances or disputes over property. In highly gendered societies where men are expected to be dominant and women submissive, a woman's refusal is seen as an affront to male authority and is met with punitive violence (Singh et al., 2018; Sahu, 2023).

What these forms of violence have in common is the perpetrator's belief that they are enacting justice on behalf of personal, familial, or communal honor. These acts are not viewed as deviant but as justified punishment for women who violate patriarchal expectations. Moreover, such attitudes can be internalized by victims themselves. Misogynistic attacks often embed a sense of shame in victims through mechanisms of symbolic degradation.

Notably, research shows that urban middle-class women in India who are employed are more likely to experience intimate partner violence than their unemployed counterparts (Dhanaraj & Mahambare, 2021). While employment is generally thought to empower women and reduce their vulnerability to domestic abuse, in practice, it can be interpreted as a violation of traditional gender roles. Women's earnings may be seen as a threat to the husband's authority, resulting in retaliatory violence. Similarly, women participating in empowerment programs in rural India are statistically more likely to face domestic abuse than those who do not (Cullen et al., 2024). In both cases, a woman's economic or social independence can be perceived as defiance, triggering patriarchal backlash (Faludi, 1991).

Criticism of women for failing to fulfill their roles as wives, mothers, or daughters-in-law can instill guilt and a sense of "sin," pushing women to conform voluntarily to patriarchal expectations. In this way, the dual function of misogyny—as punisher of non-conformity and rewarder of obedience—reveals its deep entrenchment within systems of violence against women (Vijayakumar, 2013).

Conclusion

The current political landscape in India is shaped by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which promotes Hindu nationalist policies while maintaining a strong electoral base. Economically, the Modi administration has advanced initiatives such as "Make in India" and "Digital India," bolstering the country's position as a global economic power. However, concerns persist over rising unemployment, widening inequality, and growing threats to religious minorities and freedom of expression. In the June 2024 general election, the BJP fell short of securing a parliamentary majority, forcing Prime Minister Modi to form a coalition government for the first time. While this signaled a shift in political momentum, Modi's popularity remained high—at 49%, more than double that of the leading opposition figure (Kumar, 2024).

Against this backdrop, Indian women are gaining greater access to education and employment, with increasing participation in politics and the economy. While government policies, international agencies, and NGOs have contributed to these advancements, many women continue to face barriers rooted in patriarchal traditions, limited choices in education and employment, and widespread gender-based violence.

This paper set out to analyze how gender-based violence in India is structurally sustained through the interaction between patriarchal norms, legal frameworks, and cultural ideals of female modesty. The findings demonstrate that while legal reforms and protective frameworks exist, they often reproduce patriarchal values that condition women's behavior under the guise of protection. As patriarchal norms become more deeply institutionalized, the punitive force against those who challenge them grows stronger.

Building on Kate Manne's feminist theory of misogyny, this paper conceptualized misogynistic violence not as deviant behavior but as a systemic enforcement of patriarchal order. Misogynistic violence functions as a regulatory tool within the patriarchal order—it is punished under law on one hand yet empowered by the same legal and social norms on the other. Laws that punish those who "outrage the modesty" of women simultaneously elevate modesty as a legal virtue. Misogyny, in turn, punishes women deemed immodest and rewards those who embody submissiveness.

Postcolonial aspirations for "Indian-ness" demand female modesty. Hindu nationalist ideology casts the Hindu male as the symbolic leader to whom women are expected to be subordinate. Dreams of economic growth promise national advancement but often provoke backlash against women's empowerment, warning them to "know their place." In this interplay of power, patriarchy generates violence, and violence sustains patriarchy—even through the mere threat of its use.

Finally, violence against women is inherently intersectional. In India, caste, religion, economic disparity, and the rural–urban divide all shape the nature and impact of such violence. Addressing gender-based violence in India therefore requires not only legal reform but also coordinated efforts among government institutions, civil society, and educational sectors to challenge the patriarchal norms that sustain it. Developing context-specific strategies that empower women as social agents, rather than subjects of protection, is essential for lasting change. Though this paper has not explored those dimensions in depth, they remain critical areas for future research.

Declaration of Interest Statement

The author declares that there is no conflict of interests.

Note

This paper is adapted from the author's original article published in Japanese (Quarterly Bulletin of Third World Studies, Vol. 65, No. 2, 2025) and revised for clarity and analytical expansion.

References

Bartky Sandra L. (1990). *Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression.* Routledge

Chala Gemechu Dejene, Tesfaye Mekuria Zerihun. (2022). Patriarchal Values and Their Subversion: Consensual and Nonconsensual Bride Abduction in Central Ethiopia. *Journal of Anthropological Research, Vol. 78*, Number 4.

Chatterjee Partha. (1993). *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories.* Princeton University Press.

Cullen Claire, Joshi Sarthak, Vecci Joseph, Talbot-Jones Julia. (2024). Female Empowerment and Male Backlash: Experimental Evidence from India. *IZA Discussion Paper No.17450*.

Dhanaraj Sowmya, Mahambare Vidya. (2021). Male Backlash and Female Guilt: Women's Employment and Intimate Partner Violence in Urban India. *Feminist Economics, Volume 28,* Issue 1, 170-198.

Faludi Susan. (1991). *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women*. Vintage.

Farmer Paul. (2004). An anthropology of structural violence. *Current Anthropology, 45*(3), 305–325.

Galtung Johan. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research, 6*(3), 167–191.

Government of India. (2019). The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2019. URL: Lok Sabha: https://sansad.in/getFile/BillsTexts/RSBillTexts/Asintroduced/crimnal-E-12719.pdf?source=legislation

Gupta Krishita. (2021). The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 2019- A Way Forward for Gender Neutrality. URL: JPleaders: https://blog.ipleaders.in/criminal-law-amendment-bill-2019-way-forward-gender-neutrality/

Kapur Ratna. (2005). *Erotic Justice: Law and the New Politics of Postcolonialism.* Routledge.

Khan Saba. (2024). A Legal Judicio Study of Outrage on Modersty of Women in India. *International Journal of Advanced Legal Research, Volume 4*, Issue 3.

Kumar Abhijeet. (2024). PM Modi's popularity slips, but the BJP leader still towers over his rivals. Business Standard, URL: https://www.business-standard.com/politics/pm-modi-s-popularity-slips-but-the-bjp-leader-still-towers-over-his-rivals-124082400284_1.html.

Mahmood Saba. (2005). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject.* Princeton University Press.

Maji Sucharita, Bansod Saurabh, Singh Tushar. (2020). Domestic violence during COVID-19 pandemic: The case for Indian women. *Wiley*, 374-381.

Manne Kate. (2017) *Down Girl, The Logic of Misogyny*, Oxford University Press.

Merry Sally Engle. (2006). *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice.* University of Chicago Press.

Ministry of Home Affairs. (2023). Press Release. URL: Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India: https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaseIframePage.aspx?PRID=1988913.

Moser Caroline. O. N. (2001). The Gendered Continuum of Violence and Conflict: An Operational Framework. In C. O. N. Moser & F. C. Clark (Eds.), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, 30–51. Zed Books.

National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, (2013) *Crime in India 2012*. URL:

Pandey Anushka, Dash Pratishruti Preeti, Satish Mrinal. (2024). Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita: Decolonising or Reinforcing Colonial Ideas? URL: National Law School of India University: https://www.nls.ac.in/blog/bharatiya-nyaya-sanhita-decolonising-or-reinforcing-colonial-ideas/

Rajya Sabha. (2019). The Criminal Law (Amendement) Bill, 2019. URL: Rajya Sabha: https://sansad.in/getFile/BillsTexts/RSBillTexts/Asintroduced/crimnal-E-12719.pdf?source=legislation

Sahu Skylab. (2023). *Unfolding Feminism in India; Women, Power and Politics.* New York: Routledge.

Singh Mousami, Kumar Vijay, Raja Rupani, Kumari Sangeeta, Yadav Pradeep, Singh Raghvendra, Vewma Anoop Kumar. (2018). Acid attack on women A new face of gender-based violence in India. *Indian Journal of Burns, 26*(1), 83-86.

Srivastava Sanjay. (2015). Modi-Masculinity: Media, Manhood, and "Traditions" in a Time of Consumerism. *Television & New Media, Vol.16*(4), 331-338.

Subramanian Sujatha. (2019). Is Hindutva Masculinity on Social Media Producing A Culture of Violence against Women and Muslims? *Economic & Political Weekly, Vol.54*, Issue No.15.

Supreme Court of India. (1966). Judgements. URL: Supreme Court of India: https://api.sci.gov.in/jonew/judis/2651.pdf

Tajaswi Priyanshu, Choudhary Sagar, Pandey Sunidhi. (2024). Outraging the Modesty of Men. Indian *Journal of Law and Legal Research, Vol. 6*, Issue 1, 452-461.

The Indian Express. (2014). Full Text: Prime Minister Narendra Modi's speech on 68th Independence Day. The Indian Express.

The Telegraph. (2024). RG Kar purge after docs step up protest: At least four top officials removed, cease-work continues. The Telegraph.

The Times of India. (2024). PM Modi's speech on 78th Independence Day: Full text. The Times of India.

True Jacqui. (2012). *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women.* Oxford University Press.

Uberoi Patricia. (2000). *The family in India: Beyond the nuclear versus joint debate*. Delhi: Institute of Economic Growth. *Occasional Papers in Sociology, No. 2*.

United Nations. (1993). Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. URL: chrome extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/atrocity-crimes/Doc.21_declaration%20elimination%20vaw.pdf

Vijayakumar Gowri. (2013). "I'll be like water": Gender, Class, and Flexible Aspirations at the edge of India's knowledge economy. *Gender & Society, Volume 27*, Issue 6, 777-798.

WHO. (2021). *Violence against women prevalence estimates, 2018.*

World Bank. (2025). Population, total - India. URL: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=IN