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OF ECONOMICS AND  
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■

Report back to MASUM based on Dissertation:

What is the role of MASUM in promoting women's agency in situations of Domestic  
Violence?

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**Research Question** - What is the role of MASUM in promoting women's agency in situations of Domestic Violence?

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## Abstract

Despite the Millennium Development Goals' focus on women's empowerment and the donor and NGO world contributing significant resources to raising women's standards of living, one in three women in India still experience Domestic Violence (hereafter referred to as DV) (Decker et al 2013, WHO, 2013).

This study aimed to advance our understandings of women's many ways of responding in situations of DV – both home-grown coping strategies and those enhanced by participation in MASUM. MASUM is an organisation with an integrated approach to furthering women's health based in Pune, India. Such an approach seeks to promote the participation of grassroots women – many themselves survivors of DV - at every stage of programme design and implementation. This is in contrast to a more top-down approach – where programmes are designed and implemented by outside experts - as is the case in many social development organisations.

Whilst participatory approaches are widely regarded as 'best practice' within the field of DV intervention and policy world-wide, there are relatively few case studies that explore the pathways between such participation and the potential for participant empowerment. This is particularly the case in India, home to a great many NGOs and organisations that seek to tackle the extremely negative impacts of gender inequalities.

This study seeks to map out some of the psycho-social pathways between participation in MASUM and the agency of women involved in the organization, either as volunteers or as beneficiaries. Particular emphasis is placed on the way in which MASUM works with women to redefine gender and other culturally embedded assumptions that disempower women, and to strengthen their many forms of social capital from peer to political levels.

I used qualitative research with women experiencing DV - a marginalised and hard to reach group; eleven interviews with MASUM support members (women who have experienced DV in their own lives), five interviews with unpaid volunteers who were previously support members and now assist in facilitating programme activities, three paid staff members and the two founders of the organization, who played a key role in the organization since it was founded in 1987. I also spent three weeks observing the organization and taking detailed field notes – I spent time in the MASUM offices and attended two large support group meetings

run in the style of focus groups – one with a long running support group and one with a newly established one.

My key findings cluster around three themes. Firstly the way in which participation in MASUM enables women – both individually and collectively – to challenge social and cultural issues such as poverty, honour, caste and patriarchy that perpetuate issues of DV in the community. Secondly the multiple examples of agency practiced by highly disempowered women, spanning a spectrum from coping (taking or providing shelter from violent partners) to resistance (living as a single woman) and aiming for social change (re-education on youth rights). The third theme focuses on factors that facilitate and hinder MASUM in its strategy in order to report back on potential ways forward for the organisation.

As MASUM creates change in communities and moves forward into new areas it is meeting new challenges such as pressure on youths. In response, it is creating greater networks for youth rights advocacy.

This case study of MASUM is a novel contribution to the literature on domestic violence interventions in India. This is because by participation in MASUM women carefully challenge the social and cultural norms in their own lives at multiple levels, allowing the kind of agency that is meaningful to them in their lives to emerge.

From an academic perspective the study also seeks to contribute to the ‘social psychology of participation’ through providing empirical illustrations of the way in which an organisation enhances women’s agency through improved social identities, social representations and social capital (Campbell & Jovchelovitch 2000). This is newly applied to the concept of agency as the outcome.

**Keywords** – Women, India, Domestic Violence, Agency

## Introduction

### Research Question

The research question for this dissertation emerged from the gap in the literature, as I will explain below, and is **“what is the role of MASUM in promoting women’s agency in situations of Domestic Violence?”** This is really a series of smaller research questions as I will go on to explain in the analysis section.

### Definitions of Key Terms

For clarity I have placed definitions of a variety of key terms mentioned throughout the thesis here. They are defined either by my own definition or the academic contribution to which I subscribe (noted alongside). Where they are more academic terms the origin is mentioned in more details in the literature and theory sections:

- Agency – a complex term, at the core of this study, explained in further detail using a variety of literature to start and then redefined by me in the discussion. Thus the definition of agency for the purposes of this study is the finding – agency as any action that women take to respond to DV either directly (reporting) or indirectly (teaching children about gender), arranged across a continuum of survival to resistance.
- Public – concerning people outside their homes, in their social settings
- Private – concerning people within their homes
- Social – relating to society, gathering with peers or in groups
- Individual – single, particular person
- Joined-up – the coherence, coordination and integration of (services)
- Empowerment – to be given more influence or control over specific portion of your life
- Domestic Violence – violent or aggressive behaviour against a known member of family/close social group usually within the home but sometimes spilling into public
- Beneficiary – one of the informants I interviewed who was not a volunteer for MASUM

- Volunteer – one of the informants I interviewed who had participated in MASUM training to move from beneficiary to support worker
- Honour – the importance of dignity within social groups and the sense of prioritising what the community thinks of your social group
- Cultural Issues – the social beliefs that influence behaviour such as feelings towards honour, caste, marriage
- Structural Violence – “a form of violence wherein some social structure or social institution may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs” Galtung 1969
- Bonding, bridging and linking social capital – In the theory section I explain social capital in terms of theory relating to Putnam and Bourdieu. But in essence social capital is defined as the many relationships that have value in people’s lives in order to help or hinder them.

### **New Approach to the Problem of Domestic Violence**

At the core of this research is a case study of an organisation, MASUM, working in a community with marginalised women where domestic violence (DV) exists. The organisation encourages women to utilise available legal, welfare and other interventions in a joined-up way, thus making the most of their available responses and strengthening these through participation in the organisation at a community level. This is novel because the women here are the most marginalised by social and economic issues and are hard to reach at any level other than through community work. The topic and perpetrators of DV are also taboo topics and hard to study.

There is a great deal of literature available and a high number of organisations working globally, in India and in Maharashtra specifically on the issue of DV. However, the focus is on the prevalence of problems associated with DV, such as HIV transmission or an emphasis on interventions including leaving the marital home, or legal solutions as the end points of a successful intervention and as evidence for women’s agency.

For many academics and activists of community work, community mobilisation is seen quite narrowly, as Campbell and Cornish describe, in ‘a third generation way’ - encouraging *individuals* to work on their own awareness or with peers towards ‘community mobilisation’ to make changes and advocate for better

lives (Campbell & Cornish, 2010). However, in marginalised settings there is a call for what the authors term a ‘receptive social environment’ that looks at more than simply mobilising local people or ‘building voice’ but tackles the problem in its wider context. This is achieved by building an amenable *social* setting – ‘materially’ (‘economics and poverty’), ‘symbolically’ (‘meanings and worldviews’), ‘relationally’ (hierarchies, ‘networks’ and ‘relationships’) and ‘institutionally’ (‘partners’ and influence) wherever possible – this is a fourth generation approach. (Campbell, Cornish, Gibbs, & Scott, 2010; Campbell & Cornish, 2010). It is important to note that this fourth generation paper focused on the AIDS response at a particular moment in time. India has been quite leading in other areas of gender work.

MASUM is distinctive within community approaches to DV as it is working to take a fourth generation approach. This not only builds the ‘voice’ and confidence of the most marginalised women through participation in the community but also seeks to address the context of the problem, the way that domestic violence exists at the intersection of cultural beliefs such as gender inequality and honour. As my findings will show MASUM does this by creating more ‘receptive social environments’ through a range of material (women’s loans and microcredit), symbolic (support group meetings on gender equality), relational (encouraging husbands and wives to have both their names outside their family home to show joint ownership) and institutional (engage with politicians) ways (Campbell & Cornish 2010).

### **Context of Study - Background to MASUM**

In explaining the gap that I hope to add to with this research and why the community approach, via MASUM is different, I would now like to give some context to the study via a background to MASUM’s aims and strategies.

MASUM is a very valuable organisation to explore my research question because it has been established for nearly thirty years and aims to do community work in an integrated way, with marginalised women in specific villages, understanding that you cannot isolate certain issues such as DV from other problems that marginalised people experience. This is a starting assumption. This project will go beyond this to explain

how participation in MASUM enhances agency in women's lives. It will look at how MASUM addresses some of the issues that make DV rife.

Please note that a lot of the information in this section on MASUM comes from my time spent with them, my field notes and their website which contains a great deal of information on their programme areas: (<http://www.masum-india.org.in/html/programmes.html>) Further detail on the history of MASUM and the wider policy context in which they operate is available in Appendix 6.

It is important to say that MASUM's goals and strategies link well with the division of the literature as I will show below. They work to challenge and address the cultural causes of DV such as caste and patriarchy and their responses assimilate the state and NGO responses such as legal, welfare and health. However, MASUM then goes further with context specific community work such as forums for youth rights discussions.

During interviews to set the scene of MASUM's work, volunteers and staff made mention of the journey of a woman who encountered MASUM – “from victim to survivor to agent of change”. This was an informal statement of what I presupposed on meeting the organisation. It is not a finding but a useful indicator to keep in mind alongside the theory of the Social Psychology of Participation that will guide my research and the coding framework.

### **MASUM's Goals**

MASUM aims to raise awareness of their rights or as their website says ‘strengthening people's perspectives on democracy, equality, secularism and social justice.’ MASUM aims to raise awareness of women's rights via specific goals listed on their website:



## Strategies

MASUM has a number of strategies to address issues of women's development via specific programmatic themes, also listed on their website:



Screenshots taken from MASUM website on 7<sup>th</sup> August 2015. (<http://www.masum-india.org.in>)

### **Personal Motivation, Reflexivity**

I am a mixed-race woman. I studied law, specialising in human rights and international law, with a view to social change. Having been brought up in the UK by a Muslim father I have seen the complex issues that surround home lives where issues of race and religion impact people. The opportunity to research women's DV in a complex setting with religious, caste, and other cultural issues in rural India and in the context of a potentially positive case study was of great personal and professional interest.

## Literature Review

### Empirical Literature Review

#### My approach to a complicated, thick literature and the definition of agency

I undertook this complex literature review in three main stages; A scopus search, a manual search and a review of certain fourth search terms (in table A below) that were connected to ‘agency’. The table formed the catalogue of literature at the end of this section. This is how the headings from the table of search terms below fit with a novel approach.

Firstly, in February 2015 I did a Scopus search. The three terms ‘women’, ‘India’, ‘Domestic Violence’ in the ‘abstract, keyword or title’ identified 291 articles. Including the word ‘agency’ as my fourth term reduced this to 15 articles. The majority of these 15 articles explored agency in terms of the individual’s choice to commit suicide or lack of agency (defined as an individual’s free will in relation to decisions over their on lives). Madhok would refer to this as an individual-focused, ‘neoliberal’ notion of agency (Madhok and Rai 2012).

Immediately I identified a gap in terms of a wider definition of the term ‘agency’ including all the combined ways women live in situations of DV. From my studies in health, community and development I have read articles such as those about the lives of AIDS-affected children in Zimbabwe (Campbell et al. 2015) which encouraged a critical look at what exactly agency is for vulnerable groups. The definition included multiple, disparate examples of agency in difficult life settings. I searched for a definition of agency that included looking at gender, protected persons or more vulnerable (socially and economically) people’s self definition and also took on a social meaning amongst the community. This is what I needed for a study looking at women’s agency in situations of domestic violence.

As such the definition of agency to which I intend to contribute is guided by three sources which speak closely to the definition I intend to contribute to: Firstly, Ahearn who says that the language on agency needs redefining to include non-individualist meanings and is affected by ideas of privilege including gender (Ahearn

in Maxwell and Aggleton 2013; Ahearn 2001). Secondly by Campbell and colleagues' work on AIDS-affected children's agency in Zimbabwe, informed by Sen's understanding of agency (Sen 1999) - that notions of agency need to take 'greater account of children's own accounts of outcomes they value, rather than identifying agency in any form of independent reflection and action per se'. (Campbell et al. 2015). Thirdly by Marcus and Kitayama's focus on 'cultural agency' where 'individuals interpret, experience and create meaning in their social worlds' so that agency is not understood as a 'disjointed' concept (Marcus & Kityama in Berman & Murphy Berman 2003).

Together, these three contributions to a definition of agency - ideas of privilege on gender, people's own accounts of outcomes they value, social worlds agency all speak to the kind of agency I wished to contribute to by researching MASUM's work with women who experienced domestic violence.

Thus the definition of agency for the purposes of this study is the finding – agency as any action that women take to respond to DV either directly (reporting) or indirectly (teaching children about gender), arranged across a continuum of survival to resistance.

Secondly, I met with my supervisor in March 2015 and discussed that although there were some articles on agency, the literature was not as obvious as it might be for some research theses. I agreed to go back through all 291 articles identified on Scopus on 'women', 'India' and 'Domestic Violence' and add a fourth term that *danced around* this new conceptual understanding of agency to which I hope to further contribute. Totalling 664 articles (due to overlaps), the fourth terms and number of articles are:

**Table A**

Advocacy, 6	Coping, 6	Politics, 9
Agency 15	Cultural, 63	Quality of Life, 5
Autonomy, 17	Empowerment, 37	Rights, 88
Change, 28	Initiatives, 7	Social, 157
Collective, 3	Intervention, 54	Social Change, 23
Community, 86	Participation, 10	Wellness, 0
Conceptions, 4	Policy, 46	

Thirdly, evaluating these articles I formed a closely bounded literature review of relevant articles to my research question, which came from the space I had seen emerge as the gap in the literature. This follows, under the following sections:

1. The Global Domestic Violence Movement
2. The Wider Context of Domestic Violence and Policy in India and the Maharashtra Province
3. Academic and Theorist Approaches to the Problem of Domestic Violence in India
  - Focus on causes
  - Focus on responses
4. Literature on agency and other interventions – the manual search of most relevant literature from Table A
5. The Gap in the Literature

### **The Global Domestic Violence Movement**

There is a global movement against DV which some academics say unites NGOs, donors and feminists as an acceptable donor space and issue to tackle. (Asay et al. 2014; Deo 2012; Armstrong 2004).

However, causes and responses divide activists, particularly feminists (Deo 2012). This links to my earlier statement that it is best seen and tackled in communities, as a social and context-specific issue and not something with a *global fix*. Due to frustrating results DV has been described by some as the ‘most prevalent and pervasive but least tackled issue’ (Chhabra 2005).

The great majority of articles I analysed obviously focused on India but a number were from the US, Africa and Latin America. There were no criteria in searching these latter articles – they emerged amongst the same search in the manner of a comparison with other countries in terms of healthcare responses and domestic violence of Indian couples when they move aboard (Heise 1990).

## **The Wider Context of Domestic Violence Policy in India and the Maharashtra province**

There is a substantial literature on the many types of gender-based violence in India with DV treated as one subset (Bhat & Ullman 2014; Krishnan et al 2012(2); Das et al 2013; Busby 1999). It is frequently cited that one in three women in India experience DV during their lives (WHO Decker et al 2013; Daruwalla et. al 2009). This is also the same statistic that the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimate for the global burden of domestic violence, not solely India (WHO et al 2013).

Alongside this statistic sits the ‘Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005’ (Act of Indian Parliament, 2005). This came into force in October 2006 defining ‘Domestic Violence’ as including physical, sexual, mental and economic abuse. Its primary purpose is for the protection of the woman rather than the criminalisation of the perpetrator. Important policy additions to this legislation include the ‘woman’s right to secure housing’ regardless of title deed and the ‘appointment of protection officers and NGOs’ to provide support to victims (Hornbeck et. al 2007).

Politics and policy articles mostly look at the fight to make women’s suffering a key issue in law and politics, before and after the Act. (Sen 2010; Rajan 2004).

In my discussions with the Director of MASUM it emerged that this Act is important, firstly as an acknowledgement by the State that there is a problem of DV, secondly that women have a right to a safe home and thirdly, that it gives women and NGOs a legal framework within which to exert rights.

However, it emerged from the literature that there are many limits to the Act in comparison to other countries’ legislation on the problem, such as the difficulty in using the legislation for the criminalisation of perpetrators (Hague 2013). In addition, accessing rights within law and policy is very difficult as a marginalised woman in India (Daruwalla 2009).

This opinion is backed up in a recent article by Kalokhe looking at the poor fit between the Act’s definition of DV, the WHO definition of DV and the reality of community perceptions, interestingly based in Pune, where this research is conducted (Kalokhe, 2015).

Renuka Chowdhury, the Indian Minister for Women and Child Development, called for an overarching 'equal gender law' as a more fitting, progressive alternative for India (Hindustan Times, 2006).

### **Current Literature on approaches to the problem of Domestic Violence in India**

This focuses on two broad categories - causes and responses.

In general, articles look at statistics on the prevalence of the problem and the impact on individuals including mental and physical injury, such as burns (Natarajan 2014; Sabri 2014; Peck 2012). There is a wide literature on this, which runs in parallel with my research and literature review, but this is not the direction I am exploring.

A number of articles conclude with a statement similar such as *further research should look to improve the lives of women by addressing empowerment or social and cultural barriers to gender inequality* (Raval 2010; Mitra 2007). This is the direction I will be exploring.

Many articles in the 1990's looked at 'empowerment' in the aftermath of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, where female activists raised the issue of violence against women to the level of a human rights issue (Simister & Mehta 2010; Sullivan 1994). In the last twenty years there has been much less writing on this specifically in the context of DV. However, there has been frequent use of terms such as 'empowerment' in the title, abstract and keywords but not truly addressing the concept as central to the article. This has made the literature review more difficult. Additionally, these articles are around twenty years old and may not be as relevant in the context of a rapidly developing country such as India, which as of 2005 has an Act against DV.

At this point it is necessary to explain the relevance of empowerment to agency. As mentioned in the definition section empowerment is often used synonymously for agency but I have defined empowerment as a more top down approach when someone is given more influence over their life in certain areas. Whereas agency, I define as including any action that women take to respond to DV either directly (reporting) or indirectly (teaching children about gender).

### *Literature focus on causes*

There are many articles focusing on the high levels of DV in India and the causes identified. Risk and contributing factors include economic difficulties (Krishnan et al. 2010), alcoholism (Pande 2000), mental health issues (Niaz 2013), social norms such as dowry and caste (Srinivasan & Bedi, 2007) and issues of patriarchy and gender inequality (Allendorf 2013).

These are all issues that MASUM tackles through their programmes such as via men's alcohol awareness classes as I discussed in the [MASUM aims and strategies section](#).

### *Literature focus on responses*

The other section of the literature that I have identified is on responses. Broadly speaking these can be divided into welfare responses such as providing shelter (Deo 2012; Daruwalla et. al 2009), healthcare responses such as medical and counseling (Decker 2013), legal responses such as legislation and policing (Babu & Kar 2009), political advocacy such as lobbying and citizen participation for all encompassing rights such as marches (Berry 2011; Misri 2011) and community responses such as street theatre (Obeng 2011; Garlough 2008; Nagar 2000).

These are also areas in which MASUM is active (See [MASUM aim and strategies section](#)). Through their methodology they encourage women to access their rights by absorbing welfare and legal responses into their everyday lives. However, MASUM goes further with community responses such as public readings of letters from youth to adults in the community about their rights.

### **Literature on agency and other interventions - the manual search of most relevant literature from Table A**

This is the third stage – the literature that I manually searched which contributed to the definition and study on agency and domestic violence.

Only one article on *advocacy* was relevant, a study that found it important to include men in advocacy for social change (Das et al. 2012).

The quality of family relationships were considered a factor in women's *agency* (Allendorf 2012) as was the importance of 'understanding something about local

ideas of gender, personhood and agency’; ideas found to be ‘strongly resistant to change’ in a study focused on a fishing community in south India (Busby 1999).

Articles discussing women’s *autonomy* focused on defining autonomy in situations of DV in terms of finances, personal movement and household decisions (Sabarwal et al. 2014).

Articles focused on how difficult *change* is to achieve within communities due to social resistance (which is important in terms of my own project as different methods were employed such as getting sympathetic males on side to progress MASUM’s agenda) (Busby, 1999). They also included surprising, counter-intuitive and controversial elements like linking the increase in equal property rights to an increase in DV, having created new issues of ‘inter and intra-house bargaining’ (Anderson & Genicot 2015).

There were surprisingly few articles on *collectives*. The most relevant looked at a specific march for single women’s rights to land and healthcare (Berry 2011). Another looked at the widespread call for the Domestic Violence Act (now in place), realising that without this, destitution could be a very real occurrence for many women (Rajan 2004).

There were more articles (86) on *community*. Of these however, only three were relevant. The first was a recent article on the important role of neighbours as informal support (Snell-Rood, 2015). The second looked at help-seeking behaviours of women experiencing DV with the finding that far from being organised and utilising the law, women’s responses are usually spontaneous and look for support close to home (Mahapatro et al. 2014). The third article was a study on a mining community which found that local social support mitigates depression (Dasgupta et al. 2013).

As mentioned earlier in the literature on causes, there is a high amount of literature recognising *cultural and social* issues such as caste. The term ‘social’ identified 156 articles although very few in terms of a response. Snell-Rood’s article on the importance of neighbours as social support was the most relevant (Snell-Rood

2015). Other relevant articles included work tackling ‘patriarchal benevolence’ as both the cause and the ambivalent perpetuation of the problem (Tincy, Becker & Sisco 2009). Articles also highlighted the opinion by many women, even nurses regularly seeing those affected by DV, that it was ‘normal’ (Sharma & Vatsa 2014).

Gender roles also formed part of the literature on cultural norms or beliefs. Women with stereotypical gender roles – getting married early, leaving education early are most vulnerable to violence (this is clearly linked to MASUM’s goals in their strategy section of giving women more opportunities to participate in a life outside of marriage).

Cultural issues, brought forward a great literature on the nexus between honour and caste issues and DV with DV at the interface between religious, caste and other cultural issues.

Looking at *coping strategies* and *help seeking* – Decker’s article on ‘violence-related coping and help-seeking’ by marginalised women in Mumbai illustrated healthcare as a valuable method for India to cope with and intervene in the high levels of DV but that it should be backed up by informal support such as by neighbours (Decker et al. 2013).

*Empowerment* had a large literature (37) with the most relevant articles looking at the effect of empowered mothers on children’s health and wellbeing (Imai et al. 2014). Articles also called for safe abortion (Sri & Ravindran 2015) and contraception rights (Debnath, Roy & Mazunder 2013). There is also a detailed study by Krishnan and colleagues of a potentially successful integrational approach to empowerment to mitigate DV in Bengaluru, India (Krishnan et al. 2012).

There was a wide literature (54) on *interventions* in general. This was skewed by a focus on interventions detailing quantitative research on HIV and alcohol (Raj et al. 2013; Jones et al. 2013). However, more recent articles such as Snell-Rood’s on the importance of neighbour support have started to feature as a recognised intervention (Snell-Rood 2015). The importance of education in reducing gender inequality and DV was also seen as a long-term intervention (Rapp et al. 2012).

Given that the Social Psychology of Participation (Campbell & Jovchelovitch 2000) is to be my theoretical underpinning (see next section) I identified 10 articles recognising the importance of *participation* in (community or organisation) reducing DV. The most relevant detailed ‘non-participation in community activities’ as a contributing factor to domestic and social issues (Peck 2012). This is why women’s participation in MASUM’s community activities is so worthy of study.

The term *rights* identified 88 articles. These looked to address the inequality in hugely controversial issues such as sexual, reproductive and sex selection rights (Doke 2015) and general hardship and lack of basic rights or social change leading to social issues (Sri & Ravindran 2015).

### **The Gap in the Literature**

There is a great deal of literature on the problem of DV - prevalence, causes, ensuing problems and responses. However, the majority of articles end with the recommendation that little can be done to address the issue of DV without focusing on social and cultural issues.

This represents a gap that is not taken forward in any meaningful way because as I mention above they avoid dealing directly with social and cultural issues. This research adds to the literature as it demonstrates the role of community interventions in tackling social and cultural issues. This research question does so via the case study of MASUM and their specific community, integrated methodology, addressing causes and joining-up responses ([as explained in the aims and strategies section](#)).

I found very little literature addressing how women are living and responding in their communities in situations of DV - as per my earlier definition of agency. Another gap in the literature is therefore a broader definition of agency.

The research question came out of the gaps in the literature and is the reason I am doing this research. The relevance it has to the literature is:

- 1) to look at an organisation that is doing work addressing social and cultural issues through joined-up community work. We know already that this is

difficult work for organisations, specifically within the area of violence against women. What is specifically interesting about the research question here is that despite the difficulty MASUM is promoting agency through their specific methodology.

2) and widening the definition of agency by finding out how the women with whom the organisation work respond in their situations and how their participation in MASUM impacts this

## **Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework Literature Review**

### **The Social Psychology of Participation**

This dissertation is framed by the Social Psychology of Participation (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). I will explain the theory below and also why this is the best framework to answer my research question. In short, I will link this theory directly to agency, explaining that participation (in this case in MASUM) impacts on agency through its impression on identity, social representations and social capital. I will then link my findings with this theory in the discussion section.

This is a valuable framework for looking at the way in which community mobilisation or participation in community activities supports people in developing more agentic responses through constructing new, empowering and actionable *social identities*, *social representations* or understandings of their circumstances and *social capital* or supportive social networks. These are the key ingredients towards new meanings and actions.

### ***Social Identities, Social representations and Social Capital***

As explained in the article, these three terms are seen as pathways between participation and the successful outcome – usually health and wellbeing (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000).

‘Social identity’ has been an evolving term but comes from the idea that a person’s sense of who they are is based on their group membership(s) and that the group(s) to which they belong are an important source of positive or negative self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner 1979).

‘Social representations’ are the way people understand their world or as Moscovici explained – ‘the systems of shared values, knowledge, attitudes and ideas, which enable individuals to make sense of their social world’ (Moscovici 1988).

‘Social capital’ looks at the networks that individuals and groups foster that support or hinder their lives (Bourdieu in Campbell & Cornish 2010). These are particularly relevant to groups facing economic disempowerment as leveraging beyond the financial. Putnam looks at social capital in terms of positive social identities and a sense of solidarity. (Putnam, 2000)

### **The Social Psychology of Participation as an approach to Domestic Violence responses**

In the past many theorists and activists have looked at ‘empowerment’ as a guiding methodology for responses to DV (Husain et al 2014; Imai et al 2014; Kabeer 2005).

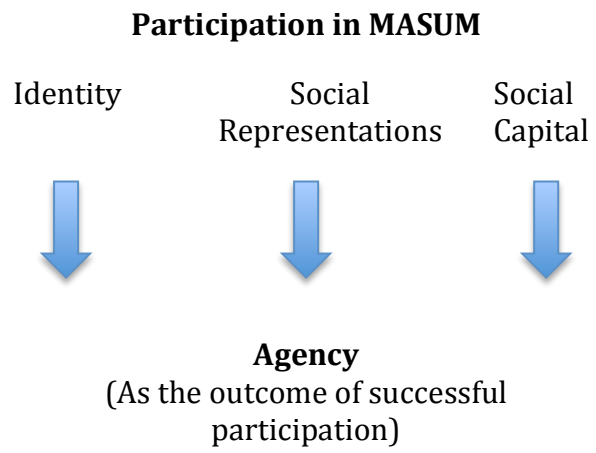
The social psychology of participation is a better guiding theory for a study on DV and to answer this research question for two main reasons.

Firstly, because it takes into account work on a number of more tangible areas such as social identity, social representations and social capital in order for an outcome such as health and wellbeing (which surely also includes empowerment) to be the success. It is therefore more encompassing and detailed. When looking at DV, social capital is key as victims often find themselves socially isolated and stigmatised leading to further abuse and depression (Rao 2012).

Secondly, the theory allows people’s own conceptions of the successful outcome, ‘agency’ (in my case), to emerge rather than presupposing a global understanding of ‘empowerment’. It is important to note here that there are two main points – the difference between agency and empowerment as discussed earlier, and also the role of people’s own experiences or the meaning they give to their lives in defining agency.

This theoretical framework will guide the design and support the analysis of my research. This is illustrated below, replacing the theories’ original ‘health’ outcome with ‘agency’.

**Diagram A**



## Methodology

### Research design

The goal of my research was to document women's accounts of their responses to DV and how participation in MASUM helped to strengthen these. It is therefore a social psychological, study of the meaning people give to their life experiences. This is important in comparison to previous studies as they have not looked at women's perspectives as directly as this research does. Here women's multiple examples of their agentic responses to their situations of domestic violence are all considered valuable. Certain experiences, such as the fourth generation MASUM community approach of building 'receptive social environments' opens up new opportunities for more empowering and confident meaning-making by the women I interviewed (Campbell & Cornish 2010).

My approach is ethnographic in so far as I was interested in gaining a 'thick description' of the role of MASUM in promoting women's agency in situations of domestic violence, specifically a 'thick description' of the women's own perspectives. (Geertz 1973). Geertz says that thick description involves gaining an account of a 'social phenomenon', (women's experiences of agency in situations of DV) against the backdrop of its context (MASUM's fourth generation style programme) to give a 'voice' and build 'a receptive social environment' for agency (Campbell et al. 2010).

The reason I chose to follow this anthropological method is because we do not know a great deal about the successes of working on creating a receptive social environment in order to challenge social and cultural issues that perpetuate DV. Whilst there is a dearth of theoretical study there is limited practical study if the impact of community participation on DV. Gathering data on the meaning people give to certain aspects of their lives, experiences working with MASUM and in the context of lives affected by DV was essential.

The interview style I decided upon had two parts – in order to gain a 'thick description' as I described earlier I aimed for open-ended life histories using questions such as 'tell me a little about three good things in your life' (Geertz 1973). Secondly I used a supportive topic guide of about 30 semi structured questions to gain further detail. The subtleties that qualitative research can yield were important to

my research as I needed information on women's conceptions and experiences of a community approach to promoting agency.

Unsure of my exact access, literacy and sensitivity requirements but informed by the literature, I pre-designed specific topic guides for interviews (Appendix 2) for each of the four groups I would be interviewing.

I spent 21 days with the organisation in Pune, India with 19 days of research. This included eight to ten hours a day of immersion in the organisation gathering data – conducting interviews, speaking with staff and volunteers, reading articles that the organisation published or observing training and workshops.

As I do not speak Marathi I engaged a translator, Vidya Kulkarni, who MASUM recommended. Arguably I should have hired an outsider due to values of 'openness' (Bauer & Gaskell 2000) but this research was only possible with someone that MASUM had worked with before and therefore trusted. It was important to have an insider due to the vulnerability of the women, community access, the issue of gaining trust for interviews in a short space of time and the taboo nature of the topic.

### **Data Gathered and notes on tools of collection**

I used four methods of data collection - Interviews, Focus Groups, Field Notes and Photos.

Interviews:

- MASUM Director
- Five of MASUM's support group volunteers
- Eleven support group members
- Three MASUM staff working on youth rights

Focus Groups:

- I discussed my topic guide in the style of a focus group with two separate support groups of approximately 20 people

- The first was a newly established support group and I attended their first meeting
- The second group had been established for around ten years.

#### Field Notes:

- I took detailed field notes of my time spent in the MASUM offices, with people in the villages where many long days were spent eating and chatting, my drives and conversations with Vidya (the translator) and my conversations with staff and the MASUM founders.

#### Photos:

- I took c.800 photos (with consent). These are not strictly speaking data as they are not formally analysed but I include an anonymous selection for visual context (Appendix 7).

Interviews were recorded on tape recorders by myself and Vidya (mine hired from the LSE and Vidya, a professional translator, had her own recorders). Interviews were conducted in Marathi by Vidya (with me by her side throughout) and then Vidya transcribed all the interviews into English in May 2015. I transcribed the interview with the Director, which was conducted in English, and all the field notes.

### **Subjects, Sampling and Access**

This study was part of a three-country feasibility study for a larger three-country comparison of community responses to DV in India, Chile and the UK. MASUM was approached due to links between the Director and a former Health, Community and Development Master's student who made the introduction. Professor Cathy Campbell, Head of the Department of Social Psychology at the LSE introduced me to MASUM's Director, Manisha Gupte. I spoke with all parties on Skype and organised preliminary research dates and access. Manisha recommended finalising arrangements for subjects and interviews on arrival.

This research became a partnership between the LSE and MASUM.

My access to subjects was entirely via the organisation. I have included this here and later in the limitations section but to even have access to these women for

this research is a virtue. At the end of this section is a conclusion on the restrictions of this important issue – sampling and selection.

The women with whom MASUM works are the most marginalised, by multiple complex issues of poverty, patriarchy and DV. As a result, access had to be guided by the organisation, their sensitive approach to the women, explaining my research and gaining trust for my questioning in intrusive, and for some, harrowing life experiences.

Sampling and access were done by MASUM (with some initial guidance from me at a volunteer meeting where I explained to the MASUM workers who looked after each village the aims of my study) and was only possible this way. The potential subjects were MASUM volunteers or support group members. The selection was done by the trusted volunteer support group leaders approaching the support group members with whom they frequently work.

At all interviews the MASUM village volunteer was in attendance. These women did not interrupt the interviews and seemed to be there for support and encouragement and not in any way to guide the MASUM agenda.

Having read about the ideals of sampling individuals and focus groups, (Bauer & Gaskell 2000 Chapters 19 and 3), I would argue that although my approach has limitations, it was actually the best suited. This is because it opened up a comfortable space for the women to speak with trust.

Although this selection does not access the women who have not benefited from MASUM, or who chose not to engage with the organisation or be interviewed, it does provide access to precisely those who I was interested to research - those who had something to say about the organisation and whether participation had increased their opportunities for agency in situations of DV. I will comment further on this selection in the conclusion.

## **Limitations of the study: Approach and Refusal, A Select Sample, Volunteers Present, Translation**

### *Approach and Refusal*

Some women that MASUM approached did not want to take part due to community pressures or time constraints. Interviewing eleven women in the time frame was a success. Although I cannot say precisely I would say that approximately half of the women approached did not want to participate in interviews at the time I was there. Reasons would likely include confidentiality but also that it was just pre Monsoon season, extremely hot and a busy time due to festival preparations.

### *A Select Sample*

It was therefore a small, select sample – but the sample selection, by definition recruited exactly the women I wanted for this study and to answer my research question, as said above.

The women in this study were, in general, the women who were enthusiastic enough to overcome huge blocks to participating. This probably explicitly excluded women who were not so affected or were unenthusiastic or felt they less benefited from their participation. Therefore there may have been women who were enthused by participation in MASUM but refused to be interviewed.

### *MASUM Volunteer Present*

At all interviews a MASUM volunteer was present but did not interrupt so I understood this to be for support. Although I acknowledge that this is not ideal by Bauer and Gaskell ideals of sampling it meant I was able to access the women I needed for my study (Bauer & Gaskell 2000).

### **Translation**

Given the fraught circumstances and sensitive topic, simultaneous translation, interruptions and revisiting of topics was not necessarily appropriate, so we used a hybrid method. Vidya would interview, writing in English on a notepad in front of her any important points to help guide the interview. We used simultaneous translations only where appropriate given the tense subject matter. We had “catch-up sessions” as

the interview wound down where we discussed whether anything further needed raising. This utilised my knowledge of immersions and adaptability (Flyvbjerg 2001).

I always introduced myself to try to establish rapport, explaining as much as I could about the study and myself. I would ask if they had any questions and often this would centre around my age, level of education, marriage and family ties.

### **Conclusion on Restrictions on Subjects and Sampling**

It is important to note that all these women had a relatively positive view of the organisation. It excluded women who might have had a negative experience, or who MASUM failed to mobilise. It was a success to get the positively disposed women to speak as they are marginalised and inaccessible due to the routine and structure of their lives. DV is also seen as a somewhat taboo topic – although these women have worked with MASUM and are comfortable speaking about it at interview in discreet settings, getting to that stage is difficult – in itself making them hard to reach.

The limited, positive sample is evident in the findings section which is nearly all positive. However, I have included a challenges section in the findings containing information on where MASUM is hindered by certain issues.

I would argue that one gap this contributes to the literature is an example of positive case study of an organisation tackling a difficult social and cultural issue. The very selection of women, and the fact that they only said good things, could be argued by some to mean that I was tightly constrained by the MASUM agenda. However, having been at all interviews, the impression I gained was that the women truly only had positive things to say about MASUM – and the organisations role in their lives. I did ask questions such as ‘What could MASUM do to help more people’ or try to subtly get at the negatives but there were few tangible criticisms of MASUM’s work.

## Important Considerations: Ethical Approval and Consent

### Ethical Approval

Before leaving London I had to received ethical approval from the LSE. This was not straightforward as I had to explain that I would be interviewing vulnerable people and explaining that I would not compromise the wellbeing or health of participants. (Appendix 4).

I did not get ethics permission in India because getting a research visa was a major challenge in the context of violence against women. I travelled to India just after the controversial documentary 'India's Daughter' was released in response to the rape and murder of a young woman in Delhi in December 2013 (India's Daughter, 2015). MASUM is an independent NGO with no institutional links. In discussion with the Director it was agreed that because the work was sensitive, the current government relatively conservative and the research visa being granted slowly, ethical approval would be difficult to receive in the time. My research would be guided by the umbrella ethical approval that MASUM has in conducting its work in line with NGO funding controls in India.

I was guided by and kept to the British Psychological Society (BPS) Guidelines for Research on Human Subjects (link to policy document in references). This included the principles of anonymity, confidentiality, freedom for participants to end the interview or withdraw from the study whenever desired and gaining signed, and gaining informed consent. In order to apply these principles to my study I have kept the data confidential by receiving special dispensation **not** to upload it to the LSE (normally mandatory) archive. I have also blanked out any details that could disclose someone in the appended transcript. I explained (via translator) that each participant was welcome to decline from interview at any point, the purpose of the study and also the contact details for myself, the organisation and my supervisor. I gained informed consent by creating text with MASUM (written in English and Marathi) which Vidya translated and also read out (to those who were illiterate) or let people read for themselves. (Also explained below in the consent section).

## Consent

In keeping with several guiding principles – BPS Guidelines for Research on Human Subjects, my own values, Health, Community and Development values, those of MASUM and also good qualitative practice (Bauer and Gaskell 2000) - I produced a thorough consent form.

I worked on this with the translator and the Director of MASUM and it was available in both Marathi and English (Appendix 5). Every interviewee had the form explained to them and I gained written consent for all interviews. Where interviewees were illiterate the content of the consent form was read out and an ink fingerprint was taken as signature.

In keeping with best practice on qualitative research (Bauer and Gaskell 2000) and in line with the LSE ethics committee, no compensation was given to interviewees. Consent was truly informed by the research terms in the consent form and not swayed by incentives.

## **Data & Analysis**

### **Guiding Literature**

Three pieces of guiding literature on best practice in qualitative research informed my approach at the analysis stage. Firstly, Attride Stirling's article on thematic analysis in qualitative analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Secondly Feredey and Muir-Cochrane's work on hybrid methods (Feredey and Muir-Cochrane, 2008). Thirdly, Bauer and Gaskell's work on quality indicators and guiding principles (Bauer and Gaskell – Chapter 19).

### **Data Analysis Process**

I read and loaded the transcripts and field notes onto Nvivo 10. 'Nodes', 'categories' and 'sets' are ways of coding the transcripts using the software.

The transcripts are full of incredibly rich detail so after initial coding of the interviews I had created c.200 'nodes' to describe what was said. An example - "I was married at 13 to a much older man who used to beat me" formed two nodes – 'young marriage' and 'physical violence'.

I grouped these 200 nodes into 110 basic themes. For example in this process 'young marriage' was moved to the code 'forced marriage' due to lack of consent due to age.

The most difficult analytical phase was categorising the 110 basic themes into 17 organising themes by identifying what larger themes emerged from the data. For example 'forced marriage' was coded into the organising theme – 'triggers of DV'.

### **Identifying the Global Themes**




Guided by my research question and the 17 organising themes I had identified, eight global themes began to emerge; (Placed on a spectrum)

- 1) Context of women's lives and experiences of
- 2) Limits on agency – the context (Women's agency is limited by socio-economic conditions)
- 3) How the women cope/indigenous coping strategies/prior to MASUM

- 4) Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the individual level
- 5) Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the social level
- 6) Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the political level/in line with MASUM wider strategies
- 7) Challenges facing MASUM
- 8) Ways forward for MASUM

For each global theme I present my results in Attride-Stirling’s thematic network, showing the way the basic, organising and global themes link together (Attride-Stirling 2001).

**Two summaries and examples of coding:**

<b>What was said</b> 	<b>Basic Theme</b> 	<b>Organising Theme</b> 	<b>Global Theme</b>
“Staying as a single woman is not easy. People talk behind you.”	Being a single women	Gender Inequality	Limits on Agency
“People gossiped about the incident and blamed the girl. Once I talked to women and asked them why...Afterwards nobody dared to speak openly.”	Confidence to tell others not to gossip	Influence on others	Impact on Agency

## Results & Findings

Together the following eight sections constitute the ‘answer’ to my research question regarding the impact of participation in MASUM on promoting women’s agency in situations of DV. The thesis is about the link between participation in Masum and women’s agency

Please see the coding framework, broken into the 8 themes and also by informant (beneficiary and volunteer) in Appendix 3.

Please also see a Table containing details on information with data on age etc. in Appendix 4.

Data has emerged on what MASUM involvement (participation) comprises for women. To explain my findings and coding; I have placed this on a continuum of Global Themes starting with:

- **Global Theme 1** - setting the context of women’s lives, what we know about the cultural issues that impact their lives and DV.
- This is followed by **Global Theme 2** - factors that limit agency in the women’s lives.
- **Global Theme 3** explains women’s indigenous coping strategies before participation in MASUM, which can be contrasted against the next Global themes:
- **Global Themes 4,5 and 6** look at how participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the individual, social and political levels (the latter in line with the MASUM strategy):
- **Global Theme 7** looks at challenges facing MASUM. These are factors helping and/or hindering the organisation. These are a separate consideration to Global Theme 2 (factors limiting agency for the women in the context of their everyday lives.
- Finally, **Global Theme 8** looks at ways forward for the women participating in MASUM and the aims of the organisation.

This findings section will be structured as follows:

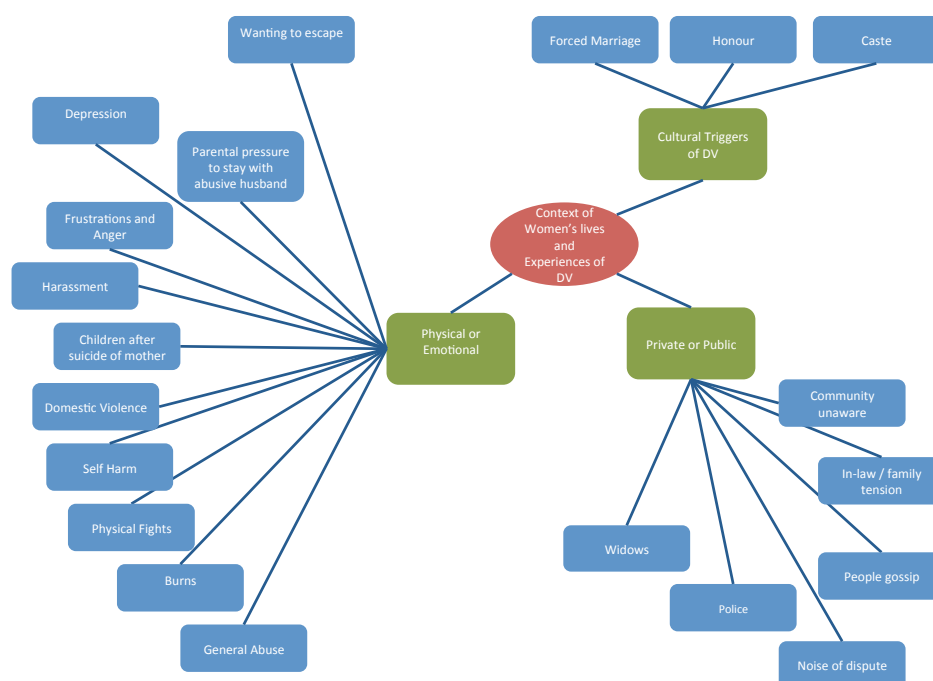
- An opening definition of the Global Theme
- A definition of each of the organising themes
- A decision rule for why the basic theme fitted here
- Quotes from interviews to substantiate and add detail where necessary.
- In Appendix 3 (the coding frame) you will see that I distinguish between informants who were volunteers and beneficiaries. I do this when quoting ie) Volunteer Number 1 will be listed as (Vol-1) and Beneficiary Number 4 will be listed as (Ben-4). Detail on informants is in the table in Appendix 4.

As I have mentioned before, the theory of the Social Psychology of Participation, guided my research and analysis. As such the global themes are directed by this. The more women participate in MASUM, the more ‘changes’ take place enhancing agency. I chose not to use 3 global themes to match the 3 pathways of the theory (social identity, social representations, social capital) but the core Global Themes 3,4,5 in the spectrum have specific examples of agency enhancement on the individual, social and political level that include examples that speak of these pathways.

These include the way in which participation in MASUM helps women rethink gender identity, the way in which participation in MASUM strengthens women’s links with their friends and families (bonding social capital). Further data illustrates women making links with helpful agencies in healthcare, welfare and politics through their participation in MASUM (linking networks). The data includes evidence of findings or a limit on findings of enhanced identity, social representations and social capital, which the women do or do not experience by participating in MASUM.

This is demonstrated more explicitly in the next section, the discussion on findings section, where I elaborate on the value of the theory of the Social Psychology of Participation for looking at how women’s participation in an organisation such as MASUM can through enhanced pathways increase their sense of agency.

## Global Theme I: Context of Women's Lives and experiences of DV



The first global theme to emerge from the data is that of the *context of women's lives and their experiences of DV*.

This theme can be defined as setting the scene and confirming the literature I found on what it is like to be a woman in rural Pune and the wretched role of domestic violence within her life.

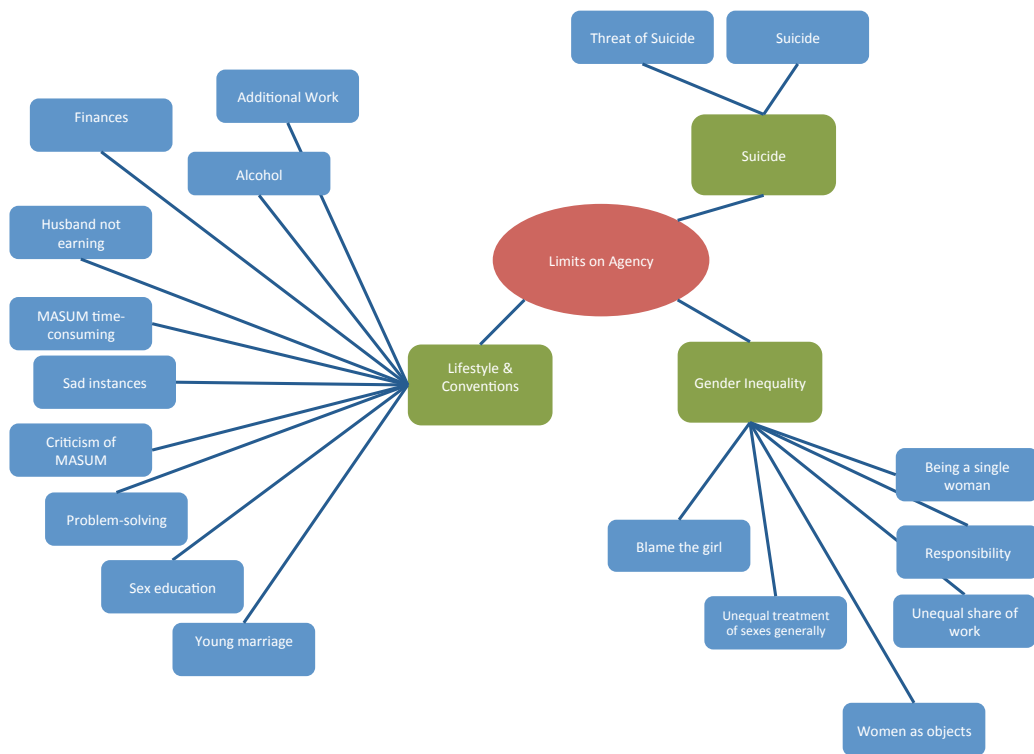
This Global Theme was comprised of organising themes giving colour to the context including the *cultural triggers of DV* as voiced by the women – firstly, dealing with issues such as *honour, caste and forced marriage*. These issues are the cultural assumptions that place women in a more vulnerable place to domestic violence and set the context for how women understand issues such as caste in order for the next themes to make sense – how participation in MASUM enabled women to reframe representations of identity around caste. “Ultimately his happiness is what matters the most. So if he likes a girl from other caste I can support him Ultimately his happiness is what matters the most. So if he likes a girl from other caste I can support him” (Vol-4).

Secondly data emerged about the importance of the location of domestic violence to the women interviewed – it could take place in *private* at home in front of

family and also in *public* areas of the village in front of the community. Thirdly, data emerged on actual experiences of domestic violence whether *physical* or *emotional*.

These basic themes fitted here because they were descriptions by the women of their experiences being a women and of DV in their lives. They add context to the lives of women I interviewed, about their sense of agency in general in India as a woman in 2015.

**Global Theme 2: Limits on Agency - the context (Women's agency limited by socio-economic conditions)**



The second global theme to emerge from the data is that of *limits on Agency - the context (women's agency limited by socio-economic conditions)*.

This section of the coding illustrates the limits on the women’s agency in situations of domestic violence. This theme can be defined the many social and economic conditions that limit women’s agency.

As the organising themes demonstrate, women are trapped by *structural violence*<sup>1</sup> - patriarchy and poverty. *Gender inequalities* limit women's choices and they are further trapped in problematic situations by lack of choices due to *poverty* - both growing up and in the present, and the difficulties of surviving economically from day to day.

Men are also often trapped by poverty and their own difficulties caused by stereotypes of maleness in their own lives. *Alcohol* abuse by men is widespread, men too are stressed and their power over women is the only power some of them have in conditions of economic hardship. This is how the DV manifests, is so pervasive and limits agency in general in women's lives.

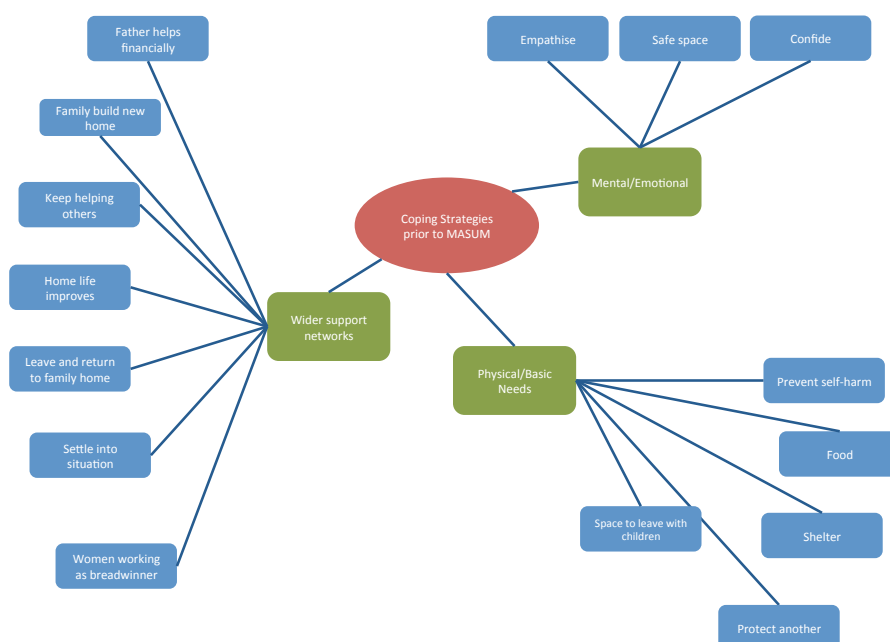
In such a limited context, some women see *suicide* as their only way out: "An unmarried girl got pregnant and she would have committed suicide unless we have intervened. Even her elder sister, the wife of the man, was upset and threatened that she will commit suicide if her husband marries again." (Ben-16).

However, I will demonstrate in the next section the women described certain coping strategies, which in latter sections (Global theme 4 onwards) MASUM built on and supported.

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<sup>1</sup> This latter point emerged from the interview with Manisha Gupte. It is the explanation of the structures in place in Society that limit one portion of the population to the benefit of another. This included forced marriage - the idea that two fathers can decide, because as males and elders they are considered bestowed with the power to, that their children (often a young daughter) can be married. This is a specific example from Manisha Gupte.

### Global Theme 3: How the women cope/ indigenous coping strategies/prior to MASUM



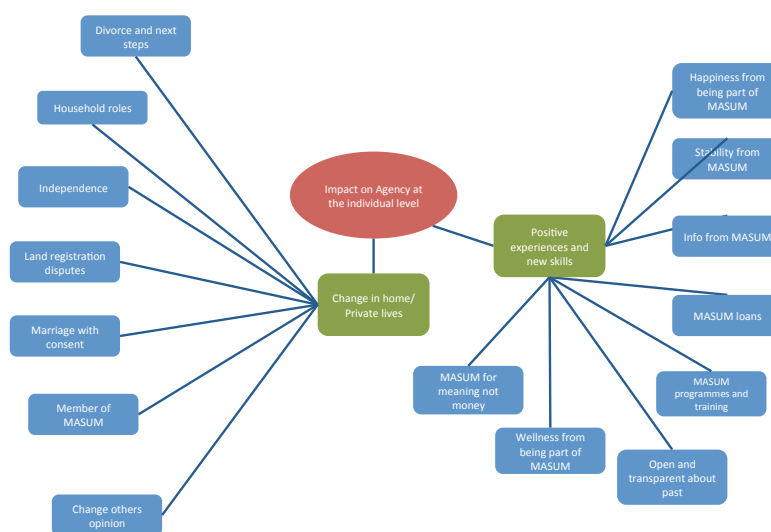
The third global theme to emerge from the data is that of how the women cope - their indigenous coping strategies developed prior to MASUM. This is defined as the many ways that women developed to deal with the contexts of their lives (as described in Global Theme 1), a context which includes domestic violence and limits women’s agency (Global Theme 2). The organising themes are specific examples of these – they are the *mental or emotional ways of coping* (such as *empathising* with the women, “you have to empathise with her, make her cool down and dissuade from negative thinking” (Ben 16), the *physical ways of coping* (such as preventing a woman from harming herself, “I also hold the woman tight, otherwise she would have harmed herself” (Ben 16) and the resulting *supportive networks* that provide for the women in situations of DV. An example of this came from one of the interviews, one of the women has a job in the village that means a lot of women stop by her house “Because of ... work, women come to me. They talk to me... it is not possible to hide the problem of violence for long in a village... After we come to know we go visit her.” (Ben 15) This contributes to the literature as sometimes these subtle coping mechanisms that women have developed in situations of domestic violence that are missed by wider studies

This Global Theme therefore opens up the definition of agency as it shows the women’s home-grown tools for dealing with the difficulties in their lives. Through providing physical and emotional support the women already had a form of social capital in place for MASUM to build upon or support, there was already a setup in place to provide women with a caring social network that gives food, physical embrace, safety.

In the discussion section I will highlight, using this and the next Global Themes, how women’s social identity changed during participation in MASUM. Furthermore how the women’s accounts of key social representations they used to make sense of their experiences were affected by participation and finally, how the networks available to vulnerable women in dealing with violence prior to their involvement with MASUM were strengthened or weakened (social capital).

The next section (Global theme 4) then looks at the strategies developed through participation in MASUM and the way in which this enhances women’s agency in situations of DV – this will demonstrate the ‘added value’ that MASUM has brought to women’s lives.

#### Global Theme 4: Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the individual level



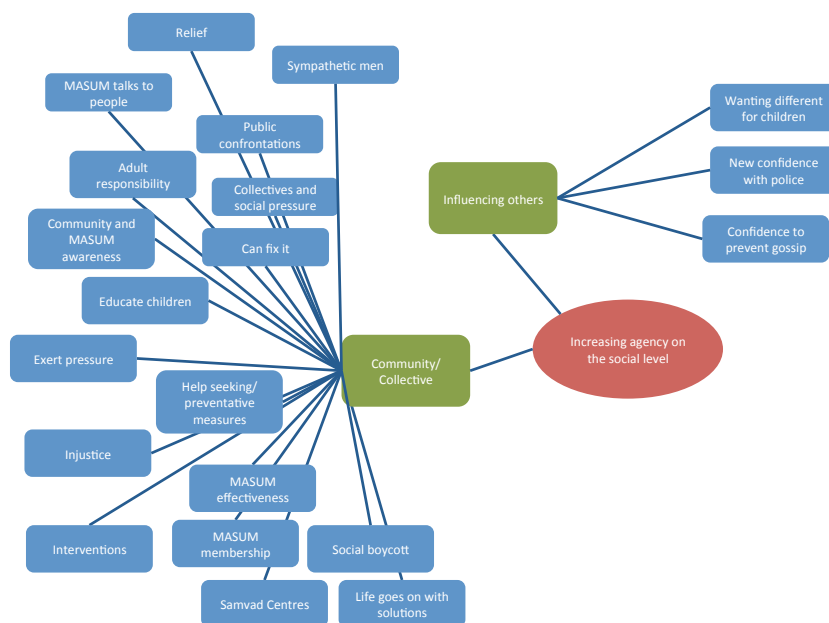
The fourth global theme to emerge from the data is how participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the individual level.

The definition of this theme is the positive experiences and new skills gained from participation in MASUM that lead to changes in the women’s sense of identity creating a ripple of changes in their lives at the individual level. These in turn build confidence and translate into their lives in the community and hopefully beyond (as I will illustrate through the next two Global Themes - 5 and 6).

An example of this is the data that emerged about the *life stability provided by MASUM loans* which in turn allow women to buy equipment such as sewing machines to start small businesses and separate from damaging family relationships, “Many women have taken loans for household needs or to set up income generation activities...” (Ben-15).

Another key finding was the impact on household roles with women gaining confidence to challenge these and insist on division of chores between male and female children or family members, “She treated her sons and daughters equally” (Ben-16).

### Global Theme 5: Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the social level



The fifth global theme to emerge from the data is that of how *participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the social level*.

The definition of this theme is the way the women build upon their positive experience of participating in MASUM and describe their sense of agency in influencing others and in working in the community or gathering as a collective to exert themselves.

One volunteer said “We work to address violence, support women to become stronger, which helps to prevent violence or at least the intensity of its consequences.” Interviews revealed a sense of the women feeling that via participation in MASUM they were taking on an *effective collective*, “As a collective we get strong. We are able to assert women’s rights because we have MASUM behind us...” (Ben-15) which allows them to achieve more, “We take campaigns and public programs on the issue of violence. MASUM’s work creates a social pressure against violence. Even the local leaders are cooperative. Male leaders, youth members also help women in addressing problem of violence.” (Ben 14).

Wider MASUM social strategies included *partnerships* between the women and *sympathetic men*, “So we went together [to the abuser’s home], taking some sympathetic men along we reached their home” (Ben-16) and similarly a reassurance of the power of groups (social capital as theoretical framework illustrates) to *exert pressure*, “we go in group, then it creates a pressure [on the abuser]”, “We never go alone when we have to talk to the husband, as he does not listen unless we exert social pressure”. (Ben-14)

The confidence to enact *interventions* if the women think it is appropriate to context or there is an *injustice* forms part of MASUM’s wider strategy, “We intervene. We are on the side of person who is weak and facing injustice.” (Ben-16)

The joined-up approach of MASUM ensures women see problems in context and can identify and work on *prevention*. This is part of the wider MASUM strategy that some women recognised – the below quote is from a beneficiary;

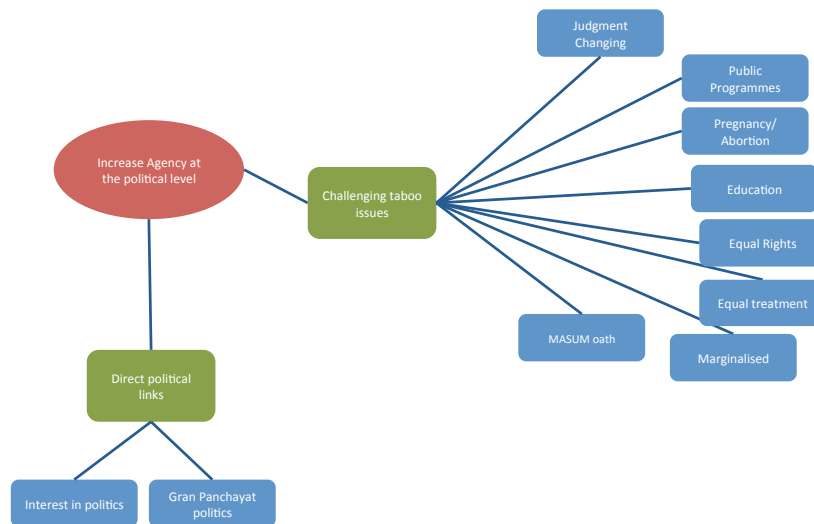
“If MASUM had not started working in village, we would have been deprived of valuable information and exposure MASUM gave us. When you are ill, you don't take medicine, you ignore pain as much possible and when it is unbearable you go to

a doctor. By the time the illness blows up. I think organisations like MASUM help deal with problems before they blow up. We work to address violence, support women to become stronger, which helps to prevent violence or at least the intensity of its consequences.” (Ben-15)

Certainly the key data in this section concerned the women’s feeling that MASUM aims to build women’s agency to facilitate confidence in relationships and the significance that the women attributed to this opportunity.

At certain points the women’s sense of agency to form collectives or act in the community intensified to demonstrate frustrations as the status quo and a desire to use their newfound voices and networks to engage a more political level as I will demonstrate in the next Global Theme.

### Global Theme 6: Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency at the political level



The sixth global theme to emerge from the data is that of how *participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the political level.*

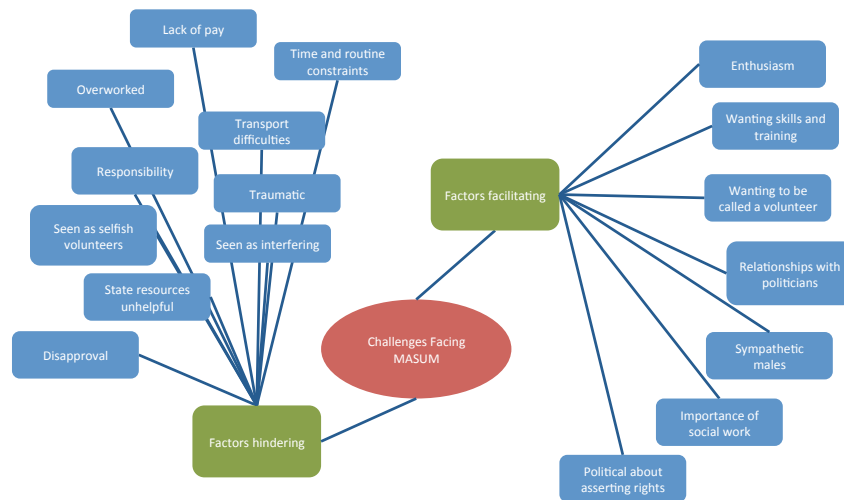
This global theme is defined as the use by MASUM participants of their links and networks in order to challenge through political engagement, previously

controversial or taboo subjects that place their lives and health at a social disadvantage.

The interviews confirmed the pre-research assumption that MASUM also had a 'wider political strategy', aiming to impact women's agency through a more politicised agenda. Through interviews I started to understand how the volunteers and beneficiaries made sense of the MASUM strategy through their participation. The volunteers seemed to imbibe it - This was apparent through their discussions of *MASUM's oath* to help the most marginalised, "We, as support group members, take an oath - we will not do injustice to anyone; we will not tolerate injustice done to us and we will not let anyone be unjust towards others" (Ben-10) and work on contextually controversial issues such a *pregnancy outside marriage* and *abortion*, "Then we helped the mother and daughter to get the termination of pregnancy done in a public hospital..." (Ben-14) *education of girls*, "even though the educational levels are rising, the girls married into the village are also educated, but there are hardly any options for work, other than agricultural work..." (Ben-8) and *equal treatment of all*, "MASUM gave us training about various rights of women and laws", "Especially, women should have equal access and opportunity in areas which are conventionally considered to be men's prerogative. For instance, Politics." (Ben-16).

Analysis of this political side was a beginning of delving into the interface between the interviewees (volunteers and beneficiaries) and the organisation. Although they were mostly positive of their experiences it seemed that in order to enhance the agency of the volunteers and beneficiaries they had to fully absorb the MASUM political principles such as the oath. MASUM seemed to be creating one kind of 'empowered' women. This is not a criticism. Just an observation of the resulting politicised sense of agency which I mention in the later analysis of MASUM section.

## Global Theme 7: Challenges Facing MASUM



The seventh Global Theme is that of the challenges facing MASUM. This emerges as a natural theme after discussion of the previous three themes – that way that participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the individual, social and political levels. The latter level being the most public and high profile and controversial it is a useful way to look at the challenges facing MASUM – defined as both the factors helping and the factors hindering the organisation.

As mentioned in the methodology section, the majority of women I had access to and interviewed were the ones who had something positive to say about their interaction with MASUM. As such I have plenty of data on factors that help MASUM. These range from the women’s sheer enthusiasm to make change happen including asserting property rights, to peer and political networking to the pattern in interviewees of father and/or sympathetic male support in the lives of women who do embark upon the process of participating in MASUM and increasing their sense of agency.

Very interesting data emerged on challenges facing MASUM in terms of

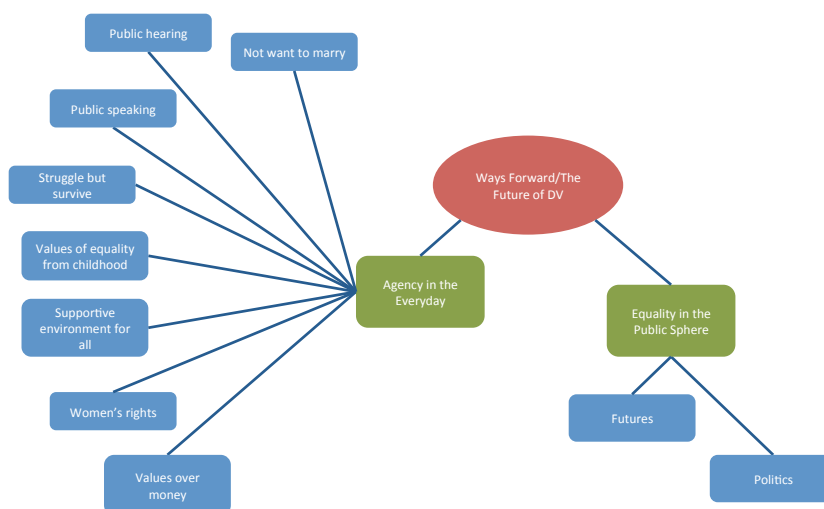
factors hindering the organisation. This data was harder to illicit due to the positivity of informants both for MASUM’s work and a changing community.

However, examples included that some men and village elders did not want their women to become closer to MASUM, as they noted that women become more aware and assertive. As one volunteer said “They know it and therefore discourage women to come for programs. In MASUM women learn to answer back. They do not listen to what is told to them but think independently,” this is what the people say and fear that women will get smarter and hence difficult to control." (Ben-11).

Further examples linked to time and money constraints for volunteers considering the amount of work, travel and responsibility that can be necessary in the role and weighed against a backdrop of having their own families, homes, jobs and chores to attend to.

Juxtaposed against this backdrop of disapproval and lack of resources for volunteers was data about how unhelpful state and welfare services can sometimes be to marginalised women seeking support – this can limit and in some circumstances undo the valuable work MASUM has done in building a sense of agency in women.

### Global Theme 8: - Ways forward for the women participating in MASUM and aims for the organisation



The eighth global theme to emerge from the data is that of *ways forward for the women participating in MASUM and aims for the organisation*.

The definition of this theme is the work that the women I interviewed and MASUM (as a whole that now participate and are now invested in each other) do to retain and promote for the future their sense of agency in the individual, social and political areas of their everyday lives.

This answers the research question because it looks at the role of the organisation in promoting agency, understanding that this is an evolving space. The work on DV happens in the community and on social issues and in a social way. As this evolves so must MASUM look to ways forward.

The data from this section revealed the ‘agency the women exercise today’, pushing boundaries to assert their agency such as by staying *single*, “I also do not want to get married again” (Ben-16), and *attending public hearings* for rights, “She also deposed in the public hearing and presented complaint about a doctor in public hospital who charged her for treatment” (Ben-16).

During the interviews certain questions provoked a look at the future of the women’s lives, agency and the ways forward for MASUM. The emerging data centred around futures - hopes for and responsibilities for themselves and the next generation through ‘equality’, “I want to learn new skills. I want to do a course in fashion designing. I am going to do it”, (Ben-15) “Values of equality should be imbibed from childhood” (Ben-16), “I related with the values of equality and was convinced that it should be the way of life” (Vol-6). As mentioned earlier DV can be linked to a lack of women’s agency in many areas of their lives. Participation in MASUM aims to build on women’s and give them positive experiences in multiple areas such as family life, partner relations which in turn creates confidence.

Interviewees also spoke more politically about exercising rights and entitlements, “I was trying to get a housing scheme for myself. Being a single woman I am entitled to get it, but I could never access it. ... Later I completed the procedure and got the signal woman pension” (Vol-5). This beneficiary would not have accessed this important right without MASUM and so they enhanced her confidence to interact with the State (something as I described earlier in the police section, that was not

always a positive experience). Volunteers also spoke of their understanding from MASUM that you have to engage publicly and in solidarity to create change for the future and open up a culture that accepts work and participation in organisations such as MASUM “we have to build a supportive environment in the village” (Ben-16). This in turn would lead to an environment with reduced instances of DV and support for women’s agency in multiple areas of their lives.

## Discussion

There are three main points of discussion from the findings. Firstly, how the global themes answered the research question. Secondly, how the theoretical framework (The Social Psychology of Participation) pulls together my findings in guiding the presentation of the answer to the research question. Thirdly, a conceptualisation of ‘changes’ to women’s agency through participation in MASUM as it emerged from the data (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000).

### How the global themes answered the question

The eight global themes, together ‘answer’ this question in several ways.

The literature fell into categories of ‘cause’ and ‘response’ without really addressing social and cultural mediators of violence against women in particular and women’s more general lack of agency more broadly. MASUM works on these issues, raising awareness to tackle causes, and then the women adapt their coping strategies (supported by MASUM’s ‘extra’ joined-up strategies gained from participation) to create an effective ‘response’ in situations of DV.

The data suggests a spectrum of responses from experiencing DV (Global Theme 1) to ways forward (Global Theme 8) via limits, coping and increased agency on the personal, social and political levels. The data therefore illustrates a growing impact on women’s agency alongside participation in MASUM, which I present visually later.

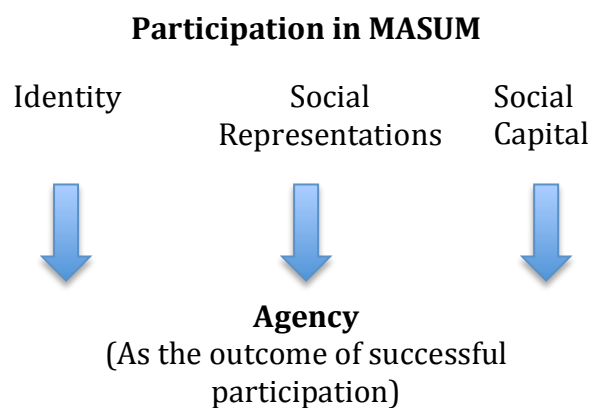
The broad findings are that there were multiple examples of agency – from taking part in politics to telling your husband that your home will be a safe haven for women experiencing DV in the village. This opens up the definition of agency from where it was before. As described early in the literature review, the original definitions of agency were limited and individual including suicide or leaving an unhappy home. Now the definition opens up to take on indigenous coping strategies and the strategies that participation in MASUM has enhanced or introduced.

### How the Social Psychology of Participation informs the findings

The social psychology of participation was an excellent tool for guiding this research and maintaining a social psychological focus on the meaning that the women gave to their experiences (Campbell and Jovchelovitch 2000).

MASUM has a role in promoting women's agency in situations of DV in a range of ways and understanding this is best done by looking at the pathways of social identity, social representations and social capital that join women's participation in MASUM to the desired outcome of enhanced agency:

#### **Diagram A**



Through the organising and basic themes we gather detailed examples of the way in which MASUM impacts on women's *social identity* (a person's sense of who they are, based on their group membership(s) and the group(s) to which they belong (Tajfel & Turner 1979). These include the pride women take in talking about being a 'member' of MASUM and 'survivor' of DV as opposed to 'victim', the meaning given to social over financial work and the confidence in public to stand up against group gossip or enter politics.

The women's *social representations* ('the systems of shared values, knowledge, attitudes and ideas, which enable individuals to make sense of their social world') were also impacted by participation in MASUM (Moscovici's 1988). This was most obvious in the challenging of social norms like caste, patriarchy, gender inequality and a raised community awareness of the multiple inherited assumptions that place their lives at a disadvantage compared to other groups on a daily basis. MASUM

worked with women to redefine their understanding of gender, of themselves and of their communities.

I would argue that the data shows that participation in MASUM enabled the women to make a new sense of their social world in this way.

This was most profound when comparing the transcripts of focus groups 1 and 2, the group that was newly established with the more established group. There were many assumptions on gender equality - such as saying if something is not your fault in the home - that the more established group took for granted as a collective due to their regular participation in MASUM.

Most significant was the understanding of the power of 'collectives' in the community to take on issues. Interviewees understood the value of 'social boycott', "In fact the community members should not talk to him, socially boycott him for his behavior" (Ben-15). These understandings of the community and men were newly formed social representations through participation in MASUM.

Using Bourdieu's definition of social capital as the networks that individuals and groups foster, that support (and sometimes hinder) their lives (Bourdieu in Campbell & Cornish 2010), we find many instances where the women say participation has increased their social capital. These include 'membership' of MASUM and access to information and skills including training on microcredit.

MASUM also reinforced existing social capital by making it explicit that there is a MASUM oath to give shelter to women experiencing DV.

Another resourceful example of Putnam's social networks includes taking along a 'sympathetic man' to make sure they are given an audience (Putnam 2000). In the data it was possible to identify many instances of such bonding and bridging social capital.

The explanations of social identity, social representations and social capital are concrete ways of discussing the myriad of findings about the role of the organisation in promoting women's agency in situations of DV.

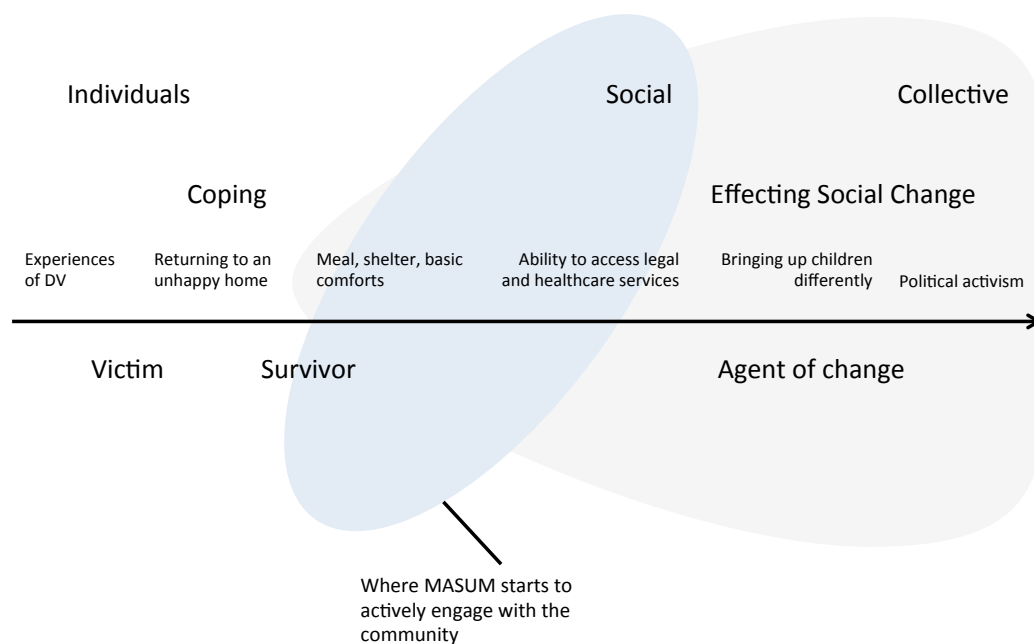
The added benefit of the theoretical framework, which can be quite an academic tool, is that through the practical experience it came alive. It emerged in the data that some of the limits on agency were, for instance, people caring about gossip due to the importance of honour, so a theoretical tool looking at ‘social psychology’ truly made me understand how the community work MASUM does facilitated work between the ‘individual’ and the ‘social’ (Gupte in Gupte, Awasthi & Chickerur 2012; Campbell & Jovcheovitch 2000).

The cultural concept of honour emerged as an assumed understanding of Indian culture, and made a thesis concerned with health, community, development and participation much more important because many thought processes revolved around honour or what your community thinks of you - breaking away from that norm with the support of MASUM and asserting women's rights is vital for changes in agency but clashes with the cultural concept of honour.

### A Presentation of the Findings in relation to “change”

A further way of approaching the role of MASUM in enhancing women’s agency is to look at the concept of change along the informal MASUM ‘methodology’ of ‘victim to survivor to agent of change’ as a continuum.

I have presented this as a spectrum, from experiencing DV and coping with it to concrete notions of social change such as bringing up children to understand gender equality.



The more women participate in MASUM, the more ‘changes’ take place enhancing agency – this speaks directly to my research question. At earlier stages the women build confidence or ‘voice’ and build ‘receptive social environments’ through the MASUM methodology (reflected through the Social Psychology of Participation) (Campbell, Cornish, Gibbs, & Scott, 2010; Campbell & Cornish, 2010). In this way MASUM acts as an enabler within communities, fostering social and cultural change to enable women’s agency to grow exponentially.

## **Conclusion**

I will conclude on the study generally, explain how the findings answered the research question and how this contributes to the literature on women, India and DV. I will then discuss implications for policy and practice and opportunities for further research. Finally I will discuss challenges facing MASUM – the strengths and weaknesses.

### **General conclusion**

My research adds to the literature as a positive case study of an organisation working in the community using all kinds of joined-up responses, addressing social and cultural issues that maintain the causes and limit the responses women have in circumstances of DV. I could find very few, if any, articles addressing this kind of response that would work with marginalised women in India to enhance their agency in situations of DV. There was a great deal on empowerment generally as I mentioned in the Literature Review before but very little that spoke to women's own experiences.

Using the theoretical framework of the Social Psychology of Participation is also a novel contribution to literature and methodology addressing DV because it allows 'agency' to be the outcome of participation and values all the changes to social identities, social representations and social capital along the way (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). This theory can be seen as a tool for responding to and understanding DV.

### **Implications for Policy and Practice**

If DV is seen as a social problem perpetuated through social and cultural norms then donor funding, theory and activism in marginalised contexts should centre on community work and community participation projects in order to tackle causes and join up other responses. This is because participation in MASUM improved women's social identity, social representations and social capital and led to an increased sense of agency.

Theorists and practitioners should understand the value of a wide definition of ‘agency’ in situations of DV in marginalised communities, taking into account the many ways that women respond to their circumstances.

Community practitioners should have an understanding of the methodology such as the Social Psychology of Participation in their roles of their work in order to understand the complex interactions between funded efforts and the desired outcome.

### **Opportunities for further research**

This was a rich study with a fascinating organisation, therefore I saw many opportunities for further research – both during the data collection and in the analysis.

An organisation such as MASUM has been functioning for nearly thirty years. Further study on the changing nature of DV in the community over time and whether participation in MASUM promoted changes in DV data would be of interest. This could focus on the age, timing and reasons for interacting with MASUM and whether this had changed over the period. In my own research I touched on this through interviews with the staff that work on youth rights. They have seen that work on youth rights is necessary as problems evolve and the next generation has different complex issues to face.

As discussed in the methodology section, the sample I interviewed were those who were keen to participate in MASUM and had something to say about MASUM strengthening their response in situations of DV.

Future research might look to engage a different sample of women from this study – for instance the women who had chosen not to engage with MASUM or those who had more negative things to say about the organisation. This could conceivably generate insights into the types of women who are the hardest to reach.

One global theme was challenges for MASUM – the factors that help and hinder the organisation’s ways forward. This included challenged facing the volunteers in their work and the participants in their involvement and which both would have to overcome.

A further valuable area of research is the analysis of data on DV alongside other problems marginalised people face, as just one manifestation of structural violence. Structural violence is a term used to describe ‘some social structure or social institution that may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs’ (Galtung 1969). This is because from my data it emerged that domestic violence was sadly just one of life’s many hardships for these most marginalised women.

### Challenges Facing MASUM – Strengths and weaknesses

The progress in communities that MASUM has made in relation to women’s agency and DV should be applauded. As the findings show, the more women participate in MASUM, the more ‘changes’ take place enhancing agency and breaking the configuration of DV in communities. A summary of key strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities are laid out below.

<p><b>Strengths:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community and wider enthusiasm to make changes</li> <li>2. Social Capital – political, male, welfare</li> <li>3. Help women challenge identity and representations that limit their lives</li> <li>4. Skills and Training</li> <li>5. Status on being a volunteer</li> </ol>	<p><b>Weaknesses:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Time, financial and routine constraints</li> <li>2. Travel</li> <li>3. Responsibility, trauma, hard</li> <li>4. Social pressure - sensitive subjects to address – taboo in the community</li> <li>5. State resources not always supportive</li> <li>6. Could be considered too top down training/strategy for the women beneficiaries, succession planning?</li> </ol>
<p><b>Opportunities:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Use of technology to support objectives</li> <li>2. To see how DV has changed over the years using data which may support methodology and programme changes</li> <li>3. Partner with other organisation to provide mentoring, enterprise, education loans</li> <li>4. Working with the new generation who do not have the same sensitivity or taboo considerations</li> <li>5. Training other DV organisation - expansion</li> </ol>	<p><b>Threats:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Conservative faction may be gaining ground in India</li> <li>2. Stalling in improvement of DV in communities, theory and training may need updating to meet new challenges</li> <li>3. Could be considered too top down training/strategy for the women beneficiaries, caution urged in succession planning?</li> </ol>

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1 - Topic Guides

Included in this section are the following topic guides:

Topic Guide 1 - The women with which MASUM work (used for main interviews and also for Support Group focus group discussion)

Topic Guide 2 - NGO/MASUM Workers

Topic Guide 3 – Youth Rights Group

Topic Guide 4 – Director of MASUM - Manisha Gupte, Director and Founder of MASUM

#### *Topic Guide 1 - The women with which MASUM work*

##### Warm-up and demographics

1. Age
2. Education
3. Family... Married, age married, in laws, children... family dynamics
4. Community – What is there to do near where you live? Participate in?
5. Media and Politics

##### Part 1 – Open-Ended Life Histories - Please can you tell me a little about your life

6. What is your typical day-to-day routine like? What is your favourite/least favourite parts of the day?
7. Do you work? Can you tell me what you do and what it is like?
8. Tell me about 3 things in your life that have been good
9. Tell me about 3 things in your life that have been difficult and how you have tried to cope with these

## Part 2 – Semi-Structured, Slightly focused Questions

### Domestic Violence (if allowed)

10. How would you define Domestic Violence?
11. India has a prevalence of Domestic Violence – Can you tell me why you think that is?
12. What support do you know of for people who suffer Domestic Violence?  
Healthcare? Maternal? Mental Health?

### MASUM

13. How did you come across MASUM, when? Who introduced you?
14. In what ways does MASUM help people?
15. Has anything about your life changed since you met MASUM? Before/after?
16. What could MASUM do to help more people?
17. If it weren't for MASUM who could help you and the community?

## Part 3 – Structured Questions

### SUPPORT/PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY

18. What is it like being a woman in your community?
19. How does the presence of MASUM and other community groups influence your life and choices?
20. Do you think that through working with MASUM and in the community, you and people in your community can be part of planning activities and take on leadership roles?
21. Thinking of other people in your community or other women you know who may have similar lives to you – do you think that by working together, people in your community can influence decisions that affect the community? Why, please explain.

22. Tell me some specific things you get from participating in MASUM and in the community ie) peer support, knowledge, skills, confidence, personal experiences of efficacy...
23. Do you feel yourself acting on these new skills? Or see anyone doing it firsthand?
24. How does that make you feel? Ie) empowered? More confident?
25. By participating in projects and things like MASUM do you see a new future?

### INDEPENDENCE/CONTROL/RIGHTS

26. Tell me about someone you see as being independent and why? A role model, ideally a woman but not necessarily.
27. Do you have enough control over your life? In what ways do you show this control?
28. How do you understand the concept of rights?
29. Do you ever use this concept to think about yourself?
30. In what way is it a good concept to help women in India?
31. In what sense is it a bad concept?

### FUTURES

32. What are your hopes for the future?
33. How would you hope your children's lives will be different? More independent?
34. What factors get in the way of you having this kind of life – material, symbolic, relational, institutional...?
35. What can help you get this kind of life – material, symbolic, relational, institutional...?

Is there anything else that you think is important that we have not discussed?

Is there anything you would like to know about me?

Thank you

## *Topic Guide 2 - NGO/MASUM Workers*

### Warm-up and demographics

1. Age
2. Education
3. Family... Married, age married, in laws, children... family dynamics
4. Community – What is there to do near where you live? Participate in?
5. Media and Politics

### Part 1 – Open-Ended Life Histories - Please can you tell me a little about your life

6. What is your typical day-to-day routine like? What is your favourite/least favourite parts of the day?
7. Please tell me about your work?
8. Tell me about 3 things in your life that have been good
9. Tell me about 3 things in your life that have been difficult and how you have tried to cope with these

### Part 2 – Semi-Structured, Slightly focused Questions

#### Domestic Violence (if allowed)

10. How would you define Domestic Violence?
11. India has a prevalence of Domestic Violence – Can you tell me why you think that is?
12. What support do you know of for people who suffer Domestic Violence?  
Healthcare? Maternal? Mental Health?

#### MASUM

13. How did you come across MASUM, when? Who introduced you?
14. How did you come to work for MASUM?

15. In what ways does MASUM help people?
16. What has changed about your life since you met MASUM?  
Before/after?
17. What could MASUM do to help more people?
18. If it weren't for MASUM who could help you and the community?
19. What is it like to work in this field? With the individuals? The organisation
20. Please tell me a little about your work in the last few months – what has been good, what has been challenging? At home and at work?

### Part 3 – Structured Questions

#### SUPPORT/PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY

21. What is it like being a woman in your community?
22. How does the presence of MASUM and other community groups influence your life and choices?
23. Do you think that through working with MASUM and in the community, you and people in your community can be part of planning activities and take on leadership roles?
24. Thinking of other people in your community or other women you know who may have similar lives to you – do you think that by working together, people in your community can influence decisions that affect the community? Why, please explain.
25. Tell me some specific things you get from participating in MASUM and in the community ie) peer support, knowledge, skills, confidence, personal experiences of efficacy...
26. Do you feel yourself acting on these skills? Or see others doing it firsthand?
27. How does that make you feel? Ie) empowered? More confident?
28. Has participating and working with things like MASUM helped you see a new future?

#### INDEPENDENCE/CONTROL/RIGHTS

29. Tell me about someone you see as being independent and why?
30. Do you have enough control over your life? In what ways do you show this control?
31. How do you understand the concept of rights?
32. Do you ever use this concept to think about yourself?
33. In what way is it a good concept to help women in India?
34. In what sense is it a bad concept?
35. What do you think that women around here do that their husbands or family don't know about?

### FUTURES

36. What are your hopes for the future?
37. How would you hope your children's lives will be different? More independent?
38. What factors get in the way of you having this kind of life – material, symbolic, relational, institutional...?
39. What can help you get this kind of life – material, symbolic, relational, institutional...?

Is there anything else that you think is important that we have not discussed?

Is there anything you would like to know about me?

Thank you

### *Topic Guide 3 – Youth Rights Group*

1. Introductions about self
2. Why is there the need for a youth group?
3. Are there any other community support groups doing the same thing? If so what

are they doing and what does MASUM do differently/better?

4. In what specific ways does MASUM help people, particularly in the youth groups?
5. What is it like being a young person - boy or girl in the villages? What are the good and bad things?
6. How would you define Domestic Violence?
7. How are young people affected by Domestic Violence in particular?
8. How does working with MASUM affect young people's lives and choices?  
Please could you give me some concrete examples of how it improves lives?
9. How will MASUM's work with youth hopefully increase women's empowerment and men's views and help with issues of Domestic Violence?
10. Who do you think young people look up to and why? Do they look up to independent, educated people?
11. How do you understand the concept of rights?
12. Is this a useful concept for young people in India?

Is there anything else that you think is important that we have not discussed?

Is there anything you would like to know about me?

Thank you

*Topic Guide 4 – Director of MASUM - Manisha Gupte, Director and Founder of MASUM*

Thank you for giving me access to your organisation, coordinators, support group members

Wanted to interview you towards the end

- MASUM's methodology, what they do differently to other organisations
- Wider context of Domestic Violence in India

### Warm-up and demographics

1. Age
2. Education
3. Family... Married, age married, in laws, children... family dynamics
4. Community – What is there to do near where you live? Participate in?
5. Media and Politics

Please could you tell me a little about your life, your family etc and how you came to found MASUM.

### Part 1 – Open-Ended Life Histories - Please can you tell me a little about your life

6. What is your typical day-to-day routine like? What is your favourite/least favourite parts of the day?
7. Please tell me a little about your work
8. Tell me about 3 things in your life that have been good
9. Tell me about 3 things in your life that have been difficult and how you have tried to cope with these
10. Please tell me a little about your work in the last few months – what has been good, what has been challenging?

### Part 2 – Semi-Structured, Slightly focused Questions

#### MASUM AND Domestic Violence

11. Please tell me a little about the establishment of MASUM. What is it like to work in this field? With the individuals? The organisation?

12. Please tell me about the structure of MASUM, the staff, volunteers and the different project areas.
13. In what specific ways does MASUM help people?
14. What could MASUM do to help more people?
15. If it weren't for MASUM who could help these communities that I have met?  
What other support is there for example – healthcare, maternal, mental health?
16. How would you define Domestic Violence?
17. India is known to have a prevalence of Domestic Violence – Can you tell me why you think that is? What is the wider context?
18. Who are the main players in the Domestic Violence response in India (ie NGOs, the State, external development agencies, faith based organisations, what is the range)?
19. What currently are the different ways that these different key players like the State and NGOs respond to the challenge of Domestic Violence in India?
20. What currently works and what currently does not work about these approaches? For example what in your opinion are the three most effective other responses in the region?
21. What is distinctive about MASUM's approach and in what way does it improve on what other people are doing?
22. I see from the MASUM library and from the fact that you have published extensively on MASUM topics that you know your field well - What do you know about the Domestic Violence response globally? What do you like or not like about it?
23. What is special about the Indian context?
24. To what extent do you think you could export the MASUM approach as an example of best practice to other places like England?
25. Given the many women you have met through MASUM what are the recurring themes around Domestic Violence, factors and support?

### Part 3 – Structured Questions

#### SUPPORT/PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY

26. What is it like being a woman in your community?
27. How does the presence of MASUM and other community groups influence your life and choices?
28. Do you think that your work as Director of MASUM has helped you take on other leadership roles?
29. Thinking of other people in your community or other women you know who may have similar lives to you – do you think that by working together, people in your community can influence decisions that affect the community? Why, please explain.
30. Has participating and working with things like MASUM helped you see a new future for yourself, for others, for your community?

### INDEPENDENCE/CONTROL/RIGHTS

31. Tell me about someone you see as being independent and why?
32. Do you have enough control over your life? In what ways do you show this control?
33. How do you understand the concept of rights?
34. Do you ever use this concept to think about yourself?
35. In what way is it a good concept to help women in India?
36. In what sense is it a bad concept?
37. What do you think that women around here do that their husbands or family don't know about?
38. What do you think defines agency or empowerment for the women who make use of MASUM?

### FUTURES

39. What are your hopes for the future?
40. How would you hope your children's lives will be different?
41. What factors get in the way of you having this kind of life – material, symbolic, relational, institutional...?
42. What can help you get this kind of life – material, symbolic, relational,

institutional...?

43. What are your hopes for the future of women in India? How will this be achieved?
44. How does community mobilisation create more enabling( material, symbolic, institutional and relational) contexts for the exercise of agency by women.
- 45.

#### OTHER

FROM Notepad list – note which I want to ask and in which order

Is there anything else that you think is important that we have not discussed?

Is there anything you would like to know about me?

Thank you

## Appendix 2 - Transcript/ 1 raw interview, Anonymised

**Name - xxx**

Age - xx

Education - xxx

Village - xxx

I have three daughters and one son. All my children are married and I stay here alone. This is my natal family home, but I stay independently. Nowadays the my youngest granddaughter also stays with me for her studies.

My daughter's young daughter is only fourteen year old. One relative staying in their home, a boy twenty years old, lured away her with him. The parents got worried found the girl missing and made a police complaint. They found her and brought her back. But the later the boy still stalked her and threatened to take her away and marry her. Fearing her security parents again went to police station to complain, but they did not pay much attention. They asked for money, but where would the poor parents give it from? At that time we all women of support group went to help her. As we were together police had to listen to her. They filed a police complaint against the boy and warned him not to follow her. Then he stopped his tantrums. The girl is now studying again.

My another granddaughter, we married her to a boy we thought is good match for her. But soon she returned back. The family is good but the boy is not working, he is also indulging in criminal activity. My granddaughter said she don't want to stay with him. Now with help of MASUM we filed for divorce. She has come back and learning tailoring at the moment. In both these cases I got support from MASUM and support group members.

I am also a support group member. We help women. Women come to seek help anytime. Even if some woman comes late night, knocks your door, I give her shelter. Mostly women harassed by the alcoholic husbands would seek shelter in the night to

save themselves from his brutality.

There was a family in the village, the husband was alcoholic, he had two wives, he would beat them both after he would drink. Both the women come for shelter to my home. As support group members it is our responsibility to give shelter to women suffering from violence. We learned in the meetings that we would work to stop violence, give shelter to women in need and that is what we do.

I have always helped women. I just cannot ignore when I know that someone is in trouble. A young woman stays nearby. Her husband does not beat her, but both fight quite often. Once I saw her crying and going towards village well. Later I could not spot her. I got worried. I looked for her everywhere. It was dark, so I took torch and searched for her in the village. Lastly I went to her home. She was inside. I was relieved to see her. I told her that I was worried to see her upset and so looked for her everywhere. She was overwhelmed that I so much cared for her. I genuinely felt for her, it is of no use to say or do anything once the person has gone.

There was an elderly couple in the village. The husband was quite hyper. She faced physical and sexual violence. He would do anything extreme to bother her. He would burn her clothes, break the utensil, anything. He would sell household goods for liquor. We would give her some utensils, cloths and he would again sell them. Once when he was about to take the household goods for sell, we went in a group and took the sack of pots from him. He was angry, but we made him realize that we would not tolerate his excesses. We took the sacks, the grain, bigger boxes, everything in the house that he might sold and took it out and kept it safely in another home. The main reason was his sexual desire. Both were little elderly and the woman was unwilling to have sexual relations and she could not bear it. So he would take out his anger. The woman would come to take shelter with me very often to save herself from his beating. I gave her shelter. She suffered violence till she died two years ago.

I came to know about MASUM because of XXX. She called me for meetings and then I became a support group member. I have also got a lot of help from MASUM to solve problems of my granddaughters.

We get information through our meetings. XXX takes us to police station. MASUM organizes such visits so that women get to know how the police work, how we can approach them. Interaction with police also helps to build women's confidence. There I told that police officers do not listen to us, unless we pay them. So are we supposed to pay them to get their help? But we were told that, citizens need not pay the police to file a complaint. It is their job and they get monthly salary for their work. We were told that we can approach senior officers if the concerned officer does not pay attention to our problems.

Violence against women is an old problem. It existed even before MASUM started its work in the village. But that time nobody talked about it or did anything to stop violence or help women suffering from violence. There are always some problem or the other in the villages. Some of them approach MASUM, and sometimes we also go whenever we come to know the woman is suffering.

There is a family in the village. The husband works in a school. He has good reputed job and therefore he does not like the wife to work. He wont mind her working in fields, but he does not want her to work in marriage ceremonies, which fetches her better income. He does not pay her either. When she goes out for work, he beats her as he thinks it is insulting to him. Once the support group women went to her house. A senior woman asked him why he behaves this way with his wife. Either he has to give her enough to run the family or let her do work that she is doing. After women's warning he temper came down. We go in group, then it creates a pressure on him. In this case village men also helped us, they came alone and warned the man. Thus we create a social pressure on husband who is harassing his wife and help them to resolve the problem in them.

*Work you do*

I do not have any land. I do wage work. Agricultural work is seasonal, I do it whenever I get and otherwise I sit at home. In monsoon I get work. I go by 10 am and work till 6 pm in the farms. I get up early by 5 am. Finish household work, cooking,

washing, fetching water, feeding the hens etc.

### *Family*

This is my natal village. I stay near my natal family but stay independently. I came back from my matrimonial home twenty years ago after my husband died. At that time my youngest son was one and a half year old. My husband was a wage laborer, he met with an accident and died.

I did not get his death certificate because the employer did not let the case get registered. He just paid me Rs. XXX as compensation. I somehow survived, by asking alms and doing wage work. I belong to XXX community. Traditionally we work by talking alms from village, in return we give free labor to community programs and to people whenever needed. We also worked as village guards. But we did not earn enough from traditional sources, hence also did wage work. I did wage work after my husband died because I could not get sufficient through asking alms. I married my daughters early because I did not have any money or resources to marry them properly.

After I came to this village, I became a member in MASUM's SHG. With the help of loan I did income generating activities like selling dry fishes, running grinding mill. My brothers are also supportive. They helped me to have my own independent room as my home.

Now I cannot do heavy work in the fields, I do either weeding or vegetables picking.

### MASUM

People appreciate MASUM's work. We take campaigns and public programs on the issue of violence. MASUM's work creates a social pressure against violence. Even the local leaders are cooperative. Male leaders, youth members also help women in addressing problem of violence.

I could not attend school, though I wanted to study. But now because of MASUM I am getting to learn. MASUM gave us training about various rights of women and laws. MASUM told us how to support women. If we see that a woman is unhappy, she is not mixing with others, sitting aside, weeping, we have to go and talk to her. Unless we talk to women we do not know what is bothering her. Her burden also gets released. I like helping others. I feel for people who need help. I cannot fight with anyone, my nature is soft and I have helping nature. Since I have done good, I got a good life. I could overcome all my problems. Now here I have a home of my own, my son is working. Everything is good.

### *Violence in community*

Mostly the men who are alcoholic are most abusive. Liquor is the main problem leading to violence against women. The wives feel humiliated and do not share it with anyone. But we come to know from somewhere. It is not possible to hide the problem of violence for long in a village. After we come to know we go to visit her. We never go alone when we have to talk to the husband, as he does not listen unless we exert social pressure.

### *Rights*

Yes, men and women are equals. They both have equal rights. Men should share the household work.

My son do all the work at home. His wife also goes to work. So he has to do work and he does everything from cleaning the house, fetching water, everything left behind after she leaves home. One person cannot do it all, so family members have to share work.

But not all men are the same. My granddaughter did not get a good husband. He is criminal, he does not stay at home or care for her. He says I married her because my mother forced me to marry. He has not accepted her as a wife. Now we are going to get the divorce.

### *Good and bad experiences*

Now my life is smooth, it has come on tracks. But I have had to struggle a lot. I have worked very hard. It is not easy to bring up four children. I used to work till midnights when I stitched Godhadi (a traditional quilt hand stitched and made from used clothes, sarees) till late night and again got up early morning to go to work on fields.

Sometimes I did not even get time to fetch water and have a bath in the morning, so I did that in the evening after I returned from work. At that time wage rates were minimal so I had to work hard. Even after working for long hours I would not be able to sleep in the nights because of tension. I was worried how I would raise my children. These tensions took a toll on my health. I suffered from heavy bleeding for a long time. Later when it was unbearable I consulted a doctor. I got hysterectomy done in Pune civil hospital where I was admitted for three months till I fully recovered.

While I was in hospital my four children lived with relatives, my mother, brother and sister. I felt very bad, but treatment helped me. I had this surgery when my son was very young. Some women suffering like me with bleeding have not taken proper treatment, they died of cancer. But I got proper treatment. Now everything is alright. There is no tension. My children are married and settled in their lives.

### *Future*

I wish good luck and happy life for my grandchildren. I wish my granddaughter gets a good husband. One granddaughter is a little slow learner. She could not cope with school education. Therefore we married her early. But her husband did not turn up to be a good person. He was from our kinship circle. Such mishap has never happened in our family. Now we will make sure the boy is really good before we marry her again.

## Appendix 3 - Coding Frame

Global Themes	Organising Themes	Basic Themes - Volunteers and Beneficiaries	
1 - Context of women's lives and experiences of domestic violence	Cultural triggers of DV	Forced Marriage	
		Honour	
		Caste	
	DV Takes place in: Private and in Public	Community Unaware	
		In-law/family tension	
		People Gossip	
		Noise of dispute	
		Police	
		Widows	
	DV can be Physical and/or Emotional	General Abuse	
		Burns	
		Physical Fights	
		Self Harm	
		Domestic Violence	
		Children after the suicide of the mother	
		Depression	
		Parental pressure to stay with abusive husband	
		Frustrations and anger	
		Harassment	
Wanting to escape			
2 - Limits on Agency - the context (Women's agency is limited by socio-economic conditions)	Lifestyle limits and Conventions that limit	Additional Work like agriculture	
		Alcohol	
		Finances	
		Husband not earning	
		MASUM time consuming	
		Sad Instances	
		Criticism of MASUM	
		Problem Solving	
		Sex Education	
		Structural Violence	
		Young Marriage	
		Threat of Suicide	
		Suicide	Suicide
	Being a single woman		
	Gender Inequality	Responsibility	
		Unequal share of the work	
		Women as objects	
		Unequal treatment of sexes generally	
		Blame the girl	
3 - How the women cope/ indigenous coping strategies/prior to MASUM	Mental/Emotional Coping	Empathise	
		Safe space mentally via basic comforts	
		Space to confide	
	Physical/Basic Human Needs Coping	Prevent Self harm	
		Food	
		Shelter	
		Protect another	
		Space to leave with children	
	Wider support networks	Father help financially	
		Family build new home or space for return	
		Keep Helping others	
		Homelife improved	
		Leave and return to family home	
	4 - Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the individual level	positive experiences and new skills	Settle into situation
			Women working as breadwinner
Happiness and stability from being part of MASUM			
Peer networks created by being part of MASUM			
Information from being part of MASUM			
MASUM loans			
MASUM programs and training			
Open and transparent about past			
changes in home/private lives		Wellness from being part of MASUM	
		Being part of MASUM for meaning not money	
		Divorce and next steps	
	Household and Gender roles challenged		
	Independence		
	Land Registration Disputes		
	Marriage with consent		
	Member of MASUM		
	Change others opinion		

5 - Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the social level	Influencing others	Wanting difference for children and sisters
		New confidence to change relations with police
		Confidence to tell others not to gossip
	Community/Collective	Adults Responsibility
		Can fix it
		Community and MASUM awareness
		Educate Children
		Exert Pressure
		Help Seeking and Preventative Measures
		Injustice
		Interventions
		MASUM effectiveness
		MASUM membership
		Samvad centres
		Social Boycott
		Life goes on with solutions
		Collectives and Social Pressure
		MASUM talks to people
		Public confrontations
		Relief
Sympathetic men		
6 - Participation in MASUM assists coping and increases agency on the political level/ in line with MASUM wide strategies	Direct political links/leveraging position	Gram Panchayat politics
	challenging political/taboo issues	Interest in politics
		Pregnancy, Abortion
		Education
		Equal rights
		Equal treatment
		Marginalised
		MASUM oath
		Public Programs
		Judgment changing
7 - Challenges Facing MASUM	Factors Facilitating	Women's enthusiasm to make changes
		Women wanting to have a skill/training/information
		Women wanting to be called a volunteer
		Close relationship with politicians
		Fathers/Sympathetic Male Support
		Belief in importance of social work
		Meeting other likeminded people
	The women start to feel political about asserting their rights ie) property rights - feminist approach	
	Factos Hindering	Time and routine constraints
		Finances - volunteers not paid, general economic situation of the women MASUM works
		Need more volunteers/over stretched
		Overworked - can impact families/kids, short-tempered
		Long/hard transport between villages/homes
		A lot of responsibility for the volunteers
		Traumatic/hard work for the volunteers
		Seen as interfering in private affairs
		Seen as stirring up trouble by creating awareness of women's rights
		Selfish interests of being a volunteer/what they can get out of it
		Disapproval by family members of their daughter/wife volunteering
		State resources such as state hospital/police not always on MASUM's side/unhelpful
		People unaware of what is good and bad ie) ambulance as a negative thing not medical help
		Social pressure - petitions against MASUM
		Personal taunting/bullying for being part of MASUM
Not all women can access MASUM - travel hard		
Elders in village sometimes disapprove		
8 - Ways forward for the women participating in MASUM and aims for the organisation	Equality in the Public Sphere	Futures
	Agency in the everyday	Politics
		Not want to marry
		Public Hearing
		Public Speaking
		Struggle but survive
		Supportive environment for all
		Values of equality from childhood
		Values over money
		Women's rights

#### Appendix 4 - Participant Background Information Table

Interviewee	Age	Level of Education	Beneficiary/Volunteer
1	48	Unknown	Volunteer
2	46	Class 7	Volunteer
3	45	Unknown	Beneficiary
4	40	Class 12	Volunteer
5	40	Class 7	Volunteer
6	36	Unknown	Volunteer
7	60	None	Beneficiary
8	36	Class 8	Beneficiary
9	57	None	Beneficiary
10	60	Class 6	Beneficiary
11	44	Class 7	Beneficiary
12	37	Class 10	Beneficiary
13	69	Class 10	Beneficiary
14	60	None	Beneficiary
15	32	Class 7	Beneficiary
16	47	Class 4	Beneficiary

## Appendix 5 - Ethics Proposal and Risk Assessment

### **Additional Information for Part B – XXX – Ethics Application**

- . **Title of project.** To what extent is MASUM an example of best practice to address violence against women/subordination of women? A case study from India.  
(Former Research Question adapted during study)
  
- . **Purpose of project and its academic rationale.** This project is for the Dissertation component of my Masters in Health, Community and Development in the School of Social Psychology. I am interested in gender, agency and human rights. I would like to continue this research into PhD long-term with Professor Cathy Campbell.
  
- . **Brief description of methods and measurements.** I will conduct 16-18 interviews. These will be with:
  - The head of the MASUM organisation, Manisha Gupte.
  - Several of the project leaders in the prevention of violence against women who work for MASUM.
  - Interviews with women who attend counseling or information sessions with MASUM and have experienced violence against women.

I will also attend town hall meetings in local villages with the project leaders to observe these meetings.

- . **Participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria.** I have spoken with the head of the organisation, Manisha Gupte who has agreed to provide me with access to the organisation, their offices in Pune, the project leaders, the village meetings and will organise for access to the women through discussion with the project leaders. These women will have the project explained to them and participation will be voluntary.

I will conduct 16-18 interviews with:

1 person – Head of organisation

4-8 people – Project leaders

Approx 12 women with whom MASUM work

Many of the women attend counseling in the city of Pune and some of the discussion meetings take place in more rural village hall settings.

All participants will have the procedures explained to them, by myself and the organisation in advance. I will use a translator who I will work with to train in advance.

I will tell participants that their participation is voluntary.

I will obtain written consent for participation.

If I observe any town hall meetings I will ask participants for consent.

I will tell participants they may withdraw at any point for any reason.

I do not intend to use questionnaires but should this become necessary I will give participants the option to omit any questions they would rather not answer.

I will tell participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality and if published, will not be identifiable as theirs.

I will debrief participants at the end of the study.

Age, Gender and Exclusion/Inclusion Criteria – I am actively working with MASUM on this. The criteria is women, aged 18 and above (legal age of adulthood in India) with whom MASUM is engaged to address issues of violence against women. This will be women involved in counseling with MASUM and other initiatives such as discussion groups. Their participation will be entirely voluntary. MASUM will discretely advertise in-house and the project leaders will discretely approach individuals about the possibility of interviews.

. **Consent, participant information, debriefing (\*attach information, consent, & debrief sheets)** Below in Appendix. These will be translated.

. **A clear concise statement of ethical issues raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them.** I wanted to make it clear in this ethics application that I will be interviewing women who have experienced some violence and are in counseling for this. Having spoken with my supervisor, Professor Cathy Campbell, we feel that it is possible that there could be some psychological discomfort but that the organisation has specific counseling and support services. We will be speaking to women who are chosen from these services and are regularly attending these services. These women will be chosen and approached by their project officers who know their background and the appropriateness of their involvement in the interviews. MASUM has a big staff and we will make sure that extra counseling support is offered including making a point of getting a health visitor to visit the women and staff who are involved within a week of the interviews. Participation will be entirely voluntary.

. **Estimated start date and duration of the project.** I intend to go to Pune, India during the LSE Easter break. My dates will be from approximately 1<sup>st</sup> -30<sup>th</sup> April. I intend to complete the interviews and data collection over about a 3-4 week period.

## Appendix 5 - Consent form

### Informed Consent

I am [redacted] doing a study to find out about participation with MASUM on women's empowerment. for London School of Economics, UK. You are being invited to take part in the study. You will be interviewed, the data will be recorded. Information that will hurt you will be anonymized and otherwise you will be duly credited. Also all data will be shared with MASUM and you prior to publication. In case data is used for any other publication than mentioned here, I will approach you for your fresh consent.

Please can I have your consent to take part in the study.

If you have any concerns anytime, during or after the interview, you can contact me and/or MASUM.

MASUM contacts - Dr. Manisha Gupte (020) 26995633  
My personal number - +447702030791 or E-mail - [redacted]@gmail.com

### Participant's Consent

Yes, I understand what has been explained about the study and I am willing to participate.

Name of the participant -

Signature -

### माहितीपूर्ण संमती

नमस्कार, मी शॅटिल गोबर, लंडन स्कूल ऑफ इकॉनॉमिक्स, या युके देशातील संस्थेसाठी मी एक अभ्यास करत आहे व या संस्थेतर्फे तो प्रसिद्ध होणार आहे. स्त्रियांविषयीच्या या अभ्यासात सहभागी होण्यासाठी आपली संमती हवी आहे. महिला सर्वांगीण उत्कर्ष मंडळ (मासूम) संस्थेत सहभागी झाल्याचे, कामाचे आपले अनुभव काय आहेत, त्यामुळे कोणते बदल झाले, सक्षमीकरण कसे झाले याविषयीचा हा अभ्यास आहे. यासाठी तुमची मुलाखत घेतली जाईल, ती रेकॉर्ड करण्यात येईल. जी माहिती नावासह जाहीर झाल्याने तुम्हाला त्रास होईल अशा ठिकाणी आपल्या नावाचा उल्लेख केला जाणार नाही. इतर वेळी तुमच्या माहितीचे श्रेय तुम्हाला दिले जाईल. प्रकाशनाच्या आधी सर्व माहिती मासूमला व तुम्हाला माहितीसाठी दाखवण्यात येईल. वर उल्लेखलेल्या प्रकाशनाखेरीज अन्य ठिकाणी माहिती वापरायची झाल्यास त्यासाठी स्वतंत्रपणे तुमची संमती घेण्यात येईल.

या अभ्यासात सहभागी होण्यास आपली संमती आहे असल्यास कृपया खाली आपली सही करावी.

याबाबत मुलाखतीदरम्यान वा पुढेही कधी काही प्रश्न विचारायचे असल्यास, काही सांगायचे असल्यास तुम्ही माझ्याशी व मासूमशी संपर्क साधू शकता.

मासूम संपर्क - डॉ. मनिषा गुप्ते, फोन - ०२० - २६९९५६३३  
माझा फोन - +४४७७०२०३०७९१ व इमेल - [redacted]@gmail.com

### सहभागी महिलेची संमती

होय, या अभ्यासाविषयी मला जी माहिती सांगण्यात आली ती मला समजली आहे आणि सहभागी होण्यास माझी संमती आहे.

नाव -

सही -

## **Appendix 6 - The history of MASUM and the wider policy context in which they operate**

Please note that a great deal of this information comes from the MASUM website (<http://www.masum-india.org.in>) and my field notes.

### *History*

MASUM stands for 'Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsh Mandal' which means 'Women's Forum for Integrated Development'. It was co-founded by Dr. Manisha Gupte and Dr. Ramesh Awasthi in 1987 through a five year stay in the drought-prone Purandar block of Pune district and is now based out of two offices, one city and one rural in Pune, Maharashtra, India.

The organisation takes an holistic approach to DV, staying true to its feminist, human rights ideology. The organisation has a specific methodology in order to help women survive DV and become empowered agents of change in their own communities. MASUM believes that people can sort out their own issues collectively with just a little external support and that to add too much interference is to create a new problem or dependency.

They work to address the causes of DV such as caste issues and patriarchy and their responses assimilate the state and NGO responses such as legal, welfare and health but MASUM then goes further with context specific community work such as forums for child rights discussions.

MASUM primarily works with the most marginalised communities, with rural women in drought-prone areas of Pune, Maharashtra State.

### *Wider Policy Context*

Beyond community work, MASUM is concerned with the national and international context and aims to include women in politics and to look to the future with their work on youth rights and their own village-based councils.

MASUM is an important player in the region in terms of human rights, working to reinforce women's networks and rights from village to international realms.

At the state and national levels, MASUM works with and trains other NGOs and organisations in the field in their methodology and is now acknowledged as a trainer on ‘gender, health rights, Economic, Social and Cultural rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), violence against women (VAW), and dalit and minority rights.’ (MASUM website).

### *Literature from MASUM*

The last part of the literature review process was to read about the MASUM organisation and the founders’ approach to women’s empowerment. This added further information on the context and interventions in DV in India (Bhate-Deosthali, Rage & Prakesh, 2013) More specifically the issue of ‘honour’ and the importance of daily, social work for the issue of DV in India (Gupte, Awasthi & Chickerur, 2012). Finally, Gupte’s gender caste matrix describing the complexities of gender and status and how they interweave was particularly valuable in looking at the complexities and incentives for certain groups in social change (Gupte in Gupte, Ramesh & Chickerur 2012).

### **Appendix 7 – Photos (A selection without interviewees to preserve anonymity)**



MASUM Volunteers and translator, right



Village 1



Materials on the wall of MASUM village centre



MASUM volunteer working on health remedies



MASUM staff



Pune suburbs



MASUM Volunteer



Home in Village 5