
Rape and Rape/Gangrape with Murder in India

Incidence of Cases

Preliminary Analysis of National Crime Records Bureau Data – Part 1¹

Introduction

In July 2014 we published a preliminary analysis of the publicly available government data about the incidence of the heinous crime of rape since the dawn of the 21st century and covering a 13-year period (2001 – 2013). This study was conducted in the aftermath of the 2012 gruesome gang-rape of Nirbhaya in New Delhi which eventually resulted in her death and the major amendments made to the existing criminal laws- both substantive and procedural based on the recommendations of the Justice J S Verma Committee. The report of this preliminary study can be [accessed here](#). The spontaneous protests led by students and other segments launched across the country had forced the hands of the government at the Union and State-level to take concrete steps to ensure the safety of women and prevent sexual violence against them.

Today we are at another historical juncture. Country-wide protests have been launched by the medical fraternity to protest the rape and murder of a young doctor in a government-run hospital in Kolkata earlier in August 2024. The Supreme Court of India has directed the setting up of a task force to protect doctors and other healthcare workers from violence they face in the line of duty. Meanwhile reports of rape, sexual assault, molestation of women and girls occurring in different parts of the country are published by the media every day. The criminal justice system has begun implementing what the Union Government calls- “decolonized criminal” laws since July this year. While it is too early to gauge their impact this is a good moment to ask whether the seminal amendments to the erstwhile criminal laws introduced through the [Criminal Law \(Amendment\) Act, 2013](#) have had any impact on the incidence of sexual crimes against women, particularly that of rape and rape-cum-murder.

Such a study can be of two kinds or a combination of both. The first kind of study will involve an in-depth assessment of the manner in which the police registered and investigated such cases to collect prosecutable evidence, the manner in which the prosecutors led the case seeking punishment for the culprits and the manner in which trial courts decided those cases and the kind of support which survivors and/or their families received from the State. Going beyond the trial stage, such a study will also have to look into the manner in which the constitutional courts dealt with these cases in appeal. All of this will require pouring over thousands of pages of case-records. Thanks to the adverse impact of governmental action against us which began more than three years ago, depleting our staff strength and restricting our ability to raise resources even domestically, we are unable to conduct such an in-depth study.

¹ This preliminary study report is released by **Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI)**, New Delhi in October, 2024.

We are grateful to the Jatashankar T. Pathak Charitable Trust (JTPCT), for their support, especially to its former Chair, the late Hansaben Pandya, who conceived of and encouraged the collaboration between the Trust’s Chhelbhai Dave Police Reforms Project and CHRI. We are also grateful to the Lal Family Foundation for supporting CHRI.

So we have tried to do what is second best- once again analyse government data about the incidence of rape and the manner of disposal of such cases by the police and courts. These statistics are published by the Union Home Ministry's [National Crime Records Bureau](#) (NCRB) in its annual [Crime in India \(CII\) reports](#).

Our preliminary study is divided into **three parts**. This document which is **Part-1 of our study report**, contains our findings about the incidence of cases of rape and rape/gang rape with murder² rape across the country and in each State and Union Territory (UT) **during the period 2014-2022**.³ We have also attempted a **comparison with the trends we observed in our 2014 study of similar data for the period 2001-2013**.

Part-2 of our study report contains our findings about the manner of disposal of cases of rape and rape/gangrape with murder by the police and trial courts across the country. Part-3 of our study report contains our findings about the district-wise incidence of cases of rape during the period 2015-2022 for which data is available in a uniform manner.

Part-1 of our study report below covers the following segments:

- *Macro-level findings regarding reported rape cases*
- *Macro-level findings regarding reported rape/gang rape with murder cases*
- *State and UT-wise trends of reported rape cases*
- *Percentage change in the volume of rape cases reported between 2001 and 2022*
- *State and UT-wise incidence of reported rape/gangrape with murder cases*
- *Trends with regard to the caste profile of rape cases and survivors*

1) Macro-level findings regarding reported rape cases: According to the NCRB data⁴, **between 2014 and 2022, a total of 2,99,520 cases of rape** were reported across the 28 States and

² NCRB terms this category of crimes as 'murder with rape/gang rape' which is based on the rule of 'principal offence' (offence which attracts the highest punishment). We have reversed the order of these words because in almost all cases it is the offence of rape which is committed first by the perpetrator(s) followed by murder in a bid to silence the victim forever.

³ Similar data for the year 2023 is yet to be published by the NCRB.

⁴ In our 2014 preliminary study we had utilised statistics relating to the offence of rape from both NCRB's CII annual reports published on its website and decadal datasets published in the form of machine readable and analysable data on the Union Government's Open Data Portal- <https://data.gov.in>. Around that time CHRI served as a member of the Task Force set up by the Union Government to develop a licensing policy for the use of open data published on this website. One of the recommendations we made was that datasets once published must not be taken down nor the practice of publishing similar datasets for subsequent years be given up. A decade later we note with regret that the CII decadal datasets are not available either on NCRB's own website (it began the good practice of publishing open datasets a few years ago) or on the Open Data Portal. In fact, there is no easily discernible method to the manner in which NCRB's open datasets are thrown up in the search results. A viewer is most likely to find a dataset from 2021 as the first search result followed by the next one from the 1990s and the third from the 1950s. The Open Data Portal must be organised a lot better while displaying search results instead of the unorganised "data dumping" effect that one gets to see currently.

8 UTs⁵ in India. This amounts to almost **10% (9.77%)** increase in absolute numbers over the cumulative figure of **2,72,844 cases reported during the period between 2001-2013** which we had studied in 2014. In other words, while the **annual average was 20,988 cases during that 13-year period**, the **annual average for the later 9-year period works out to 33,280 cases**. This is an **increase of almost 37% (36.94%)**⁶. In other words, **on an average more than 91 rapes occurred every day** during this period and the **hourly average works out to almost four cases**. Between **2001-2013 the daily average** worked out to a **little more than 57 cases** and the **hourly average** was a **little more than two cases**. The only comfort that can be derived is from the fact that while the number of **cases more than doubled between 2001 and 2014**, the **number of cases has remained within the 30,000s** except in 2020 during the **2014-2022** period. The **highest figure of 38,947** was reported in **2018** while the **lowest figure of 28,406** was reported in **2020** during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic.⁷ It must also be borne in mind that there will be many more cases of rape which might not have been reported to the police at all due to the social stigma that often attaches to the survivors because of the persistent patriarchal and feudal mindset that holds women and girls primarily responsible for their safety because “boys will be boys”.⁸

The comparative picture of the year-wise number of rape cases reported across the country for both periods under study is given in **Table 1** below.

⁵ In 2014 there were 29 States and 7 UTs in India. In 2024 the erstwhile State of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) is included in this study as two UTs on account of its bifurcation into J&K and Ladakh in 2019. The Union Government merged the two UTs of Daman and Diu and Dadra Nagar Haveli into one in 2020.

⁶ Identifying the reasons behind this increase in absolute and comparative figures is beyond the limited scope of this study. However, it is possible to point to at least two contributing factors with some degree of confidence because of the changes made in the penal law based on the recommendations of the Justice Verma Committee: **a)** the expansion of the scope of the crime of ‘rape’ and **b)** the inclusion of a penal provision to punish a police official for failing to register a first information report about an instance of rape. In other words, the expansion of the scope of the offence to include acts that were not criminalized as ‘rape’ prior to 2013 and the compulsion placed on the police to register an FIR in such cases on pain of penalty (imprisonment for a period ranging from a minimum of six months to a maximum of two years) might have a role to play in the increase in reported figures. Further, it is also our hypothesis that the plummeting trend in the completion of investigation of such cases, and the completion of trials could be the explanatory causes for the increasing number of cases. The slow pace of trials and lack of certainty of punishment for committing rape may also be contributing to the atmosphere of impunity which encourages potential perpetrators. We discuss this matter in Part-2 of our preliminary study. However, whether they are reasons sufficient for explaining the quantum of increase requires an in-depth study of the records of each case.

⁷ However, an undeniable trend of increase in violence against women was reported from many countries around the world and attributed to the lockdown imposed to combat the pandemic. See: ‘COVID-19 and Violence against Women: What the Data Tells Us’, 24 November 2021, accessible on the website of UNWOMEN at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/feature-story/2021/11/covid-19-and-violence-against-women-what-the-data-tells-us#:~:text=1,-,The%20numbers%20vary%20across%20countries%20and%20demographics%2C%20but%20overall%2C%20the,some%20point%20in%20their%20lifetime.>, accessed on 24 August 2024. This study did not include India. However a study based on the data related to complaints of violence against women registered by the National Commission for Women during the pandemic shows a more than 50% increase in such cases as compared with the pre-pandemic years. See: Kumar, Piyush and Anupama, Advocate, “Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic on Prevalence of Complaints Related to Violence against Women in India - A Cross-Sectional Comparative Research Study from 2014 to 2022?” (February 14, 2022). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4034155> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4034155>, accessed on 24 August 2024.

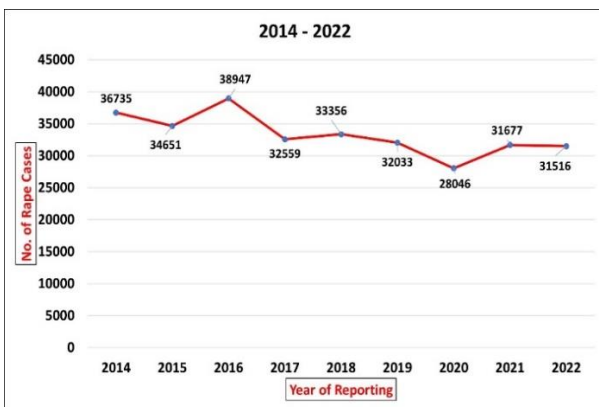
⁸ Bharatiya Stri Shakti, “Tackling Violence Against Women: A Study of State Intervention Measures”, accessible on the website of the Union Ministry for Women and Child Development, New Delhi at: <https://ijip.in/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/14-B00254V2112014.pdf>, accessed on 24 August, 2024.

Table 1

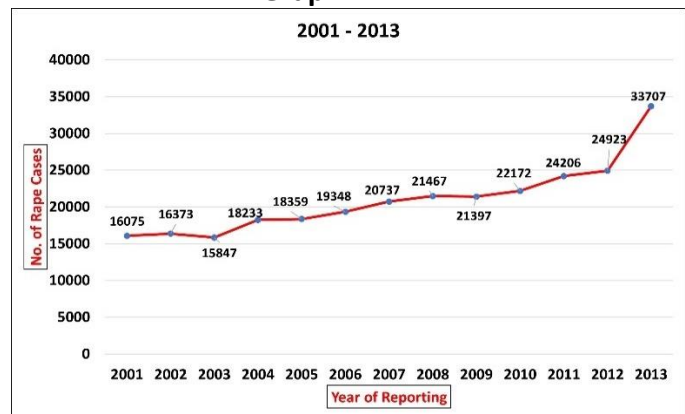
2014 - 2022		2001- 2013	
Year	Cases	Year	Cases
2014	36735	2001	16075
2015	34651	2002	16373
2016	38947	2003	15847
2017	32559	2004	18233
2018	33356	2005	18359
2019	32033	2006	19348
2020	28046	2007	20737
2021	31677	2008	21467
2022	31516	2009	21397
Total	299520	2010	22172
		2011	24206
		2012	24923
		2013	33707
		Total	272844

However, a comparison between the year-on-year data for the two periods under study indicate what appears to be a more positive trend. During the **9-year period** between 2014-2022 there were **five years** in which the **number of reported cases dipped** (2015, 2017, 2019, 2020 and 2022). In contrast, during the **previous 13-year period** between **2001-2013** there were **only two years** (2003 and 2009) in which the number of **reported cases dipped**. See **Graphs 1 and 2** below.

Graph 1



Graph 2



2) Macro-level findings regarding reported rape/gang rape with murder cases: NCRB began reporting statistics about rape or gang rape followed by murder from the year 2017. By NCRB’s own admission, only murder would be reported from such incidents for inclusion in its annual CII reports before 2017, under the rule of ‘principal offence’ (offence which attracts the highest punishment). Comparative data is available for six years up to 2022. A total of **1,551 cases** were reported under this category **between 2017 and 2022**. This works out to an **annual average of a little more than 258 cases**. The **highest number of cases – 294** was reported in **2018** and the

lowest- 219 in 2020. In other words, **on an average, almost five cases (4.96) of rape/gangrape with murder have occurred every week** during the 6-year period for which data is available. There was a decline of **22%** in this category of cases during the first year of the pandemic when compared with the immediately preceding year (whereas, cases of rape declined **by only 12.44%** in comparison). The tabulated year-wise number of cases in this category reported across the country is given below.

Table 2

Nation-wide number of reported rape/gangrape with murder cases					
2017 – 2022					
Year		Cases	Year		Cases
2017		223	2020		219
2018		294	2021		284
2019		283	2022		248
Total = 1551					

3) State and UT-wise trends of reported rape cases: A comparative analysis of the datasets for the two periods i.e., 2014-2022 and 2001-2013 reveals very intriguing trends with regard to the number of rape cases reported. The comparative picture of cases of rape reported in each State and UT is given in **Table 3** below in descending order for both periods.

Table 3

Comparison between the No. of Reported Rape Cases – Highest to Lowest					
2014 - 2022			2001 - 2013		
State/Union Territory	Cases	% of All India Total	State/Union Territory	Cases	% of All India Total
RAJASTHAN	41742	13.94	MADHYA PRADESH	40422	14.82
MADHYA PRADESH	36144	12.07	WEST BENGAL	22472	8.24
UTTAR PRADESH	31869	10.64	UTTAR PRADESH	22108	8.10
MAHARASHTRA	25606	8.55	MAHARASHTRA	21049	7.71
ASSAM	15188	5.07	RAJASTHAN	19083	6.99
ODISHA	14713	4.91	ASSAM	18115	6.64
CHHATTISGARH	13206	4.41	ANDHRA PRADESH	15114	5.54
KERALA	12452	4.16	BIHAR	14252	5.22
HARYANA	12182	4.07	ODISHA	13262	4.86
JHARKHAND	10676	3.56	CHHATTISGARH	13218	4.84
WEST BENGAL	10359	3.46	JHARKHAND	10363	3.80
ANDHRA PRADESH	8931	2.98	KERALA	8668	3.18
TELANGANA	7794	2.60	TAMIL NADU	7875	2.89
BIHAR	7635	2.55	HARYANA	7381	2.71
KARNATAKA	6765	2.26	PUNJAB	6347	2.33

2014 - 2022			2001 - 2013		
PUNJAB	6551	2.19	KARNATAKA	6204	2.27
GUJARAT	5569	1.86	GUJARAT	4981	1.83
UTTARAKHAND	4238	1.41	JAMMU & KASHMIR	3188	1.17
TAMIL NADU	3403	1.14	TRIPURA	2291	0.84
HIMACHAL PRADESH	2779	0.93	HIMACHAL PRADESH	2054	0.75
TRIPURA	1141	0.38	UTTARAKHAND	1606	0.59
MEGHALAYA	926	0.31	MEGHALAYA	1203	0.44
GOA	656	0.22	MIZORAM	915	0.34
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	652	0.22	ARUNACHAL PRADESH	575	0.21
MANIPUR	404	0.13	MANIPUR	459	0.17
MIZORAM	391	0.13	GOA	436	0.16
SIKKIM	221	0.07	NAGALAND	251	0.09
NAGALAND	134	0.04	SIKKIM	238	0.09
Total States	282327		Total States	264130	
DELHI					
DELHI	13606	4.54	DELHI	8060	2.95
JAMMU & KASHMIR					
JAMMU & KASHMIR	2567	0.86	CHANDIGARH	326	0.12
CHANDIGARH					
CHANDIGARH	674	0.23	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	136	0.05
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS					
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	183	0.06	PUDUCHERRY	94	0.03
DAMAN & DIU, DADRA & NAGARHAVELI					
DAMAN & DIU, DADRA & NAGARHAVELI	84	0.03	DAMAN & DIU, DADRA & NAGARHAVELI	61	0.02
PUDUCHERRY					
PUDUCHERRY	55	0.02	DAMAN & DIU	28	0.01
LAKSHADWEEP					
LAKSHADWEEP	15	0.01	LAKSHADWEEP	9	0.003
LADAKH					
LADAKH	9	0.003	Total UTs	8714	
Total UTs	17193				
All India Total = 299520			All India Total = 272844		

- Rajasthan tops the list accounting for almost 14% of rape cases (41,742) reported across the country during the period 2014-2022, followed by Madhya Pradesh (MP) with a little more than 12% of the cases (36,144). Uttar Pradesh (UP) takes third position with more than 10% of the cases (31,869) followed by Maharashtra (25,606) and Assam (15,188) in 4th place and 5th places respectively during this period. Together, these five States account for more than half (50.26%) of all the rape cases reported across the country between the years 2014-2022. No State from the southern or eastern region of India figures in this list. Goa along with Sikkim and the remaining six States from the northeastern region figure at the bottom of this list;**
- It is intriguing to note that in the preceding period of 2001-2013, MP had topped the list of States reporting the highest number of rapes (40,422) accounting for almost 15% of the country-wide cases followed by West Bengal with a little more than 8% of the cases (22,472). UP (22,108) and MP (21,049) took third and fourth positions during this period also with a**

more than 8% each respectively. **Rajasthan was at 5th position with almost 7% cases (19,083)** during this period. Taken together these five States accounted for only 45.86% of all the rape cases reported across the country between the years 2001-2013. In the next section we will analyse the proportion of change in the number of cases reported to get a clearer picture of States that have done better or worse;

- **Delhi tops the list of UTs** accounting for **13,606 cases followed by J&K with 2,567 cases** reported during the period 2014-2022. **Ladakh reported the least number of cases** during this period. During the period 2001-2013 also Delhi topped the list of UTs in terms of the number of cases reported. Because of the downgrading the erstwhile State of J&K to a UT, **Chandigarh is at third position** during the period 2014-2022 or else it would have remained in 2nd position just like during the period 2001-2013.

- 4) **Percentage change in the volume of rape cases reported between 2001 and 2022:** When the cumulative figures for the periods under study are compared, the total number of cases reported from 14 States and four UTs increased in the 9-year period between 2014-22 whereas there was a dip in the remaining States and UTs. See **Table 4** below.

Table 4

Percentage change in the Volume of Rape Cases – Highest to Lowest				
#	State/Union Territory	2001-2013	2014-2022	% Change
1	UTTARAKHAND	1606	4238	163.89%
2	RAJASTHAN	19083	41742	118.74%
3	CHANDIGARH	326	674	106.75%
4	DELHI	8060	13606	68.81%
5	LAKSHADWEEP	9	15	66.67%
6	HARYANA	7381	12182	65.05%
7	GOA	436	656	50.46%
8	UTTAR PRADESH	22108	31869	44.15%
9	KERALA	8668	12452	43.65%
10	HIMACHAL PRADESH	2054	2779	35.30%
11	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	136	183	34.56%
12	MAHARASHTRA	21049	25606	21.65%
13	ARUNACHAL PRADESH	575	652	13.39%
14	GUJARAT	4981	5569	11.80%
15	ODISHA	13262	14713	10.94%
16	KARNATAKA	6204	6765	9.04%
17	PUNJAB	6347	6551	3.21%
18	JHARKHAND	10363	10676	3.02%
19	CHHATTISGARH	13218	13206	-0.09%
20	DAMAN & DIU, DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	89	84	-5.62%

#	State/Union Territory	2001-2013	2014-2022	% Change
21	SIKKIM	238	221	-7.14%
22	MADHYA PRADESH	40422	36144	-10.58%
23	MANIPUR	459	404	-11.98%
24	ASSAM	18115	15188	-16.16%
25	JAMMU & KASHMIR	3188	2567	-19.48%
26	MEGHALAYA	1203	926	-23.03%
27	ANDHRA PRADESH	15114	8931	-40.91%
28	PUDUCHERRY	94	55	-41.49%
29	BIHAR	14252	7635	-46.43%
30	NAGALAND	251	134	-46.61%
31	TRIPURA	2291	1141	-50.20%
32	WEST BENGAL	22472	10359	-53.90%
33	TAMIL NADU	7875	3403	-56.79%
34	MIZORAM	915	391	-57.27%

Note:

- The data for Andhra Pradesh (AP) from 2001 to 2013 covers the erstwhile undivided State. Telangana was carved out of the undivided AP and came into existence on 02 June, 2014. So, the data for the years 2014-2022 covers the successor State of AP.
- As for Telangana, 979 rape cases were reported in 2014 and 814 in 2022. This is a dip of almost 17%.
- The data for J&K for the year 2001 is from the undivided State which included Ladakh but the data for the year 2022 is from the UT of J&K only.
- The UT of Ladakh which was carved out of J&K in October 2019, reported two cases in 2020 but five cases in 2022. This is an increase of 150% during the three-year period between 2020-2022.
- The UTs of Daman, Diu and Dadra Nagar Haveli were merged in 2020.

- The highest percentage increase in cumulative figures is observed in **Uttarakhand**. There is an **almost 164% increase in the number of cases reported during the 9-year period in 2014-2022** as compared with the previous 13-year period. Similarly, the number of cases reported during the 2014-2022 period more than doubled in **Rajasthan (118.74%)** and **Chandigarh (106.75%)**;
- The **increase was more than 50%** in the States of **Haryana (65.05%)**, and **Goa (50.46%)** and **the UTs of Delhi (68.81%)** and **Lakshadweep (66.67%)** although Lakshadweep's cumulative total is in double-digit figures only;
- The least amount of increase in the cumulative figures for the period 2014-2022 i.e., **less than 10%** was reported from **Jharkhand (3.02%)**, **Punjab (3.21%)** and **Karnataka (9.04%)**;
- The sharpest **decline in cumulative figures** i.e., **more than 50%** is in the States of **Mizoram (57.27%)**, **Tamil Nadu (56.79%)**, **West Bengal (53.90%)** and **Tripura (50.20%)**;
- Both **Nagaland (46.61%)** and **Bihar (46.43%)** reported a **dip of more than 45%** while **AP (almost 41%)** and **Puducherry (41.49%)** reported a decline of more than 40%;

- **Madhya Pradesh** which had topped the list of States with the largest number of cases of rape reported during the period 2001-2013 also witnessed a **decline of more than 10%** during the period 2014-2022.

The reasons for the increase in the cumulative figures in the 14 States and four UTs requires a deeper study to understand the causal factors. Similarly, another study in the States and UTs which witnessed a substantial decline in cumulative figures is required to understand what is it that they are doing right or if the decline is merely because of deliberate under-reporting of cases.

5) State and UT-wise incidence of reported rape/gangrape with murder cases: NCRB began reporting on this category of crimes only 2017 onwards. So, we do not have comparable data from the previous period even though such crimes did occur according to media reports. It is shocking to note that every State and UT with the exception of Lakshadweep has reported the occurrence of one or more cases of rape/gangrape with murder during the 6-year period between 2017-2022. See **Table 5** below;

- **UP** reported the **highest number of cases (280)** in this category. **MP** with **207** cases takes **second position** followed by **Assam** occupying the **third spot** with **205** cases. **Maharashtra** with **155** cases and **Karnataka** with **79** cases take the **fourth and fifth spot** respectively. Rape/gangrape with murder cases were reported in every year during the period 2017-2022 in the States of **UP, Assam, MP, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Odisha, Telangana, Haryana, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu** and **West Bengal**. See **Table 5** below.

Table 5

Country-wide Number of Reported Cases of Rape/Gangrape with Murder							
2017-2022							
STATE/UT	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Total
ANDHRA PRADESH	6	4	6	5	2	8	31
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
ASSAM	27	66	26	26	46	14	205
BIHAR	0	9	4	3	0	0	16
CHHATTISGARH	3	10	3	8	8	7	39
GOA	2	1	0	1	0	1	5
GUJARAT	4	6	7	7	7	12	43
HARYANA	8	26	6	2	11	8	61
HIMACHAL PRADESH	7	7	13	8	0	2	37
JHARKHAND	6	7	4	9	20	7	53
KARNATAKA	7	16	23	7	18	8	79
KERALA	4	1	14	1	2	2	24
MADHYA PRADESH	21	46	37	27	35	41	207
MAHARASHTRA	26	17	47	20	23	22	155
MANIPUR	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
MEGHALAYA	0	4	6	2	4	1	17

STATE/UT	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	TOTAL
MIZORAM	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
NAGALAND	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
ODISHA	9	1	3	18	12	14	57
PUNJAB	3	4	0	5	4	3	19
RAJASTHAN	4	6	7	8	14	9	48
SIKKIM	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
TAMIL NADU	2	4	8	3	5	6	28
TELANGANA	3	6	20	14	12	7	62
TRIPURA	2	0	0	2	1	5	10
UTTAR PRADESH	64	41	34	31	48	62	280
UTTARAKHAND	1	2	2	0	0	1	6
WEST BENGAL	3	6	6	9	5	5	34
TOTAL (STATES)	213	291	277	218	278	245	1522
A & N ISLANDS	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
CHANDIGARH	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
DAMAN & DIU, DADRA NAGAR HAVELI	0	0	0	0	3	2	5
DELHI	6	3	5	1	2	0	17
JAMMU & KASHMIR	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
LAKSHADWEEP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUDUCHERRY	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
TOTAL (UTs)	10	3	6	1	6	3	29
TOTAL (ALL-INDIA)	223	294	283	219	284	248	1551

6) **Trends with regard to the caste profile of rape cases and survivors:** NCRB publishes data with regard to cases of rape registered under the applicable provisions of the *Indian Penal Code, 1860* as well those under the *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act), 1989* (SC/ST PoA Act) where the survivors belong to the SC & ST communities. Since 2017, it has also begun publishing the number of women and girl survivors of rape belonging to these communities. These datasets are helpful for analysing the caste profile of survivors, although, data with regard to survivors belonging to other castes is not publicly available. By subtracting SC/ST communities-related data from the country-wide numbers it is possible to deduce the number of survivors who do not belong to these two communities. The figures compiled from NCRB's datasets spread across its CII reports are given in **Table 6** below;

- **The trend since 2014 with regard to the number of cases where women and girl children of the SC/ST communities have been targeted by culprits, is worrisome, to say the least.** Rape cases registered under the SC/ST PoA Act also, constituted **only 6.08%** of the total number of cases registered that year. However, **this proportion had more than doubled (13.46%) by 2022.** There was a **dip** in the number of cases reported under this Act **only once in 2017.** **Contrary to the declining trend of rape cases in general in 2020** i.e., the first year of the pandemic, the **rape cases in the SC/ST category actually increased to 12.08% from 10.88% recorded in the previous year.** See **Column #2 of Table 6** below;

Table 6

Caste-Profile of Rape Cases 2014-2022			
Year	Total no. of rape cases	No. of rape cases under SC/ST PoA Act	% of SC/ST rape cases Col. (3) as a % of Col. (2)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2014	36735	2233	6.08%
2015	34651	2336	6.74%
2016	38947	3515	9.03%
2017	32559	2714	8.34%
2018	33356	2936	8.80%
2019	32033	3486	10.88%
2020	28046	3372	12.02%
2021	31677	3870	12.22%
2022	31516	4241	13.46%
Total	299520	28703	9.58%

- The year-on-year percentage change in the overall number of rape cases reported across the country as compared with the percentage change in the number of cases in the SC/ST category is illustrated in Table 6 above and Graph 3 below. While the country-wide number of rape cases reported fell in five years (as compared to the previous year's figures) i.e., in 2015, 2017, 2019, 2020 and 2022 during the period under study, cases in the SC/ST category fell only twice in 2017 and 2020. In 2022- the most recent year for which data is available, there was a slight dip (-0.51%) in the overall figures reported across the country, it increased by 9.59% in the SC/ST category. Are more survivors of SC/ST communities coming out to report such cases because of their increasing confidence in the criminal justice system or is the trend of sexual predation of these communities on the rise? It is necessary to conduct an in-depth study of these contrasting trends to ascertain the underlying factors.

Graph 3

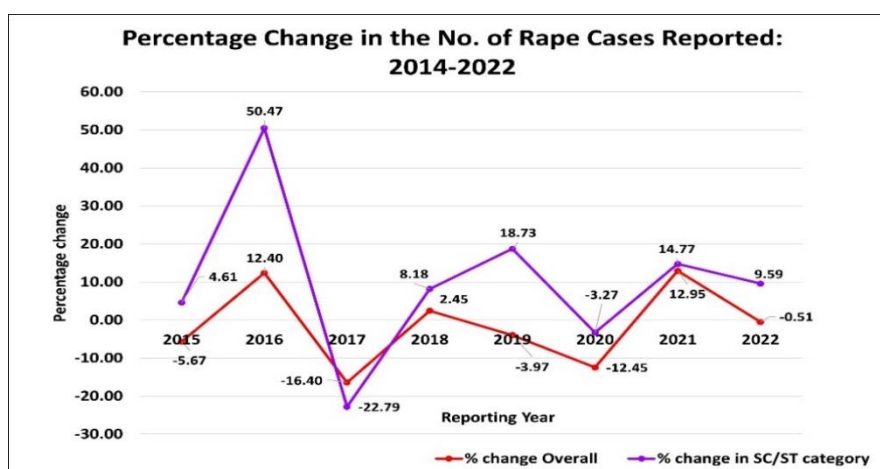
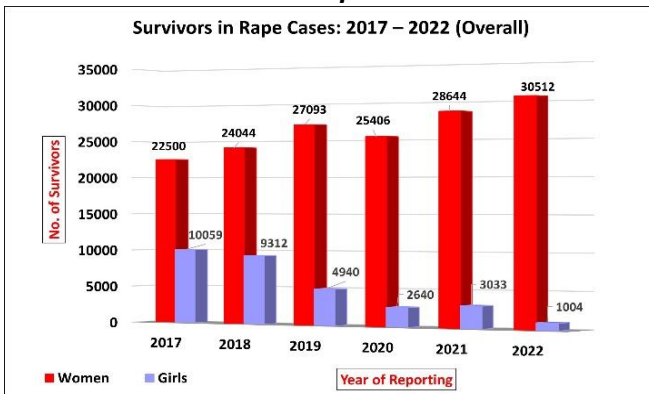


Table 7

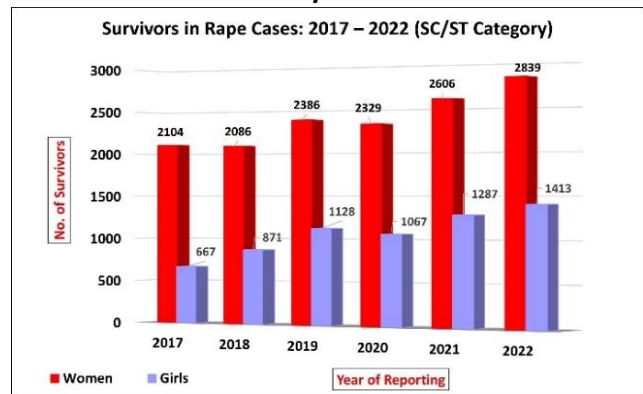
Caste-Profile of Survivors of Rape 2017-2022					
Year	Total no. of survivors	No. of SC/ST survivors	% of SC/ST survivors Col (3) as a % of Col. (2)	SC/ST Women survivors (18 years and above)	SC/ST girl child survivors (below 18 years)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
2017	32559	2771	8.51%	2104	667
2018	33356	2957	8.86%	2086	871
2019	32033	3514	10.97%	2386	1128
2020	28046	3396	12.11%	2329	1067
2021	31677	3893	12.29%	2606	1287
2022	31516	4252	13.49%	2839	1413
Total	189187	20783	11%	14350	6433

- An even more worrisome trend is with regard to the proportion of women and girl children among the survivors. As mentioned above, survivor data is uniformly available across the country **only for the years 2017-2022**. See **Graphs 4 and 5** below. **While the number of women survivors across the country dipped only once during the year 2020, the number of girl children who are survivors has dipped in all years except in 2021 during the 6-year period.** However, when the sub-set of SC/ST survivors who are girl children is taken into account, **the trend is one of increase in all years except 2020-** the first year of the pandemic. This figure reached an **all-time high of 1,413 girl children survivors in 2022;**
- However, it must also be pointed out that the NCRB’s data tables from which statistics have been drawn to prepare the graphs below, there is glaring inconsistency. While in Table 3A.2(i) of Vol. 1 of NCRB’s CII reports data about the overall survivors (women and girl children is given) data about women and girl child survivors belonging to the SC/ST community is presented in Table 7A.2 of Vol. 2 published in every year. So, for the year 2022, while Table 3A.2(i) shows only 1,004 girl children as survivors in the overall category, in Table 7A.2, 1,413 girl children are counted as survivors in the SC/ST category. Both figures cannot be true. NCRB must clarify the reasons for the inconsistency between these figures.

Graph 4



Graph 5



Conclusion

Have the 2013 amendments to the criminal law been effective in curbing the incidence of the crime of rape? The data indicates that while some States have been able to bring down their cumulative figures in others the number of cases has only risen. NCRB's reports do not indicate anything about the phenomenon of burking of crimes by the police i.e., when the police refuse to register an FIR based on the information about the crime or register an offence which invites lesser punishment. In States and UTs where the number of reported cases has risen is it because of improved police attitudes towards the survivors or are the number of incidents increasing rapidly year after year? This requires an in-depth analysis of the case records and interviews with the police. We sincerely hope, organisations with the means to conduct such a study and academia take this preliminary study of ours as the basis to commence such in-depth inquiries.

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