

Domestic Violence against Estate Women in Sri Lanka

Prof. M.W. Jayasundara

Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Sri Jayewardenepura, Sri Lanka

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ABSTRACT

Domestic violence or violence against women is a common phenomenon taking place in any country without any geographical boundaries or culture. Although there are various types of violence against women such as rape, trafficking, and sexual slavery, domestic violence continues to increase at a higher rate. Domestic violence constitutes physical, sexual, or psychological harm to women including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty. In Sri Lanka, domestic violence is unleashed against estate women more destructively than those urban and rural women in the country. This study aims at finding the causes of domestic violence and their impact on their families in the estates. Further, the defensive mechanism of women victims of the violence against them is also looked into. The study was carried out in 2022 concerning the domestic violence in estates namely Weoya Estate, Polatagama Estate, Halgolla Estate, and Kelaniwatta Estate located in Yatiyantota police division in Kegalle district, Sabaragamuwa province. The interview method and the case study method were used to collect data from 25 women victims selected from a purposive sample. The study revealed that women between the age of 20-30 years who had married under age had the minimum capacity to perform household tasks with their little children and suffered heavily from financial problems and domestic violence as they had to look after their little ones without any employment. The alcohol consumption, brewing of illicit liquor, and extramarital relationships by husbands pave the way for wives beating in the estates. The patriarchal system and extended family system also contribute to domestic violence. The study suggests that estate management coupled with field officers, community policing, and other relevant organizations should take immediate measures to reduce the causes that lead to physical, mental, economic, and other forms of violence against women in the estate sector.

Keywords: Violence, wife beating, estates, financial problems,

INTRODUCTION

Without any geographical boundaries of the world, domestic violence takes place in every cultural and ethnic group. It is a common human rights violation reported in many countries. Victims of domestic violence especially women experience physical, mental, and sexual harassment as a result of hostile activities against them. Further, domestic violence connotes violent or aggressive behavior within the home, typically involving the violent abuse of a spouse or partner (Definition from Oxford Language Dictionary). According to the UN charter, violence against women in the household is considered a global problem that is fatal to the physical, mental, sexual, and socio-economic well-being of women (2020). Although physical violence causes pain to women, mental violence creates conditions of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, difficulty in sleeping, eating disorders, suicide attempts, and addiction to alcohol, WHO, 2013, Weziak-Bialowolska, Biolowolski, and McNeely, (2020). According to Radhika Coomaraswamy, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, domestic violence has been defined as violence perpetrated in the domestic sphere, which targets especially women because of their role within that sphere, or violence that is intended to impact negatively straight on women within a domestic sphere (Coomarasawamy, 2001). The violence against women that takes place in the domestic often takes the form of physical, sexual, or psychological harassment or infliction of pain and suffering on women that include threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty.

The Tamilians were brought into the country in the 1830s by the British colonialist to work in estate plantations as the Sinhalese majority refused to work in this sector. Therefore, the estate sector of Sri Lanka

predominantly consists of the Dravidian. They are mainly dispersed through Nuwara Eliya (45%), Badulla (19%), Kandy (10%), Rathnapura (10%), and the rest of the country in the estate plantations. When Tamilians in the estate sector is compared with other people living in urban and rural areas, they are the people who live in the most underprivileged condition and have the minimum facilities. Those people who live in estates lack education, housing, health, sanitation, and infrastructure facilities as compared to the rural and urban people in the country. Table 1 indicates the poverty level of the population in the country.

Table 1: Poverty Level by Sector (Headcount in 2002)

Sector	Poverty Level %	Poverty Level %
	2002	2006/2007
Sri Lanka	22.7	12.6
Urban	7.9	5
Rural	24.7	13.1
Estate	30	25.8

Source: DCS HIES 2006/2007

According to World Bank reports, over half of the population in estate areas still lives below the \$3.65 poverty line. As a whole, the population of Sri Lanka faced the rising problem of abject poverty from 11.3 in 2019 to 12.7 in 2020 adding over 300,000 people to the poorest of the poor. This has further increased from 13.1 in 2021 to 25.0 in 2022 adding another 2.5 million people to the poor creating more adverse effects on the people who live in the estate sector (2023). Even with the severe socioeconomic and political problems these Tamils remain in estates with some ethnic security and partial job security. They have job opportunities often inside the estates even for a few days a week. They are comfortable with their cultural values and social norms inside the estates rather than in the mass society. According to the cultural values of the Tamil community Patriarchal system plays a dominant role in keeping men superior to women controlled by men and they are part of men's property (Department of Sociology, 2019). Consequently, men play a dominant role in the family which legitimizes and justifies violence against women.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

In the ancient patriarchal society, the husband had the right to chastise his wife and children to control them. As a rule of thumb, the husband was able to beat his wife with a stick no thicker than his thumb (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001:164). After centuries of ignoring domestic violence as a private matter, feminist activists and criminologists have laid the foundation for legal and policy changes in violence against women (Walsh, Hemmens, 2011:225-26). However, presently many countries regard domestic violence or wife beating as a crime. Domestic violence has become a common phenomenon irrespective of urban, rural, and estate sectors in Sri Lanka but this problem is alarmingly high in the estates where the Tamil population is concerned. Domestic violence and a wife-beating by her partner is considered to be shameful human rights violation and deviation from equal treatment for women. Different studies have found different causes for the violence against women in the estate sector. Among them alcoholism, women's inability to perform their household tasks to the satisfaction of their cohabitant or the members of the extended family, financial problems, sexual jealousy, depression, and extramarital relationships were prominent (Department of Sociology, 2009:82). Though the domestic violence increased among people from all social strata the state and other organizations have paid little attention.

Domestic violence is considered to be a crucial problem in the estate sector. This study focuses on the women victims of domestic violence in the estates and the causes and impacts of household violence on the victim and the victim's family. Further, the remedial measures taken by the victims to escape from the continuation of violence against them were also looked into.

Significance of the study

The present study is primarily concerned with the women victims of domestic violence in estates however, domestic violence is not limited to the estate women and it can be seen in every segment of society, urban, and rural sectors as well. Thus, this study provides the basic framework for those who are interested in this phenomenon. It can be seen that a considerable number of studies have been done on wife beating and domestic violence in urban and rural segments of Sri Lanka but comprehensive research has not yet been done on the domestic violence against women in the estates. Hopefully, the present study would bridge this gap and find out the different causes and the nature of women victims of domestic violence by estates. Further, as this problem is persistent in estates, this study will uncover the reasons for the domestic problems in the estate sector.

Objectives

The present study was conducted with the following objectives related to women victims in the estate sector.

- To identify the causes of domestic violence against women in the estate sector in Sri Lanka.
- To identify the impacts of domestic violence on victims and their families.
- To determine the mechanism used by the women victims to hold violence in check.

Selected Area:

This study was carried out regarding the female victims of domestic violence in estate houses can be categorized as a descriptive study for it described violence committed against females in estate. The present study focuses on the nature of the domestic violence committed against females and their lifestyle in the estates located in the Yatiyantota police division, in Kegalle District, Sabaragamuwa Province. Owing to the poor and wretched lifestyle and special cultural background of the estate's dwellers, this study was selected.

According to the statistics available in the Divisional Secretariat of Yatiyantota, the total voting population in the area was 46,471 and of them, approximately 15,000 were Tamil estate workers living in twelve government owned estates and one private estate.

Sample of the Study

A purposive sample is a nonprobability sample which is appropriate when a sample from a special situation is selected. Therefore, with a purposive sample, the researcher wanted to collect a sample from the specialized population of women who had been victimized by their family members. Twenty-five victims of domestic violence were selected through a purposive sample from four main estates located in the Yatiyantota police division namely Weoya Estate, Polatagama Estate, Halgolla Estate, and Kelaniwatta Estate.

DATA COLLECTION METHOD

As the estate's population is not literate enough to fill out a questionnaire, the present study utilized the interview method and case study for the data collection. Using semi-structured interviews, data were collected from the victims of domestic violence. This method provided an opportunity for interviewees to give their quantitative and qualitative information descriptively. Through the case study of victims and their families, the author was able to collect in-depth data on their victimization patterns and the environment in which they continued to live.

DATA ANALYSIS

Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis rely on inference and researchers try to reach these

conclusions by carefully examining and analyzing empirical data. In the present study too, the quantitative data were analyzed by using data tables and graphs while qualitative data i.e. words, phrases, statements, and written records were analyzed by using accepted qualitative techniques.

Table 2, Age Distribution of the Victims

Age	Number of Victims	%
20-30	08	32]
31-40	10	40]
41-50	05	20]
51-60	02	8]
Total	25	100]

^Source(Field Research 2022)

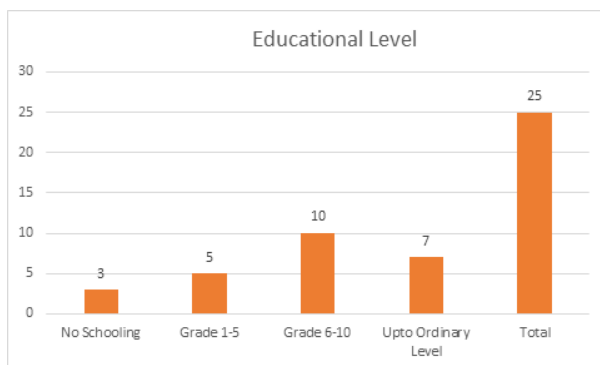
According to Table 2, most of the estate women had become victims of domestic violence at the age of 31-40 years. Of them, some women had got married when they were less than 18 years. Those who belonged to the age category of 51 to 60 years were the least victimized group in domestic violence.

According to the data, in this table the second highest number of representations of victimized women were in the age category of 20-30 years. The majority of them were underage marriages and had children who were less than ten-year-old. The least victimized group of women had experienced victimization due to the drunkenness of their husbands and other problems caused by women’s underage marriages.

Educational Levels of the Victims

The educational levels of the victims were divided into four categories, namely no schooling, Grades 1-5, Grade 6-10 and up to Ordinary Level of education. The sole purpose of this categorization was for the convenience of their identification.

Figure 1: Educational Levels of the Victims



Source (Field Research 2022)

Figure 1 shows that the highest number of victims have studied from Grades 6 to 10. The least number of women represent the no schoolig group and they said that their parents did not want them to attend school.

According to the data presented in Figure 1, a higher number of women exposed to domestic violence had received secondary education and those women who had studied up to the Ordinary Level of education said that they were unable to proceed with their higher education owing to economic difficulties, parental illness and their underage marriage.

Employment Status of Women

The status of the women victims showed that some were employed and still some others were unemployed in the estate sector. Some women were employed in estates as laborers while some others worked in garment factories outside the estates. Those victims who were unemployed mostly carried out domestic chores such as child rearing, cooking, and cleaning of the house while some of them worked in neighboring villages as casual tea pluckers and laborers.

Figure 2: Employment Status of the Women Victims

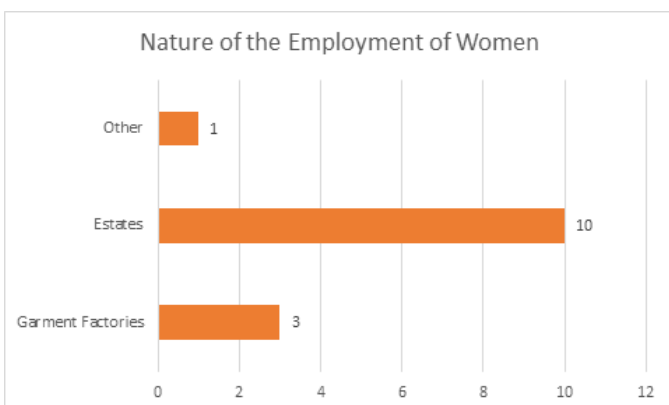


^Source(Field Research 2022)

As Figure 2 indicates, the number of women employed is higher than the number of women unemployed. The busy schedule of women workers was identified as one of the causes of domestic violence because the women employed in the garment factories had the least number of holidays and work in night shift whereas those who were employed in the estate sector had to work at the weekend as well.

There were 14 women employed in different work and the nature of their work is shown in Figure 3. Accordingly, nine women were employed as laborers in the estate sector while 3 women were employed in Garment Factories, and the rest two were employed as housemaids.

Figure 3: Nature of Employment Status of the Women Victims



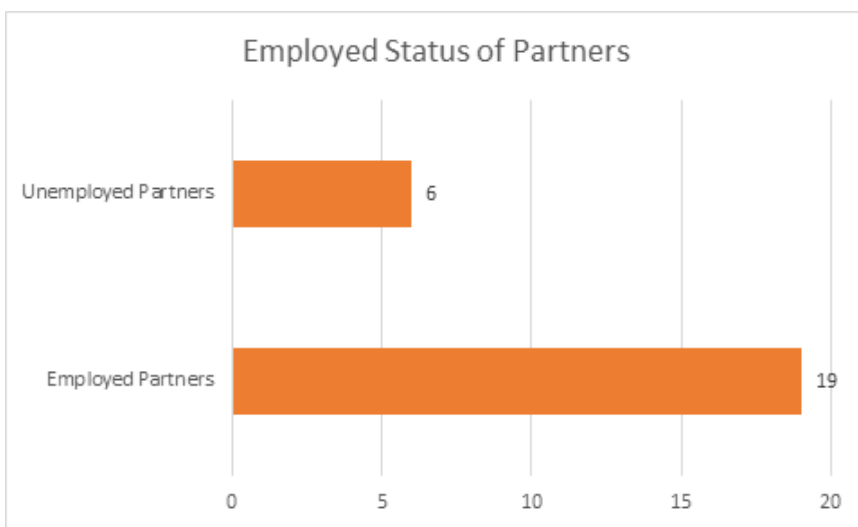
^Source(Field Research 2022)

The Figure 3, shows that many women were employed in the estate sector as permanent employees for they had been working in estates since their a young age. Those who were employed in Garment factories were quite young when compared to the estate workers and they hsd sought employment due to the higher salary paid in the garment sector as compared to the estate sector. The women employed as housemaids earned more money than those who worked as laborers in the estates.

Figure 4: Employment Status of the Victim’s Husband

The present study was also concerned about the employment status of spouses of the victims and how it affected domestic violence and the victimization of women within their families. Figure 4 deals with the employment status of the victims’ spouses.

Figure 04: Employment Status of the Victims’ Partners



^Source(Field Research 2022)

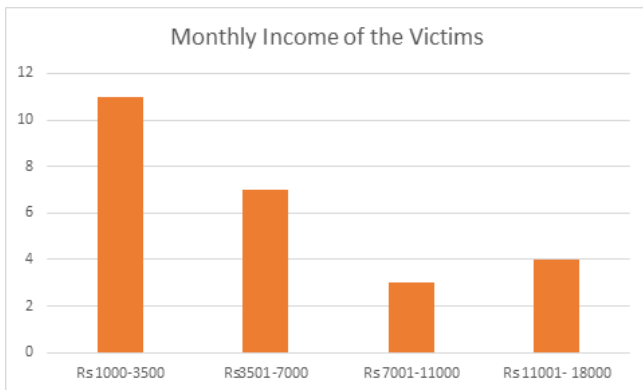
According to Figure 4, the majority of partners of the victims were employed and they found employment in the estate where they lived. However, some partners worked in garment factories located outside of their estates and some others were employed in trading establishments. Comparatively, those who were employed in garment factories drew a higher salary.

Those who were unemployed found no employment in the estates but they worked as casual workers outside their estates and some of them were engaged in brewing illicit liquor at times, and the consumption of more liquor was a special phenomenon that paved the way for victimization of the women in their households. It was found that some estate workers had taken steps to work outside their estates to earn extra income as their salary was not enough for living.

Figure 05: Monthly Income of the Victims

It was found that the lack of economic independence for women was a contributory factor to domestic violence against them in the estate sector. Therefore, how monthly income of the victims brought domestic violence upon them was a concern of the present study. Figure 5 indicates the monthly income of victims in four categories.

Figure 5: Monthly Income of the Victims



^Source(Field Research 2022)

According to Figure 5, the majority of women received an income between 1000 to 3500 rupees but they had no permanent employment and consequently, some of them were engaged in casual labor work daily or they were either dependent on the welfare system Samurdhi or the allowances given for disablement or on both.

The victims belonging to the other two categories of income levels between 3501 and 7000, and 7001-11000 rupees were engaged in estate work. The rest of the victims belonged to the income category of Rupees over 11000 to 18000, and they worked in garment factories. According to the study, the lowest income was received by the unemployed victims. Due to their unemployment-related problems, they had become victims of domestic violence. Although estate workers received low wages, they had permanent employment in the estates where they dwelled. But these victims who had not received any permanent income through their employment frequently faced domestic violence due to economic hardships and social problems.

The Causes of Domestic Violence

The present study was concerned with the way that women become victims of domestic violence. It was found that women had been victimized in three ways, namely physical abuse, mental abuse, and sexual abuse. Figure 6 indicates the number of victims under these three categories of abuse. Accordingly, the number of women who had been victimized mentally was higher than those who were subjected to physical abuse but only one victim had undergone the sexual abuse.

Figure 6: The Types of Domestic Violence



^Source(Field Research 2022)

According to the study, some women had become victims of mental violence many times since their marriage. Their husbands had Scolded, scolded with filthy words, rebuked them, and consumed liquor while neglecting the family and burdening them with economic difficulties. The members of the extended family, especially the husband’s mother had persuaded him towards domestic violence against his wife.

The women were victimized by physical violence and had been assaulted several times by their husbands. The infliction of pain and suffering by causing bodily harm pushing and shoving, and eventual hospitalization after severe beating were seen among the patterns of physical violence. Fundamentally, the primary cause of physical violence was arguments with the husband or his mother or siblings, and collectively their uncondusive behavioral patterns. As a result of the aberrant behavior of the husband, one woman had been sexually victimized several times. violence. But the woman had tolerated such continued sexual harassment to keep up her marriage. The present study reveals that the victims had been subjected to one or several types of violent activities mentioned above.

Table 4: Causes of Victimization of Women

Cause	Frequency	%
Dipsomania of the husband	10	40
Living with more than one family in a household	3	12
Neglect the family by husband	3	12
Coercing women to pay off debts owed by their husbands and children for alcohol consumption	2	8
Economic Difficulties of the Family	4	16
Extramarital affairs of the husband	2	8
Inter-racial marriage	1	4
Total	25	100

(Source: Field Research 2022)

The present study focused on how women become victims of domestic violence, and what reasons made them subjected to such violence. According to the responses received from the victims, 10 women stated that the dipsomania of their husbands led to the victimization of their families. One woman said,

“My husband takes liquor every day. In our family there are several members, so expenses are high. Consequently, the problems that we face are also higher”.

The woman added that six families constituted her family and the husband spent the money that he earned on liquor, therefore, the meager salary that she earned was not enough to run the family. Similarly, several members of her husband’s family were at home, and their arguments and conflicts resulted in frequent quarrels between her and her husband.

Another victim said,

“My husband does not look after me so I live with my daughter. When he comes to our house, he comes drunk and quarrels with me”.

As this woman was disabled, she was not able to find employment. Therefore, her life was a tragedy as her husband neglected her. She had become a victim of mental harassment due to her husband’s negligence and this situation even worsened because her neighbors too did nothing to care for her.

Another woman who experienced trouble with her husband and children said: “My husband and children take alcohol with the promise of paying the debt after receiving their monthly wage, but when they cannot pay the money for the alcohol they consumed force me to pay the debt that they owe the illicit alcohol dealers”.

The above woman experienced periodical threats and rebukes from her husband and children as they drank liquor on credit and later they forced her to pay their debts. Many women in the estate sector experience trouble and become victims as their family members are addicted to alcohol and taking liquor on loan. Even jobless women have become victims of physical and mental violence as their husbands often come home drunkard. When drunk husbands quarrel at home with their wives, their neighbors become harassed too due to the extreme noise in their neighborhood and they warn quarreling families not to trouble them. This also disgraces estate women who have become victims of domestic violence. Such a woman said, “When I am at home, my husband comes home drunk and scolds my mother and me using foul words. Then neighbors come to our house and complain that it is difficult for them to live at home when my husband quarrels with me”.

This woman has faced difficulties and experienced a good deal of embarrassment and inconvenience in the presence of her neighbors due to the drunkenness of her husband and making quarrels at home with an awful noise. Even the education of her children has stopped temporarily due to their bad financial situation at home. She has been compelled to find a job outside the estate to get rid of the inconvenience and constant torment that she experiences because of her drunkard husband. Overall the estate women have become the victims of mental violence owing to economic difficulties, inability to fulfill the requirements of children, and the negligence of family affairs by their spouses.

Another reason for the prevalence of domestic violence among estate women was that extramarital relationships were maintained by their husbands. One victim said, “My husband works in a garment factory and he lives there with another woman. He does not look after me or my child and he often threatens me with divorce or expulsion”.

It can be observed from the statement of the above woman that she spends her life in constant anguish and fear. The environment of garment factories provides opportunities to work with different people, and the freedom to associate with each other and thus creates the ambiance for the flourishing of illegal sexual affairs. Consequently, the women who are not engaged in employment peripheral to their domestic activities become victims of mental violence as their husbands tend to develop illegal sexual relationships with the women serving in garment factories. In the aftermath of these illegal sexual affairs, the husbands will lose their wives and children, and there will be a loss of security in the household as well as their income, and eventually, their destitute women and children will become the victims of mental violence. Another woman stated,

“My husband had a relationship with a girl at his workplace, and I could do nothing when he came along with that girl to our house”.

The above woman had become the victim of mental violence due to the immoral conduct of her husband. Consequently, she lost her husband’s protection and the necessary income to run her family. Presently, she is unable to maintain her family with the meager amount salary that she receives. Another woman who experienced both physical and mental violence at home said, “I am a Tamil woman but my husband is Sinhala. Therefore, my husband often scolds me using filthy words and sometimes he assaults me for I am Tamil. One day I was hospitalized as a result of his assault”.

From this woman’s statement, it is obvious that racial disparities too militated against women. She added that her husband as well as his mother expressed their dissatisfaction with his marriage. As the woman was unemployed, she was frustrated and she was not interested in child-rearing over her child-rearing. She did not have money for that purpose either.

The responses of women for their being victimized by domestic violence.

The present study was concerned with the responses of women to their victimization and whether these reactions affected any increase or decrease in their victimization was looked at in the study. Table 5 shows the responses of women to domestic violence.

Table 5: Responses of Women to Domestic Violence

Response	Frequency	%
Tolerance of domestic violence	12	48
Living separately from the husband	2	8
Recourse to medicine for drunkenness	2	8
Partition of the house to accommodate several families	2	8
Seeking employment outside	2	8
Taking Legal actions	5	20

(Source: Field Research 2022)

In answering the question of “What was their response to domestic victimization”, 48% of the victims stated that they used to tolerate physical and mental violence caused by their husbands and their family members, and especially by their mothers-in-law. The reason for their forbearance of domestic violence was that they did not want to see their conjugal life scattered. As they said once their marriage broke apart the security of their family and the education of the children would collapse and the family might not have enough income to maintain its affairs.

To escape from domestic violence 8% of the victims had taken action to live separately from their husbands. Another two (8%) of the victims used to live with their husband’s family members and this situation created even more problems that led to drastic violence. As a result, the victims became separated from their families by partitioning their homes among single-family units. To save their husbands from alcoholism 8% of families had given medications to their husbands expecting that domestic violence would cease afterward. Two victims were of the view that their non-availability at home during the daytime would minimize the domestic violence against them and consequently, they found employment outside their occupied estate.

Further, five victims (20%) of domestic violence had complained to the police about the incidence of being victimized by their husbands and they had taken legal action against their husbands. One victim said,

“My husband threatens me demanding a divorce. So, I made a complaint to the police. As I did not like to get divorced, the police instructed me to file a maintenance case”.

Another victim voiced,

“Mother-in-law often quarrels with me. Consequently, police interfered in this matter and made the house between the two of us. The women police officers too advised me to find employment.

In the present study, it was found that many victims and their families were badly affected by domestic violence. Table 6 indicates the nature of the impact of domestic violence.

Table 6: Impact of Domestic Violence on Victims and their Families

Impact	Frequency	%
Inability to maintain family affairs due to economic difficulties	9	36
Allegations from neighbors about awful noise created by domestic violence	2	08
Disruption of children’s education	3	12
Recourse to divorce	2	08
Patience due to little Children	2	08
Negligence of family responsibilities by husbands	3	12
Interference by police to settle violence	4	16
Total	25	100

(Source: Field Research 2022)

According to Table 6, the majority of the victims of domestic violence are faced with economic problems. The victimization of women has directly resulted in the reduction of their income. Consequently, most of the other problems such as the disruption of the children’s education, negligence of family responsibilities by the husband, taking legal action to seek a divorce, and the expectation of police intervention in settling their domestic violence, have cropped up in coping with their misfortune. The drunkenness of the husband has caused mismanagement of their finances and thereby creating severe economic strain on family members. The beating of women by their husbands demanding money to spend on alcohol is a drastic evil manifestation of their addiction to alcoholism. Some women have gotten used to tolerating domestic violence as they have young children and they have a belief that they will not have any avenue of income to feed and secure their children if they resort to legal action against their husbands.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study was conducted to find out the nature of the domestic violence faced by the women living in the estates in Sri Lanka. The factors that influenced domestic violence and to which scale they contributed to domestic violence were the main concerns in the study. In the data collection of women victimized by domestic violence their demographic characteristics namely age, education, employment status, and income level were taken into account. In addition, the work status of their spouse, income levels, and behavioral patterns were examined. Accordingly, the work status of the victim, her income, and age are directly relevant to domestic violence. It was revealed that women between 31-40 years of age have become victims of domestic violence more than the other age categories of women and they all had got married under age. Similarly, the women who belonged to the age category of 20-30 years had married at under age and had the minimum capacity to manage home affairs with their younger children. The household chores of those women who served at garment factories were badly affected by their employment. The women who had infants solely depended on their husband’s income as they were not employed in any work as they had to look after their children. Consequently, these women faced the problems of lack of required income, negligence, and evasiveness of their husbands. All this led to the mental victimization of women. The drunkenness of the men caused victimization of women in their households and this was a predominant characteristic of the families where the husbands worked in estates. The indebtedness of the husband and their elder sons caused by excessive alcohol consumption is another feature of estate life. Consequently, the default on debt makes the men in the estates frequently quarrel with their women demanding they pay debts. In such situations, women become mentally and physically victimized.

The women whose husbands did not support the family were the minimum income earners of the study. The women who lived separately from their husbands, the women whose husbands had maintained extramarital affairs, the women whose husbands did not receive a regular income, and women who suffered from health problems all had become victimized within the family mainly due to the financial insecurity, mental agony and depression that they were suffered from. In addition, men who did not have any permanent employment in estates found temporary work as illicit brewers in adjacent villages and almost all of them had become alcoholics as they continually worked in the brewery. These men frequently got involved in domestic violence with their wives after returning home drunk at night. Further, the mothers-in-law as well as the sisters-in-law in the extended families spread malicious gossip about the married women in the estates and thereby persuaded their sons and brothers to harass their wives physically and mentally which ultimately turned into domestic violence.

The scenario of the estate women experiencing domestic violence directly impacts the family and its children. Accordingly, the education of the children in such families becomes disrupted when regular domestic violence takes place. The security of children who studied outside the estate were badly affected by violence. In addition, the cooperation among the family members and the income level of the family are affected by domestic violence. The study revealed that women who had under 5-year-old children and not having employment opportunities as they had to look after their children severely suffered from financial problems. Some of these women found immense difficulties in maintaining their families and sending their children to schools regularly. Consequently, a considerable number of their children became school dropouts, and still, some others could not get a satisfactory standard from schools. This situation was further worsened by keeping the education in their families. Hence, the women suffered from distress and economic difficulties.

Many women victims had endured the first incidence of domestic violence committed against them by their husbands but when they were continuously faced with violence they had taken some measures to cope with the situation. Those women who experienced physical attacks by their husbands sought legal measures against them. Besides, some women victims had found employment outside the estate where they lived as a measure to minimize the acts of violence against them. Thus, some women victims with the hope of escaping from the violence unleashed by their husbands had their houses built separately to live alone without their husbands. Though some women had taken legal action against their husbands for their violent activities, some others remained living through domestic violence as they wanted to keep their marriage intact even amidst much violence and help their children grow under the care of both parents. The present study revealed that estate women often suffered from physical and mental violence caused by their husbands, however, the incidence of sexual violence against them was minimal. When sexual violence against women is considered only one victim had experienced sexual violence in the entire sample of the study.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The upliftment of the living condition of the estate workers should reduce domestic violence against women. To achieve this task the estate management should take necessary measures in the direction of fulfilling the basic needs of the estate women and thus bringing forth some mental relief for them. Any positive action taken by the estate management to uplift the living standard of the estate workers would be helpful to minimize the violent activities committed by men against the women in the household. The provision of employment for women and the establishment of childcare centers in the estates will enable mothers who have younger children to engage in the estate labor force. The following recommendations are made to prevent domestic violence against women in the estate sector.

- Introduction of counseling services for both men and women in estates with the assistance of estate, welfare officers of the estates, midwives, and community police officers.

- At least once a month, estate field officers should visit each household in the estate and find their problems, and afterward, the estate management should set up procedures for dealing with their grievances.
- To prevent unemployed males from unauthorized activities productive pursuits like home gardening, and animal husbandry should be encouraged among them by providing the necessary facilities for their households.
- A more positive approach in both medical and social fields should be adopted to prevent estate dwellers from alcoholism.
- The children as well as the women should be motivated to participate in welfare activities through the introduction of children's societies and women empowerment societies will the objective of developing coping mechanisms for domestic violence against estate women.

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