

Working Paper 544

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# UNDERSTANDING THE PATHWAYS FROM VICTIMISATION TO OFFENDING: VOICES FROM THE FIELD

Shreejata Niyogi\*

## Abstract

*The narrative analysis of this paper, based on 15 cases attempts to understand the experiences of childhood abuse leading to the development of aggressive behaviour among the participants. Drawing from 'Marginalisation theory' and Bourdieu's concept of 'Habitus', with the help of empirical evidence, the findings of this study analyses that prolonged victimisation has been instrumental in the internalisation and normalisation of abusive and violent behaviour among the participants. Chosen by non-probability purposive and snowball sampling, the respondents are formerly convicted women inmates who have been victims of abuse and harassment in their early life. Based on the interviews conducted, four different stages of the pathway from victimisation to offending have been identified and analysed thematically.*

**Keywords:** Women inmates, Marginalisation theory, Female criminality, Habitus, Qualitative research methodology

## Introduction

The comparatively brief history of feminist discourse on female criminality has associated victimisation of women with criminal behaviour among female offenders. The theoretical argument on victimisation and marginal social position of women leading to the development of criminal behaviour among them was first developed in 1986 by Meda-Chesney Lind (Islam *et al*, 2014). A strong correlation between the prior experience of violence and abuse and development of violent behaviour leading to female criminality had been corroborated by subsequent empirical literatures (Anumba *et al*, 2012; DeHart *et al*, 2013; Helmut, 2016; Lynch, 2017; Rugmary, 2010; Tyagi, 2010). Empirical studies have also indicated that childhood psychological trauma and sexual violence have been found to be predominant among the female prison population (Altintas & Bilici 2018; Lansford *et al*, 2007).

The empirical studies based on this line of argument have attempted to understand the pathways from being a victim to an offender. A study conducted by Ford *et al* (2006) studied the ways childhood victimisation leads to depression, social isolation, conflicted relationships, and aggressive behaviour that, in turn, results in delinquent behaviour. Another empirical study conducted by Moe (2004) reflected that violence and abuse is one of the important factors leading to the commitment of an offence. Drawing reference from strain theory, Katz's (2000) study attempted to explain that experience of sexual abuse among young girls is related to their criminal and delinquent behaviour as they felt upset and alienated. Understandably, the experience of abuse and victimisation creates a sense of strain among women leading to committing violent offences. An empirical study conducted in the Vellore Central Prison on female prisoners noted that the majority of the female murderers in the

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\* PhD Scholar, Centre for Study of Social Change and Development, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru. E-mail: [shreejata.niyogi@gmail.com](mailto:shreejata.niyogi@gmail.com).

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prison were victims of domestic violence, who have murdered their family members either as a reaction to oppression that they have faced or to get rid of abuse (Murthy, 2013).

The author's doctoral dissertation that centres around female offenders and their rehabilitation process also indicates a similar underlying pattern. The primary data collected from the field from 31 former female convicted offenders shows that those who had experienced abuse and violence in their early life were involved in criminal offences. Thus, this paper explores the experiences of 15 female violent offenders who have experienced violence and abuse as a child or young adult by the members of the family with whom they shared domestic relationships. This study thus aims at gathering an in-depth understanding of how the process of prolonged victimisation has influenced the participants of the study to internalise and normalise violence and abuse. While situating this research paper in the broader framework of 'Marginalisation Theory', the paper attempts to specifically understand the cases of the research participants in their unique socio-cultural and demographic contexts. Suvarna Cherukuri (2007) has problematised the Western feminist scholarship-oriented understanding of female criminality as it has failed to incorporate the patriarchal, gerontological and other power dynamics in their understanding that is predominant in Indian society. Based on Cherukuri's work, this research paper focuses on exploring the lived experiences of the participants by placing them in their unique socio-cultural context.

### **Addressing the Issue of Violence, Victimisation and Offending in the Domestic Sphere in India**

According to the World Health Organisation, child abuse can be understood as any kind of physical or emotional mistreatment, sexual/physical abuse, negligent treatment or commercial/other exploitation, resulting in actual or possible harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity. Such acts of abuse can be manifested into different forms of harm or injury including physical, psychological, sexual and emotional trauma among children and young adults. While in some cases, children and young adults have encountered violence where they have been abused directly; some incidents of violence are manifested in indirect form, especially in cases of inter-parental violence. Irrespective of the nature of experience (direct or indirect) that the children or young adults encounter, the impact remains lasting (Lloyd, 2018). Empirical literatures have concluded that children who have been exposed to inter-parental violence or intimate-partner violence have experienced emotional dysregulation and maladjustment (El-Sheikh *et al*, 2008; Zaring, 2013). While the effect of indirect victimisation can have psychological and behavioural problems, direct victimisation can result in physical injury, gynaecological problems, trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, maladjustment, and emotional instability. Another problem that can be addressed is that physical violence is more explicit in nature, making it more observable and identifiable. On the other hand, psychological abuse that might be reflected via the medium of emotional or verbal abuse is more subtle making the issue complex to understand (Rakovec-Felser, 2014).

Existing works of literature depict that the effects of violence and abuse leads to severe long-term consequences. However, the violence and abuse inflicted in the domestic sphere have been culturally normalised making it difficult to address and report the issue. While corporal punishment

against children is banned in Indian schools, day-care centres and alternative child care intuitions under the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009), there are no such explicit legal provisions that address the issue of abuse of children in the domestic sphere<sup>1</sup>. The awareness related to child abuse in India and among many other south Asian communities is minimal as abuse inflicted by parents to discipline their children is culturally normalised (Gilligan & Akhtar, 2006; Paul *et al*, 2021).

Again, sexual offences committed against women in a conjugal relationship are not considered to be rape in India. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence (PWDV) Act has outlawed marital rape as a criminal offence and offers only civil remedy for the offence under the PWDV Act. Across cultures, domestic violence and intimate partner violence have been normalised due to the shame and stigmatisation associated with it (Childress, 2017; Lichtenstein & Johnson, 2009; Magnussen *et al*, 2011). Acknowledging the problematic legal definitions of child abuse and domestic violence in India, the researcher has taken into account the cases where the participants have encountered violence in their domestic sphere by any of the family members with whom they share a personal relationship.

## **Research Methodology**

The study is based on some of the findings conducted for the author's doctoral dissertation titled 'Crime, Women and Correctional Homes: A Case Study in West Bengal'. This qualitative paper specifically focuses on understanding different stages from experiencing violence to internalising and normalising such behaviour to inflicting violence.

## **Data and Methods**

The primary data was collected from the field over two years duration in three phases by employing interview method. In-depth interviews were conducted by using a flexibly structured interview guide (Whyte, 1979) that helped the researcher to incorporate emerging themes during the interview process that were initially overlooked by the researcher. The paper attempts to understand the commonalities of the cases and identify the underlying themes rather than providing any generalisation. This research paper aims to objectively understand the subjective world of the participants of the study who have experienced abuse and violence and have consciously or unconsciously internalised and normalised such behaviour and have engaged in violent acts.

The commonalities among the interviewed and observed cases have been analysed using thematic analysis. The analysis process was initiated with transcription of data and analytical and detailed reading of the participants' testimonies, followed by generating initial codes. The next steps consisted of searching for relevant themes, reviewing the selected themes and defining and naming the themes. The final stage included a presentation of themes via narrative mode and a discussion of these themes (Labra *et al*, 2019).

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<sup>1</sup> Country Report- Corporal punishment of Children in India (<http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/country-reports/India.pdf>)

## **Research Participants**

This study comprises 15 female respondents who were convicted inmates in any of the correctional homes of West Bengal and have been released in the last 10 years. For the doctoral research of the author, the participants were selected via snowball and purposive sampling methods. The researcher initially contacted the NGOs that are working with the released inmates for their rehabilitation. The researcher then received the contact of the participants from these NGOs and the participants were informed about the purpose and nature of the study. Only those participants who were willing to be studied were interviewed. However, for this particular research paper, only those cases have been selected where the respondent has either been a victim of domestic violence or has encountered cases of domestic violence among their immediate family members and have later on booked under criminal charges including murder, attempt to and/or conspiracy to murder, dowry deaths, and domestic violence and public-order crime, that includes disorderly conduct displaying aggressive behaviour.

## **Ethical Consideration**

While informed consent was taken, the participants were also provided with a post-interview consent form, an example borrowed from Kaiser's (2009) work, where the participants were given the liberty to express their willingness or reluctance to use particular data. An example of the post-interview consent form is attached in the appendix section. As all the participants unanimously refused to use their names to maintain confidentiality, the researcher assigned a numerical identity to each of the participants based on the order of interviews conducted (e.g., Participant 1, Participant 2...Participant 15).

## **Findings**

This section focuses on understanding how the experiences of domestic violence and abuse have impacted the participants to internalise and normalise violent behaviour. The thematic analysis of the interviews has identified four phases of experiencing violence, internalising and normalising violent behaviour and inflicting violence on others from the narratives of the 15 cases. These four important phases have been presented in this section under different sub-sections.

### **Experiencing domestic violence**

The basic commonalities of the experiences of the participants are their encounters with incidents of domestic violence. All the participants of the study have either been a victim of domestic violence or have encountered domestic violence among their immediate family members. Eleven out of 15 participants have described that they have been a victim of domestic violence at a certain point in their life, while four participants have mentioned that they have encountered incidents of domestic violence among the members of their immediate family. The forms of abuse and reasons for such experiences can be understood in their specific socio-cultural context. From the exposition of the participants' narratives, it can be discerned that the reason for receiving torture and abuse ranged from socialising them to conform to patriarchal values to disciplining and teaching them the appropriate gender roles to rebuking them for their caste identity. Recounting her own experience, Participant 13 informed that her

mother was a victim of domestic violence, who was abused for not paying dowry to her father, for not earning enough money to meet her father's drinking habit and for giving birth to three daughters whom the family considered to be a burden as they needed to pay dowry for their wedding.

*I have seen that whatever the problem was, my mother used to get beaten up and get blamed for not being an ideal woman who is supposed to pay dowry, please her husband and take care of all his needs and should give the family an heir (male child).*

Parental violence or spousal violence among the parents in some cases has not remained restricted to one of the parents playing the role of the perpetrator. In some instances, the participants have narrated from their experiences that violent exchange between parents was 'mutual' or both parents or multiple members of the immediate family have inflicted violence on them. Citing her own experience Participant 2 narrated,

*Frustrated with being tortured and abused, our mother used to beat us (her and sisters) in turn; while completely adoring our younger brother. Watching my parents' behaviour my younger brother also used to physically abuse us. And by this process even we learnt that as women we should be conforming to the societal expectations of getting married at an early age, providing a male heir to the family and should do exactly what we are being told to do by our father or brother, husband or son.*

While the underlying commonalities between each case have been the experiences of domestic violence at an early age; nine participants have also encountered violence as young adults where their spouses, in-laws or intimate-relation partners have inflicted physical or psychological violence on them. From the exposition of the participants, it can be discerned that the violence inflicted by in-laws has been physical and psychological, while the violence inflicted by their partners or spouse has been mostly physical and sexual. However, apart from two of the respondents (Participant 1 and Participant 5), the other six respondents who have either been a victim of sexual abuse or have encountered any form of sexual violence have failed to acknowledge sexual violence as a form of violence. The culturally constructed gendered role has led them to perceive sexual violence in an intimate-partner relationship as the 'right of the spouse or partner'.

Though physical and sexual violence has remained the most common form of abuse among the participants; verbal and psychological abuses have also continued to be a recurrent theme. Participant 7 mentioned that she has been verbally abused by her grandmother for being a child of parents belonging to a different caste. She narrated,

*My grandmother was never fond of the fact that my father had married my mother who was from a comparatively lower caste than my father's family. Consequently, my grandmother's abuse was often directed at my mother or me. During family functions like weddings or puja, if my mother made a minor mistake as well, she would rebuke her in front of the guests stating that since my mother belonged to a lower caste, she made such a mistake. She would often tell me that I didn't know how to appropriately behave or I couldn't perform well in studies because my mother is from a lower caste*

*background. For her, I was not 'pure blooded'. Never for once, did she raise her hands on me or my mother, but her words were enough for us to feel traumatised and ashamed of ourselves.*

These experiences depict that one of the common underlying reasons for abuse has been to reinforce the socially-constructed role related to one's gender, class, ethnic or caste-based identities.

### **Internalising violent behaviour**

Sociologist John Finley Scott (1971) in his book 'Internalization of norms: a sociological theory of moral commitment' has explained that the process of internalisation initiates with learning social norms and making sense of these social norms by accepting them. The narratives of the participants depict that their encounters with violence have rather followed a similar trajectory.

The socially-constructed gender roles and cultural norms have shaped the ideas of the participants related to domestic violence and abuse. The lived experiences of the participants have indoctrinated them to accept such form of violence being inflicted as a normative practice in the family structure. This process of learning the normative practices was reflected during the interview sessions as multiple participants remarked that they have "seen it (domestic violence) happening repeatedly". While experiencing violence in their domestic family relations, they have surmised that the offender exerts power and authority over the victim and the manifestation of the power has been reflected via violence. The power of the offenders depends on his or her culturally-constructed superior social position including gender, caste, class, age, and financial position in the family.

As depicted in the earlier section, the case of Participant number 7 revealed that she was a victim of psychological abuse because her grandmother perceived her to be ritually polluted because of her parents' inter-caste status. On the other hand, the case of Participant number 2 also indicated a similar power relationship between the victim and the offender. While the victim was placed in a superior gerontological position in the Indian family structure, the patriarchal values of Indian society have positioned her brother in a more powerful situation. The narratives of all the participants have reflected that the gender of the offender has indeed played a powerful role in their victimisation process. However, the power relation between the offender and the victim is multidimensional that does not depend on any single factor but is a combination of multiple factors. An illustration from Case 4 indicated how multiple factors contribute to the power dynamics. She illustrated that she was abused by her mother-in-law as her parents belonged to a relatively lower-income group and could not pay the expected amount of dowry. As a result, she was physically and verbally abused by her mother-in-law. However, later in her life, when her father-in-law passed away and her husband became the sole earning member of the family, she became the female head of the family. She narrated that when she became the head female member of the family, she physically abused both her mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law which reflected her powerful position in the family. In such cases, the interplay of multiple factors contributed to the participants' power position including her age, the financial position of her spouse and her position in the Indian family structure.



The narratives of other participants also indicated a similar scenario as six participants who have internalised patriarchal social norms to such an extent that they have failed to acknowledge sexual violence as a form of violence. Such a situation also reflects the power dynamics where the offender has normalised violence and the victim have internalised such culturally-constructed values and normalised it.

The final stage of the internalisation process includes the acceptance of social norms. And as a part of this acceptance process, the most common phrases that emerged from the narratives were, "such things (incidents of violence) happen in every home" or "what to do? A woman has to endure such incidents in family" or "he is a man after all" (referring to the incidents of violence committed by the male members of the family) or "even we have paid for this" (referring to instances of inflicting violence on daughter-in-law or sister-in-law for dowry). Such phrases have recurred throughout the narratives of the participants.

### **Normalising violence and abuse**

The next stage that closely follows the internalisation phase is the normalisation of violence and abuse. The experiences of domestic violence at an early age and encountering the socially and culturally-constructed discourse that attempts to justify violence by re-conforming patriarchal, casteist social norms and ideas, the participants of this study have also tried to normalise violence.

Four respondents of the study who have been convicted for physically abusing their daughters-in-law or sisters-in-law were questioned whether they were aware that domestic violence and inflicting violence by the husband's family is considered to be a criminal offence or not. And all the participants unanimously replied that they were aware of the legal provisions, however, they have witnessed similar incidents occurring in their socio-cultural settings and hence, they have perceived violence as normal by labelling such violent acts as 'traditional practices'. One of the participants, Participant 8 who was convicted on the charges of inflicting domestic violence on her daughter-in-law narrated,

*When I got married, my family had paid quite a good amount of gold to my in-laws... That's how it has been in our society... My sons are employed and thus, they are valued in the marriage market... The money that we had asked from the girls' family was to construct a new floor at our home. And finally, my son and daughter-in-law would have lived on that floor... See, these are age-old social customs, that's how it has always been...*

Another important theme that has been discerned from the narratives is how the socially constructed ideas and values normalise certain types of violence and abuse while other actions are considered to be punitive based on the relation between the offender and the victim. The case and the interview sessions with Participant 11 reflected on this particular theme.

*I have been a victim of domestic abuse for a very long time. My mother had physically abused me throughout my childhood trying to 'discipline me'... Again, at my husband's place, I was beaten up by my mother-in-law and husband... I have always felt that my mother-in-law abusing me is wrong, while my husband had the right to*

*physically and sexually torture me... Even though I had beaten up my daughter under the same pretext as my mother, however, I never felt that it was wrong but when I tortured my daughter-in-law, I tried to justify my actions in the name of age-old tradition... When I did all these, I had never given it a second thought as I was conditioned like that in my social set-up. But, now after the counselling sessions at the correctional institutions, I reflect on my actions and realise how I was socialised to feel that the same action is both justified and wrong depending upon the relationship with my victim or abuser.*

From the narrative of Participant 11, it can be discerned that the socio-cultural construction of family values and the legal provisions have failed to address the issue of domestic violence properly. The socio-cultural construction of family values and the legal provisions in India have failed to address the issue of child abuse or violence against children as domestic violence, while dowry deaths and cruelty inflicted by the husband or husband's family is considered to be serious criminal offence.

### **Engaging in violent actions**

The final outward manifestation of internalising and normalising violence and abuse has been reflected in the victims' actions when they were engaged in violent actions and thus, assuming the role of the offenders. The response of the participants reflects that they have normalised and justified violence as the most common phrase that emerged during the interview sessions when asked about inflicting violence was "why not?". 13 out of 15 participants have tried to justify their actions of inflicting violence by stating that since they have encountered a similar experience then the process of engaging in a violent act must be 'normal'. The justification and normalisation of violence are rather not unidimensional but the complexities of each case make the justification process idiosyncratic.

While 10 out of 15 participants have mentioned that they have imitated a similar social practice that they have been subjected to and have perceived the actions to be normal through their socialisation process; five participants explained that inflicting violence was a medium of resistance for them. Participant 10 explained that she was a victim of physical and sexual abuse in her conjugal relationship. However, when one of her neighbours also tried to sexually abuse her, then in an attempt of self-defence, she injured her attacker leading to her conviction. As she could not manage to hire a personal lawyer, the state-appointed lawyer did not pay much heed to her case leading to her conviction even when her act was mere self-defence. While an act of self-defence cannot be interpreted as inflicting violence; the participant mentioned that she had beaten her attacker the way her "husband used to do", a way that she has learnt from her own experiences. Another participant (Participant 4) shared a similar account of how resistance to violence had found its way through violent gestures and repressed anger.

*After being in an abusive marriage for a long period, I tried to run away a couple of times. But I failed to do so... My parents never helped me. Rather, I remember, my mother saying that being a woman it is my duty to please my husband in any way possible and I should learn to adjust to my new relationship... Finally, as the last*

*resort, one day I tried to attack my husband, in an attempt to stop his abuse... Since then, people have started judging me, and blaming me for attempting to kill my husband. Where were these people when I was almost killed by my husband and was almost on my deathbed?*

While resistance via violence has remained one of the main reasons for engaging in a violent act, repeating a similar act as a way of simply following existing social norms has been most common. Multiple case illustrations mentioned in the earlier sub-sections explains how the participants have merely internalised existing cultural practices.

## **Discussion**

This paper was developed on the theoretical argument posed by Meda Chesney-Lind in her 'Marginalisation theory' that suggested that marginal social position and victimisation of women are responsible for the development of criminal behaviour among them. The roots of marginalisation theory can be traced back to Marxist theory and Feminist theory. The main arguments of marginalisation theory accounts that in a capitalist social structure, women are placed in a marginal situation; while the experiences of physical and sexual torture leading to female criminality have remained the focus of feminist theorists. Drawing from these two theoretical standpoints and based on large-scale empirical data, Chesney-Lind proposed that the exploitation of women by men influences women to engage in criminal activities (Islam *et al*, 2014). Based on this line of argument, this paper attempted to explore the process of internalisation and normalisation of violence, a process by which the victim, later on, turns into an offender.

The internalisation and normalisation process has been discussed in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of 'Habitus' which can be understood as the way an individual perceives his or her social world via their socialisation process that includes their own experiences and opportunities. Bourdieu (1984) has defined 'Habitus' as a "necessity internalised and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-given perceptions" (Jeffrey, 2001). Habitus, in the simplest sense of the term, can be understood as the way of individual's perception of their social world and their reaction to their social world manifested via ingrained habits, skills and dispositions. Habitus is acquired via a socialisation process that includes their experiences. Habitus reflects how an individual's experience and their social culture shape their ideas and social world which in turn, influences their social action.

The narratives of the participants reflect that their encounter with abuse and violence in the domestic sphere during their childhood or young adulthood period has shaped their ideas on domestic violence and abuse. Culturally, across the world, many societies have tried to normalise domestic violence and abuse due to the fear of shame and embarrassment. And as women in Indian society have long been subjected to male dominance and patriarchal values that are enforced via punitive measure; some sections of Indian society have also tried to justify such form of abuse and violence. However, such subjugation of women in Indian society cannot be explained in the simple binary distinction between the two genders. Rather, it should be understood and explained by an intersectional approach. While for most of the cases in this particular study, the offenders have been male; there are many

cases where the offenders belong to the same sex group as the victim. However, in such cases, the power dynamics between the offender and the victim have been determined by multiple factors, including the offender's age, caste, class, financial and social status in the family (including the spouse's financial and social status), and their hierarchical position in the Indian family structure. Violence in such cases has not only been an expression of power but also has been a way to forcefully conform to discriminatory, patriarchal values.

Encountering the incidents of violence and abuse, the participants of this study have internalised such violence and abuse as normal through their socialisation process and have in turn acquired such behaviour. As Bourdieu has explained when an individual starts adopting the rules of their social group and perceives the world in their own way, general patterns of social system and action become more accepted. The case illustrations and narratives presented throughout the paper depict that in the patriarchal set-up and discriminatory socio-cultural values of Indian society, how women have been socialised to accept harassment and abuse by their family members. Along with their socialisation process, the legal provisions and awareness in the country have also failed to address the issues of domestic violence in general and child abuse in particular, thus, making the participants more vulnerable to a value judgement about conformist and non-conformist behaviour. The case illustrations reflected in the earlier sections depict that the majority of the participants have failed to acknowledge sexual violence and marital rape committed by their spouse as an offence. A similar narrative has been noted in cases of child abuse committed by parents where the social institutions and system have normalised such behaviour. The illustrations thus, represent that the participants have also adopted ideas of inflicting violence and torture on other members of the society as a part of their own 'social system'. They have drawn references from their social groups and associates and have developed violent and abusive behavioural traits.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this research paper was to make an in-depth understanding of how the victims of domestic violence and child abuse internalise violence to an extent that they normalise violence and abuse and inflict violence and abuse on others. The first stage includes experiencing violence and abuse, followed by internalising such behaviour and normalising it under the specific socio-cultural context, and the final stage of this process is reflected in the behaviour of the participants where they have inflicted violence or have shown aggressive behaviour. The paper began with a theoretical argument supported by empirical literatures that prolonged victimisation and marginal status in the society and family structure lead to the development of criminal behaviour among women. Based on this line of argument, this research paper traced the process of internalisation and normalisation of violence and abuse. Based on 15 case studies, this paper has focused on understanding four different stages of the pathway from being a victim to turning into an offender. Drawing reference to Bourdieu's theory of 'Habitus', the paper attempted to explain the process of internalisation and normalisation of violent behaviour.

The uniqueness of this research paper is that it tries to understand the process of internalisation and normalisation of violent behaviour by placing it in a larger socio-cultural context. The

paper attempts to understand how specific socio-cultural normative practices have shaped the idea of the participants and have shaped the power dynamics between the offender and the victim. The study focuses on the voices of the participants as they narrate their lived experiences. From the participants' narratives, the problem that has been identified is that domestic violence and/ or violence against children in the domestic sphere has been culturally normalised to some extent. As many Western countries have implemented strict laws against such practices, the policymakers and the Government need to implement such strict action to prevent domestic violence, intimate-partner violence and violence against children in the domestic sphere. Moreover, large-scale awareness campaigns are needed to educate the masses about what constitutes domestic violence, what are the legal rights of women, what kind of behaviour from their partner or other family members is accepted and what is not, and how parents can discipline their children without physically or emotionally harming them. While this research paper traces the pattern of the pathways from victimisation to offending, future research involving a large sample size will help social scientists and policymakers to understand the lived experiences of the victims and will help formulate suitable policies that in turn, will help prevent domestic violence and child abuse in the domestic sphere.

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## Appendix

### *Post-interview consent form:*

Now, after the completion of the interview, the researcher would seek your feedback on how you prefer to have your data handled. Hence, the researcher would like to request the respondents to let her know about the respondents' feedback and approval by marking against any of the following statements:

- The researcher may share the information as provided by the participant, without changing any details.
- The researcher may share the information as provided by the participants. However, the researcher is requested and advised not to use the participant's real name as others might identify the respondent.
- The researcher may share the information as provided by the participant. However, the researcher is requested not to use details about certain incidents that might make the respondent identifiable to others. In particular, the following pieces of information should not be shared without altering the data to make the respondent unidentifiable. In case, these information are shared after alteration, the researcher should contact the respondent to seek his/her consent before using the altered version. (Please provide the details of the information, which should not be shared):

Respondent's signature/ Verbal Consent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_



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Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi P.O., Bangalore - 560 072, India  
Phone: 0091-80-23215468, 23215519, 23215592; Fax: 0091-80-23217008

E-mail: [balasubramanian@isec.ac.in](mailto:balasubramanian@isec.ac.in); Web: [www.isec.ac.in](http://www.isec.ac.in)