Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India: Understanding Experts' perception of a Cognitive Shift

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Abstract

The Indian state has achieved a considerable growth rate in female education in the last two decades. There is a considerable literature on increasing literacy rate among women. But little research has been done to explore an impact of education on women's empowerment. In the absence of such research, little is known about the status of women's empowerment in contemporary India. The purpose of this classical grounded theory study was to discover a theory, derived from the biographical narrative interview and expert interview, which explains the status of women's empowerment. The fieldwork is divided at two levels, the first one being the pre-study fieldwork, where the data were collected by the biographical narrative interviews. The second one is expert interview, where 6 respondents from each method were interviewed. At the second level, the main study data were collected by expert interviews. 22 experts were interviewed at the main study fieldwork. The expert interview data was collected first through selective sampling turned into theoretical sampling. Due to theoretical sampling, experts from diverse groups were interviewed. The pre-study and main study data were analysed with classical grounded theory. The substantive grounded theory was discovered from using theoretical sampling, memo, open coding, constant comparison, selective coding, theoretical coding, and sorting. The key finding of the analysis was discovered as "The Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India", addressing the participants' main concern: "way of living". The status of women in the country is perceived as "victimization of women" by experts. The main concern "way of living" emerged, is a belief system on the basis of which people interpret and perceive the knowledge they received from different external sources. "Way of living" is also the reason for experts' various approaches to empower women in India. The result from this study was appropriate to cognitive discourse. The findings from this study might be useful for policy makers while assessing the impact of education on women's

empowerment. The emerged theory will be a foundation for future research on education and empowerment.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, Mr. Madhusudan Shah. Who ignited the spark of creativity in me and supported me to follow my dream. I also dedicate this thesis to my mother Lalita Shah, for encouraging me throughout the journey.

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List of Abbreviations

Basic Social Process   --   BSP

Biographical Narrative Interview   --   BNI

Classical Grounded Theory   --   CGT

Expert Interview   --   EI

Scheduled Caste   --   SC

Scheduled Tribes   --   ST

Other Backward Class   --   OBC

Liberalization-Privatization-Globalization   --   LPG

Biographical Narrative Interview Name Memo   --   BNICHMO

Expert Interview Name Memo   --   EISWMO

Chapter One: Introduction

India is a land of diversity and consists of approximately 17% of the world's population. The subcontinent is a home of four major religions: Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. The majority of the population are followers of the Hindu religion (80%), followed by Muslims (13%), Christians (2.3%) and Sikhs (2%)[1]. The structure of the society is highly hierarchical, such as hierarchies of age, sex, caste, sub-caste, and class and occupation within the community. These hierarchical natures are established and weaved around different customs, norms and belief systems (Chitnis 2004)[2] and especially Indian women are controlled by patriarchal and religious norms (Chatterjee 1989).

Though India, the largest democratic country in the world, has successfully worked as a single force for seventy years since independence, modern India is dealing with social differentiation and various other modern social problems. The most prominent among these problems are the caste discrimination, widening income inequality, gender-inequality, gender-based violence and increasing fundamental activities in recent years.

The current study mainly focuses on one of such hierarchies and changing belief systems and norms in contemporary India. The study investigates the empowerment of Indian women with reference to education in contemporary society. On the one hand, the state has achieved remarkable growth in female literacy rate and labour force participation of women, yet the state is failing to achieve gender equality and tackle gender-based violence. The crime rate against women in India is soaring. It has increased from 16.3%

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[1] For more information, please refer to https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/india/religionsinindia.htm. Accessed 17 June, 2018.

[2] Suma Chitnis, "Feminism: Indian Ethos and Indian Convictions in Feminism in India" in Feminism in India, ed. Maitrayee Choudhary, series editor, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan (New Delhi: Kali for women, 2004),11.

in 2007 to 53% in the year 2016[3]. The cause for gender inequality and gender-based violence in the country derives its roots from various patriarchal socio-cultural norms. The patriarchal structure is embedded in societal structure and power hierarchies.

To understand the roots of patriarchy in past and present, the current chapter is divided into three sections. The first section explains the background of the current study which includes the caste system and contemporary nature of the caste system in India followed by religion with a focus on the Muslim religious community in the country. The second section of the chapter discusses the development of the women's movement and NGOization of feminist movements to explain different standpoints of empowerment. The third section demonstrates the development of women's education to understand progress of the women since independence and finally it explains the structure of the current thesis.

Section I: Background of the study

Education is one of the important components of women empowerment as it enables women to challenge traditional roles and helps them to face various challenges (Singh 2016). In contemporary Indian society the female education has been increasing. In the year 2011 it was 65.46 against 8.86 per cent in 1951.[4] The present study aims to explore whether women have challenged gender roles and confronted gender-based violence due to increasing education and what is the status of women empowerment in the country.

In order to understand the changing status of women due to the impact of education, it is necessary to understand traditional gender roles and women's status in the patriarchal state in the past. "Indian woman" is not a monolithic identity, but the position of Indian

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[3] For more information, please refer to https://newsclick.in/crimes-against-women-increased-83-over-last-ten-years-says-ncrb. Report on National Crime Research Bureau report for violence on women, 2016. Accessed 17 June 2018.

[4] Please refer to http://www.mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/reports_and_publication/statistical_publication/social_statistics/Chapter_3.pdf for more information. Accessed 18 June, 2018.

women has to be addressed with reference to their position in different castes, classes and tribes. The following sub-section explains the caste system in India and position of women in various castes to understand intersectionality in the country.

1.1   The Caste System: A System of Hierarchy

"Women in India" is not a homogenous category but stratified into various castes/classes and religions. The socio-economic growth of these castes, classes and religions is at different levels in the country. The Dalit (lower caste/class), tribal and Muslim women have gained less from economic growth, educational progress and other human development sectors in the country (Sabharwal and Sonalkar 2015). These discrepancies of modern India have their roots in the origin and the nature of the caste system in the past.

The caste system is more than two thousand years old and prevalent not only among Hindu but also amongst Muslim, Christians and Sikh communities. It is a closed system of stratification where people's status depends upon their birth (Deshpande 2010). The term 'caste' is derived from the Portuguese word 'casta' meaning race, lineage or breed[5]. During the colonization period the Portuguese identified different highly fragmented social groups into castes, which was later developed by the British administration to promote an order in Indian society (Rao 2010; Pye 2002). The system of people's classification into four hierarchically ranked castes is called Varnas. These four hierarchically caste are further divided into various sub-castes. The important characteristics of the caste system are endogamy, hierarchy of the caste into high and low status and hereditary occupation. The system of stratification is embedded into cultural sets of norms and beliefs around ritual purity and pollution (Spears and Thorat 2015; Subedi 2014; Dumont 1970)

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[5] For more information, please refer to http://www.preservearticles.com/201105076354/what-do-you-mean-by-the-term-caste.html. Accessed 16 June,2018
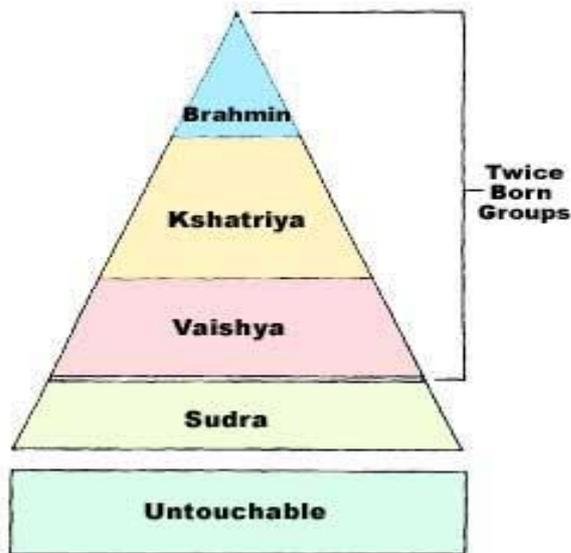
Figure 1 depicts the hierarchy and status of each caste. Brahmins, which are at the top, have the highest status and Sudras/Kshudras have the lowest status. Untouchables which are shown outside the pyramid represent outcastes. Each caste is associated with specific occupation such as, Brahmins are priests and teachers, Kshatriyas are warriors and rulers, Vaishyas are farmers, merchants, and artisans and Sudras are laborers. The untouchables or Harijans or Dalits' are outside the caste system assigned to do cleaning occupation--scavengers and skinning dead animals to which society refers as the dirtiest jobs.

The institutionalization of the caste system is through various Hindu sacred texts. One justification is a belief in the primal man, Purush, who destroyed himself to create human society. Different parts of his body created four different Varnas. The Brahmins evolved from his head, the Kshatriyas from his hands, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet. Another justification is a theory of karma. Karma is one's past life deeds which decides one's caste in the present life; a lower caste means bad karma of one's past life and vice versa.

During the colonial period, various social reform movements, started by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dr. M. Visvervaraya, Jyotirao Phule, Mahatma Gandhi, Ambedkar to mention a few, have struggled for eradication of the caste system. After independence, the

constitution of India granted equality of status and opportunity for all citizens of India[6] and abolition of untouchability (Article 17)[7]. An official name given by the constitution to Dalits/ the lower caste is Scheduled Caste. The government of India, under protective discrimination policy adopted the reservation policy in 1992 under which certain seats (maximum 50%) in government educational institutions and government jobs are reserved for marginalized sections of the society which includes the "Scheduled Caste", "Scheduled Tribe" and "Other Backward Classes"[8].

Despite the fact, that the government of India is committed to remove untouchability and to improve the status of marginalized communities in contemporary India, the subjugation of lower castes is still a prominent feature in modern India (Livne 2015). But the subjugation of lower castes can now be found in new forms and shapes. The following sub-section explains the modern manifestation of the caste system in the country.

1.2 Caste and class

The section explains the association of caste inequality with class inequality in present Indian society. Class has been a real historical product in India (Kasturi and Mazumdar 1994). As discussed earlier, the caste is an ascribed status, where being born into a particular caste decides one's profession. Lower caste people usually have the "dirtiest" jobs and earn a lower remuneration. In contemporary India, opportunities and outcome are largely associated with caste resulting in class inequality and structural inequality. To explain it further, Divya Vaid (2012) analyzed that in spite of reservation policies adopted by the government of India, white

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[6] For more information, please refer to http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/constitution/preamble-of-constitution-of-india-5-features/40335. Accessed 17 February 2018.
[7] For more information, please refer to, http://www.simplydecoded.com/2015/04/03/article-17-constitution-of-india/. Accessed 17 February 2018.
[8] It is an official name given to classify caste which are socially and educationally disadvantaged classes. For more information, please refer to https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5374864/. Accessed 15 May, 2019.

collar occupations are mostly comprised of higher castes whereas lower castes are more in insecure, temporary and lower remunerative jobs.

The caste system is further institutionalized in modern Indian society due to lack of opportunity provided to the lower caste section. Though the government of India has removed any kind of discrimination on the basis of caste and implemented reservation policies on paper, studies suggest that higher caste groups have an overall higher educational level, though this gap is narrower at primary educational level for Dalits (Desai and Kulkarni 2008). The analysis provided by Desai and Kulkarni explains that the Dalit caste is devoid of higher education and thus they struggle more for opportunities to reach higher on the class ladder. Due to lack of opportunity, the vicious circle of poverty continues from generation to generation among lower castes. Enforced affirmative action implemented to narrow inequality acted as an obstacle for narrowing caste/class inequality (Desai and Dubey 2012) and inequality in outcome. Various other literature has shown how inequality in outcome has institutionalized economic deprivation of lower caste. For example, due to lack of higher education, lower castes are comprised of lower occupational groups and less materialistic achievements (Desai and Dubey 2012). Lower economic achievements further result in lower education, consumption of subsidiary food, less access to health care system and private education which in turn results in the institutionalization of lower classes with this caste status. (Desai and Dubey 2012; Desai et al. 2010; IIPS and Macro international 2007; Shariff 1999), thus lower castes face considerable obstacles to upward mobility and a caste-class association is further re-established (Desai and Dubey 2012; Deshpande 2010; Thorat and Newman 2009).

In modern India, the caste and class associations are further intensified by endogamy (marriage within one's caste group) to re-establish and strengthen the caste system. Dalit caste women are sexually available for upper caste men, but the matrimonial alliance of upper caste men and lower caste women is socially unacceptable. The lower caste/class women are at the

lowest end due to the caste/class ladder and their vulnerable position due to patriarchy. The subjugation of lower caste/class women is more intense due to their gender, caste and economic deprivation in the Indian society. The following sub-section explains this triple burden on lower caste women in modern India.

1.3   Caste and women

The social division of people into groups which pre-determines their social and economic status is further institutionalized by the marriage system. Among other features of the caste system, endogamy is where individuals have to marry within their caste to maintain the purity of caste. Thus, maintenance and institutionalization of the caste system are assured through endogamy. In contradiction to this, exogamy is the system of marriage, where marriage is allowed outside of one's social group. Two types of exogamous marriages are mentioned in the caste system: Pratiloma and Anuloma. Anuloma is the union between a man of a superior Varna and a woman of an inferior Varna and Pratiloma is the union of superior Varna woman with man of an inferior Varna. To keep the caste pure and intact the Pratiloma model of marriage is condemned outright and Anuloma marriage is accepted but not appreciated in society. In contemporary India, the constitution of India has legalized exogamous marriage but without any social sanctity. In modern India, mixed marriages are still not acceptable code of conduct and occur less frequently (Goli et al.2013, Sankaran et al. 2017). Though the marriage with a woman of an inferior caste is condemned, on the contrary, sexual relationships with lower caste women are not condemned (Sabharwal and Sonalkar 2015; Betellie 1990). Thus, on the caste ladder, lower caste women are more vulnerable and subjugated due to the caste stratification. On the caste ladder, the Hindu upper caste women are in a more dominant position. But due to patriarchy, a higher caste woman is at a lower position than an upper caste man. The patriarchal structure and caste structure often seem to be in juxtaposition with regards to lower caste men. A lower caste man is subordinate to an upper caste woman, but due to

patriarchy, he exerts hyper-masculinity on a lower caste woman (Menon 2009; Anandhi et al.2002).

New economic policies provide opportunities to lower castes for upward mobility by improving their class status. Their increasing participation in an unorganized insecure sector makes them more vulnerable for public violence. Due to these socio-economic transformations, the idea of hyper masculinity is exerted on women from within the group and outside the group (Menon 2009; Anandhi et al. 2002). Dalit women are prone to public and private violence; lower caste women tolerate sexual harassment, rape, honor killing and physical violence, and economic exploitation (Sharma 2015; Rege 1994; Deitrich 1990).

Recently, in urban strata, though due to privatization, meritocracy is preferred for the jobs, but most of the time merit is being judged by castes, classes and religions where meritocracy is directly related to upper castes, classes and Hindu religions (Deshpande 2012). Thus, past literature on Dalit women has discussed this triple subordination of Dalit women in the form of economic deprivation, exclusion due to caste status and gender-based violence due to patriarchy (Rao 2015; Deshpande 2011; Shah et.al 2006; Srinivas 1998). In a modern scenario, Dalit women are given a job of domestic helper. Works such as cleaning utensils and washing clothes are given to Dalit women, but they are not preferred for home-cook jobs (home-cook jobs are better payed than other cleaning jobs). Upper caste women are not supposed to touch food cooked by lower caste people due to notion of impurity of the lower castes (Sabharlwal and Sonalkar 2015). Dalit women, even today in modern India, are prone to experience public violence, private violence and multiple burdens of exploitation and discrimination. Not only Dalit women but also tribal women are prone to multiple exploitation. The following sub-section discusses the status of tribal women in Indian society.

1.4   Tribal women

The term "Adivasi" denotes an indigenous people or original inhabitants. Indian tribes are heterogeneous in nature. Some of the common characteristics of Indian tribes are primitive religion, territorial isolation, common dialect, endogamy, joint ownership of property, customary law, and isolation from the mainstream Indian society (Hasnain 2007). The tribal population in India is widely dispersed. They are classified on the basis of geographical locations, language, and ethnicity.

Post-independence, the government of India has made the policies for socio-economic and educational development for Indian tribes. Such as the tribal cooperative marketing development federation of India, the vocational training centers in tribal areas, the state tribal research development institutes. According to the constitution of India president after consultation with a Governor may nominate a sub-group or community as "Scheduled Tribes[9]" (ST). STs form the weaker section of the society. Under affirmative policies, STs are entitled for reservation quota (certain seats are reserved for the weaker sections in all government affiliated institutes). Although the Constitution of India does not give a definition of ST, the Ministry of tribal affairs uses primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large or mainstream society, and deprivation as a criterion to identify ST.

The status of tribal women is even lower on the ladder than that of Dalit women and tribal men (Chatterjee 2014). For current studies, the researcher studied the status of nomadic and denotified tribal women in Maharashtra. Nomadic tribes do not possess any permanent settlement and means to livelihood. They migrate from one place to another. The nomadic and denotified tribal people are referred to as 'criminal tribe' by the mainstream Indian society

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[9] The constitution of India, Article 366, cl.25. For more information, please refer to
https://www.indiantribalheritage.org/?p=21438. Accessed 24 February, 2018.

today (Radhakrishnana 2009). This stigma deprived tribal men and women of living a dignified settled life. These tribal men and women face social exclusion due to the stigma of being a supposed criminal tribe, economic deprivation and lack of education. The nomadic tribal women face violence, which is of a similar nature to that faced by Dalit caste women due to their socio-economic status. Various government development policies do not reach the bottom and precisely this, section is prone to economic exploitation (Chakrabarti 2013).

Among all religions Muslim women have the lowest status due to religion and patriarchy. The next sub-section explains the status of Muslim women in India.

1.5   Muslim women in India

Muslims are economically and educationally worse- off compared to other communities in the country. According to the Sachhar committee's report, the literacy rate among Muslims is far below than national average (42.7% of the Muslim population is illiterate against 36.9% of the national average)[10]. Muslims are governed by Shariat laws or Muslim personal laws for civil cases and Indian laws for criminal cases. There is an ongoing debate for a uniform civil code[11] but due to political vested interests and people from minority communities resisting, there is no uniform civil code.

The Muslim personal laws govern matters regarding marriage and divorce, infant and adoption cases, matters regarding wills, successions, joint family and partitions (Sultana 2014). Muslim personal laws (Shariat) are an interpretation enacted by the British in the year 1935 and considered as divine by the community. These laws are binding for the community (Sultana

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[10] For more information, please refer to http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/muslim-illiteracy-rate-india-census-report-education-3006798/. Accessed 19 March, 2018.
[11] For more information, please refer to https://www.clearias.com/uniform-civil-code-ucc/. Accessed 20 March, 2018.

2014). These arrangements were stable with minor conflict until the Shahbano case[12] where a 62-year-old woman was orally divorced (three times by saying "I divorce you") by her husband after 40 years of marriage. She was denied regular maintenance by Islamic personal law. But the lower court and later Supreme Court of India granted maintenance rights from her husband. The judgment caused much upheaval and protest from many sections of the Muslim community across the country. The government of India passed a law called the "Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act", 1986 through an act of Indian parliament. The act granted maintenance to the Muslim divorcee only until "iddat" period or after 90 days of divorce. Thus, Indian Muslim women who are economically and educationally disadvantaged are not even supported by the legal machinery, their status is determined by a patriarchal and religious Muslim personal law board.

The current section explained the caste system in India and caste-class juxtaposition as background information to explain education as supra-category for investigation of the current study. This background information helps to understand the status of women from different castes/classes/religions in contemporary India due to the impact of knowledge. The next sub-section explains the feminist movement in India and development of NGOization to explain Indian women's socio-economic development since pre-independence period.

Section II: Feminist movement in India

Feminist movement in India has a long history started from pre-independence period till recent times. The term 'feminism' is a western concept but it started as social reform movement in 19th century in India.

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[12] For more information, please refer to an article by Mullally, Siobhan. "Feminism and multicultural dilemmas in India: Revisiting the Shah Bano case." Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 24, no. 4 (2004): 671-692.

2.1 Pre-Independence Movement

The women's movement in India started during the colonial regime. The independence movement and first wave of the feminist movement had grown in parallel in India. The first wave of feminism lasted from 1880-1940 (Desouza 2009; Forbes 1982), the period where male social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahatma Phule, Gokhale, Dayanand Saraswati, M.G. Ranade to name a few, were prominent. They fought against "sati" system[13], widow remarriage, polygamy among Hindus and child marriages which were prevalent in then colonial India. The male reformers had not only striven to eradicate these mal practices but also to improve women's status by fighting for their basic rights, such as female education and the right to property (Chitnis 2004)[14]. Though the liberal feminist tradition was initiated by male reformers, towards the end of the 19th century, the country had seen a rise in women's active participation in independence and feminist movements. Their active participation came from upper- and middle-class urban strata. Due to the feminist movement, the British government passed various laws to improve the status of women, such as a law formed to curb female infanticide, child marriages and "sati" system; the Age of Consent Act where the age of marriage for women was raised from 10 to 12 years and laws for widow remarriage were also passed by the colonial regime (Desouza 2009).

Later, with the rise of Mahatma Gandhi in national politics as a political leader, India witnessed social reform movements intertwined with the independence movement, which was missing in the early women's movement. Due to this strategy, for the first time, women's participation in the independence movement had increased. Gandhi's belief and call for *stree*

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[13] Sati system, the practice among Hindu communities, is a system where a widow woman by force or voluntarily burns to death on her husband's funeral pyre. For more information, please refer tohttps://kashgar.com.au/blogs/history/the-practice-of-sati-widow-burning. Accessed 5 July 2018.

[14] Chitnis Suma,Feminism: Indian Ethos and Indian Convictions in Feminism in India ed. Choudhary Maitrayee, series editor, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan:(New Delhi, Kali for women, 2004).

shakti (moral power of womanhood) appealed to the masses. As Suma Chitnis stated while analysing Gandhi's belief:

"It was because the Hindu religion carried a highly positive concept of the feminine principle. Unlike Christianity, Judaism or Islam, the image of God in Hinduism is not exclusively male. The female principle complements and completes the male.... Correspondingly, there is a distinctive place for women in the practice of the Hindu religion. Women, particularly those who are virgins or virtuous wives, are believed to have special spiritual powers.[15]"

Thus, Gandhi used old Hindu symbols and knowledge to bring women to the forefront. Many noted Gandhian feminists such as Vina Mazumdar and Devki Jain believed in Gandhian philosophy as revolutionary with an aim to liberate women (Shah 2004). During this period, various women's organizations were set up such as the All-India Muslim Ladies' Conference (1914), the Women's Indian Association (1917), the National Council of Women in India (1925), and the All India Women's Conference (1926). These movements possess a core belief that society's development is determined by women's progress in the country. India gained independence and the new government passed various pro-women legislation acts such as the Special Marriage Act, 1954, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 and Indian Divorce Act, 1969.

Post-independence women's organizations demanded a Uniform Civil Code. A Uniform Civil Code bill which aims for equal women's rights and replaces the existing religious personal law. The Muslim community opposed the bill for fear of homogenization with a majority and due to government's political vested interest for vote bank a secular Uniform Civil Code has not been passed until now (Herklotz 2016; Sen 2002; Austin 2001).

The peculiar features of the first wave of the feminist movement are: firstly, it was started initially by upper caste/class male social reformers to eradicate stringent social norms and the reforms benefited the women of similar castes/classes the most. Secondly, Gandhi's call for women to participate in the movement was on the basis of religious belief. He

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[15] Suma Chitnis 2004, P 16

confirmed Hinduism's belief system which regards women as Goddesses. Thirdly, the call for women's participation was for the independence movement and not for gender-equality or women's empowerment and because of this the women's movement disappeared after India's independence.

2.2 Post-independence women's movement

Immediately after India achieved independence, various problems such as political transformation, partition, poverty, and stagnation were at the forefront before newly formed Indian government. In order to achieve peace and stability the demand for a Uniform Civil Code by women activists for secular law was not passed by the Parliament. Though government formed various pro-women legislation, the state also re-established a patriarchal administrative pillar to keep check on women's liberalization. Such as Samita Sen stated while explaining the dubious nature of the Indian state: "In fact, the state plays a pivotal role in upholding and sustaining patriarchal institutions and instruments, both by omission and commission". (2000, P 4).

Until 1970, due to the government's attitude, the situation of women worsened on various fronts such as employment, health, and education. The Indian government in the year 1973-74, formed a committee to assess women's situation in the country. The committee submitted a report called 'Towards Equality Report'[16] in the year 1975. The report discussed the overall socio-political-economic status of women in the country. The report was the first of its kind, as it had assigned only to assess the status of women. The report discussed a deteriorating status of women, which is far away from gender equality as promised in the constitution of India. The report had set priorities for a future women's movement in India (Mazumdar 1994). The study also laid the foundation and direction for a future women's

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[16] For more information, please refer to http://pldindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Towards-Equality-1974-Part-1.pdf. Accessed 29 March, 2018.

movement in India. It had assessed declining female sex ratio, low literacy rate among women and as well as low female work force participation rates and discussed socio-cultural factors as responsible for women's lower status in the country.

Due to this report, for the first time the absence of a female perspective in the Indian development process was felt by women activists (John 1996). Various political parties established their women's wings to bring women into the mainstream development process. For example, congress party's women's wing, leftist women's party and socialist movement's women wing. These wings focused on issues such as dowry deaths, rape, and price rise campaigns and they provided a support system to victims (Gull and Shafi 2014; DSouza 2009).

During this era, various radical movements started, and India saw a huge protest against rape and dowry issues during the 1980's (DSouza 2009). These radical movements actively agitated against issues of dowry death, rape (Mathura rape case)[17] and Muslim women's rights (Omvedt 2004)[18]. In the period after 1970, gender-based violence was stratified along caste, class and religious identities for the first time, such as in the famous Shah Bano case of 1985 and the Roop Kanwar case of 1987 indicate complexities of Indian women's movements where multiple identities intersect with gender-based violence in women's day- to-day lives (Desouza 2009). In the year of 1970 and early 1980 various Dalit feminist organizations emerged at national level, such as Sharmik Mukti Sanghtana (Toilers' Liberation League), Satyashodhak Communist Party (Truth finder Communist Party), Yuva Kranti Dal (Youth Revolutionary

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[17] The Mathura rape case was an incident of custodial rape case that took place in 1972, in the tribal area of Maharashtra by two policemen. Mathura was only a 14-year-old Dalit girl when the incident took place. The Supreme Court passed a sentence where they acquitted the accused by giving the reason that Mathura is habitual to sexual intercourse and did not protest the accused. The verdict caused much uproar among feminist groups in India. For more information, please see http://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2013/11/world/india-rape/. Accessed 3 June 2018.

[18] Omvedt, Gail, Women's Movement: Some Ideological Debates. Choudhary Maitrayee, series editor, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan (New Delhi, Kali for women, 2004).

League). The aforementioned are revolutionary Dalit organizations whereas Dalit Panther are women's front of the leftist political parties (Rege 2004)[19].

During the 1980's, various autonomous women's organizations emerged and focused on raising awareness about gender issues (Sen 2000; Patel 1985). On realizing the failure of political parties in solving women's problems these movements flourished in various parts of India especially in urban India, (Gandhi 1992). These movements mainly focused on campaigning against various forms of violence such as wife beating, dowry deaths, rape, sexual harassment and alcoholism and lobbied to change existing women's laws. The peculiarities of this autonomous movement are that they refused all organizational structure and follow leaderless movement and the decision was made through consensus (Desouza 2009). These women's groups work with public participation and decentralization principles (Desouza 2009).

The period from the 1970's to 1990's is summed up in three points. Firstly, there was a considerable gap of 20 years of women's mobilization. Women's mobilization had disintegrated after India became independent. These women's mobilizations never aimed at women's empowerment and even after independence gender-equality was ignored by the activists. Secondly, the radical movements formed during the 1970s-1990s were different than other women's movements, as these autonomous movements started by women on one particular issue, though they lack proper co-ordination and direction (Omvedt 2004)[20], these movements focused on urban women (DeSouza 2009). Thirdly, from the 1970s to the 1990s political women's wings from various autonomous radical, caste-based movements emerged in large numbers. These movements succeeded in mobilising women. This period was distinct due to the fact that the wave of feminist movements diffused among the mainstream public.

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[19] Rege Sharmila, Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position. Choudhary Maitrayee, series editor, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan:(New Delhi, Kali for women, 2004).211-225
[20] ibid

Thus, women's questions gained attention in public discourse and the media also started reporting on violence against women (Chaudhari 2012). Thereby, the women's movement started diffusing through various mediums in the mainstream society.

2.3 Women's movement and the post-new economic policy

In the year 1991, India's economic policy went through structural changes. The controlled import substitution policies of the Indian government led to an economic crisis in the country. The then congress government adopted a new economic policy of Liberalization-Privatization-Globalization (LPG) or an opening up of the Indian economy. Due to this new economic policy, the pattern of development has changed in the country. The new economic policy has led to an expansion of the service sector, informal sector, and allowing foreign investment in the country. Due to which informal sector or unorganized sector grew sharply. The growth in informal sector resulted in more and more lower caste women started working an unorganized sector with low wages and no security which highlights the caste-class nexus again (Chaudhary 2012). More feminist organizations formed to address the insecurities of the unorganized sector which gave a leftist face to the Indian feminist movement. The structural change in the economy gave rise to civil society organizations and NGOization of feminist movement in the country (Roy 2015; Telis 2014). The NGOization transformed these movements into professionalized and trans-nationalized women's organizations in the country and the institutionalization of these NGO's through hierarchical organizational structures are particular features of the feminist movement after 1991 (Roy 2015).

These organizational set-ups of the Indian feminist movement called for law reforms to address gender-based violence (Roy 2015; Gangoli, 2007; Kapur, 2005; Menon, 2004; Sunder Rajan, 2003) along with this, most of the feminist NGOs targets for gender-equality, and citizenship rights in the country (Roy 2015; Madhok 2013). Various feminist organizations started working on specific problems with specific group of women.

The particular feature of the 1990s movement was the divide between the Dalit feminist and other feminist organizations deepen further. During the 1970s to 1980s, the mainstream feminist movements were criticized by Dalit-feminist movements as upper-elite caste or Brahminical movements that have ignored lower caste women's problems. The mainstream feminist movement's protest against quota allotted for Other Backward Class[21] in government job and educational institutes. Dalit feminists criticized the mainstream movement as patriarchal and upper caste-class women centric. During this period, Dalit representation and voices started getting a recognition at national and regional level in the country. Various Dalit organizations especially leftist feminist organizations focused on issues of economic exploitation, land reforms, violence against Dalit women, political representation, legal action on caste-based atrocities and empowerment of Dalit women (Samantaray 2013; Ruth Manorama 2005). Dalit feminist organizations have a stronghold at the local level, however structural discrimination still continues in modern India, and upper caste/class dominance and violence against Dalit women still persists in contemporary India. (Samantaray 2013; Ruth Manorama 2005).

With globalization and the New Economic policy these organization reduced to a class rather than caste perspective without addressing an issue of upper-caste patriarchies against Dalit women (Rege 2004)[22]. These organizations worked to promote better wages for lower class/caste workers and land rights or against collective violence such as rape, sexual harassment against lower caste women by upper caste men. Caste-specific feminist movements, a lack of unity between different parts of the feminist movement, and lack of a

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[21] Other Backward Class is the name given to educationally and socially marginalized castes by the government of India. Along with Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribes, OBC have given reservation in government jobs and educational institutions. For more information,please refer to
https://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2011/02/educational-reservations-india-solutions/ and
https://www.mapsofindia.com/my-india/india/it-is-time-for-caste-based-reservation-to-go. Last accessed 11April, 2018.
[22] Rege Sharmila, Dalit Women Talk Differently: A Critique of 'Difference' and Towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position. Choudhary Maitrayee, series editor, Rajeshwari Sunder Rajan:(New Delhi, Kali for women, 2004)

unique approach between various sections of the feminist movement continues even after the NGOization of movement.

In the year 1992, the demolition of the Babri Masjid[23] took place and following on a large number of female activists participated in the right-wing political issues. Rise of the hyper-masculine movement has sparked the fear among the liberal-progressive female reformers (Turner 2012; Sen 2007). The Babri Masjid demolition saw, for the first-time women's involvement in a communal violence and Hindu religious female preachers preaching against Muslims (Turner 2012; Basu 1995). The hyper-masculine movements which flourished under patronage of the right-wing government, never called for emancipation or breaking of gender roles for women but they uphold Hindu tradition and culture. Right- wing movement pose a serious challenge to progressive liberal feminists and to the Western impact on Hindu society on the basis of moral regulation in the country.

The section explains background information concerning the stratified Indian women's movement and different ideologies post 1990 to empower women. For the current thesis, the researcher explores the process of female empowerment with the help of "expert interview" method due to deep exposure of experts to ground reality. Secondly different section of feminist movement working for their own castes, classes, and religions, which helped the researcher to compare different experiences and perceptions.

In spite of the stratified faction of the Indian women's movements, these movements have achieved significant progress in women's status since India achieved freedom. Various legal reforms such as property rights, the right to vote at 18 years of age for both men and

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[23] Ram janma bhoomi was a site name given by Hindus, who believe Ayodhya city (Uttar Pradesh state) is the birth- place of Lord Rama. In the year 1526, the Muslim Mughal emperor Babar built a three -dome mosque on the land where the Rama temple was once located. Though there was no evidence of the birth- place of lord Rama, the land is a matter of political-socio-religious disputes among Hindus and Muslims. In the year 1992, Hindu fundamentalist right -wing organizations demolished Babri Masjid, and thus triggered nationwide Hindu-Muslim communal violence in the county. Babri Masjid is a source of mobilization of Hindu extremist fundamentalists. For more information, please refer to https://www.soundvision.com/article/what-is-the-babri-mosque-issue. Accessed 12 April 2018.

women, abolition of sati system 1987, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, Prohibition of Sexual Harassment of Women at the Workplace Bill, 2010, Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 to mention a few are indeed significant achievements. The women's movement has been striving for female education, increasing work force labour participation, equal wages for men and women and political literacy among women. Due to the efforts of the government of India and NGOs, India has achieved growth regarding the female literacy rate (23.76% in 1981 to 65.46% in 2011)[24] in the country. The following section discusses the development of female education in the country.

Section III: Female Education in India

3.1 Female Education during Pre-Independence Period

In colonial India, the British missionaries laid the foundation for English education in the 18th century. However, the female education was the most challenging aspect the British encountered. Social customs such as the Purdah system, seclusion of girls and child marriages were some of the major challenges for the British government and Indian social reformers for bringing girls to schools. Due to efforts of many social reformers such as Jyotibha Phule and Savitirbai Phule, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, to name a few, girls started to attend school. Though numbers were few and mostly upper-elite caste women benefitted from the educational reforms. As these male social reformers who were in favour of women's education came from an upper-elite caste, they had easy access to in-group elite caste women. The British started female education in urban areas, the areas which were easily accessible for them (Garg 2013). Western education was introduced by the British initially with

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[24] For more information please refer to https://www.census2011.co.in/literacy.php and http://www.mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/reports_and_publication/statistical_publication/social_statistics/Chapter_3.pdf. Accessed 13 April, 2018.

an aim to prepare Indian people for administration; they introduced the English language and humanities in the curriculum whereas technical and scientific education was not introduced to Indians (Garg 2013). Girls now also started acquiring the same education that boys did. Nevertheless, due to socio-cultural restriction, upper-elite caste women made less progress compared to boys of their same peer group. The gap between upper elite boys and girls started widening further with the introduction of Western education in the country. At that time there was strong debate over the medium of instruction as many social reformers favoured oriental educational institutes with vernacular languages, whereas many others favoured Western English education. The British continued with English Western education to build up the Indian administrative service. However, after much debate, the British accepted different curriculum for girls including subjects like hygiene, needlework, cookery, domestic work. Especially primary and secondary education were formed to provide education for gender-roles and higher education for professional skills (Garg 2013). The growth of women's education was slow but steady before independence. In Pune, Mahatma Phule and Savitribai Phule started the first school for girls in 1848.

3.2 Female Education in Post-Independent Period

India became independence in the year 1947 and the government of India formed a University Education Commission in the years 1947-1949[25]. The commission submitted its recommendation, and a first five-year plan (1951-1956) considered these recommendations. The plan was drafted with an aim for the welfare of both men and women[26]. However, the plan

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[25] The commission was formed under Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and other nine eminent educationists. The commission submitted its report in 1949 and comprehended its recommendation for female education in the first section, chapter XII. For more information, please refer to;
http://www.educationforallinindia.com/1949%20Report%20of%20the%20University%20Education%20Commi ssion.pdf. Page number: 342-352. Accessed 15 April, 2018.

[26] Five -year plans are centralized and integrated national economic programs. The five- year plans were adopted by India from the then Soviet Union who implemented the five- year plan in 1920. The First Five Year Plan, Government of India, 1951, Chapter XXXIII, para 102, for more information please refer to http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/default.html. Accessed 15 April, 2018.

sought the welfare of women for the sake of family and community and this trend concerning welfare education for women continued until 1985 (Sen 2008).

In the sixth (1980-1985) and seventh five- year plan (1985-1990), the government of India realized women as equal contributors in the development of the country and the aim of education shifted from being about the welfare of women to being about mere stakeholders in the country's development. To make women a part of the country's development process, to increase skilled labour population in the country, the government started various educational and vocational training programs (Sen 2008). The eighth five-year plan (1992-1997) focused on human resource development through education, where education was seen as a catalyst to improve health, nutrition, and socio-economic opportunities for the citizen of the country. Especially the five-year plan emphasized increasing female literacy to control the growth of the population, infant mortality, and maternal mortality rate[27]. In the ninth five- year plan (1997-2002), for the first time, the government set the objective of the 'empowerment of women' to create a free environment for women to exercise their rights. To fulfil this objective the government has set up a strategy to ensure equal and easy access to education for women and to eliminate gender bias in all educational programs, to equip women with skills and vocational training for better employment[28]. In the year 2002, the constitution granted right to education, under article 21-A, to provide free and compulsory education for children from 6 to 14 years of age as a fundamental right. The tenth five-year plan (2002-2007) continued with the objective of women empowerment. In the eleventh five- year plan (2007-2011) the objective of education was to focus on growth and progress of women through increasing

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[27] 8th five year plan, volume II, for more information please refer to http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/8th/vol2/8v2ch11.htm. Accessed 16 April, 2018.
[28] Ninth five year plan, volume II, para 3.8.27. For more information, please refer to http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/default.html. Accessed 16 April, 2018

literacy rates, increasing the percentage of higher education and lowering the gender gap in literacy[29].

Various programs adopted by the government for the universalization of education have achieved considerable growth in female literacy and narrowed the gap between male and female literacy. Government program of universalization of elementary education also has achieved literacy for lower caste female. The literacy rate was 3.29% in 1961 in 2011census registered good growth of 56.50%. For ST it was 3.16% in 1961 and increased to 49.35% in the 2011 census[30]. There is a considerable growth in the SC and ST female literacy rate but in spite of the reservation policy in government educational institutes, the percentage of SC and ST women in a higher education group is significantly low (Gautam 2015; Chanana, 2012; Deshpande, 2006; Weisskopf, 2004; Rao, 2002).

The above background information on the development of female education was explained to understand the aim and objective of female education and its impact on the empowerment process. Explaining the development of the women's movement and education in the country since independence, in the following sub-section, the researcher discusses development and structure of the current study.

Section IV: Development and Structure of the Thesis

The researcher initially explored educated women's dealing with violence. While reading other literature, the researcher analyzed ambiguity on relationship between education and violence. The researcher drew its findings from two phase, first from pre-study field work and second is main study field work. Following section explains how this thesis is developed

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[29] For more information, please refer to http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/default.html. Accessed 16 April, 2018.
[30] Please see http://www.mospi.gov.in/sites/default/files/reports_and_publication/statistical_publication/social_statistics/Chapter_3.pdf. Accessed 16 April, 2018.

4.1 Development of the project

The pre-study fieldwork was carried out with the help of two qualitative methods, which are Expert Interview (EI) and Biographical Narrative Interview (BNI). The pre-study field work data analysis[31] findings revealed that:

- All Indian women are victims of one or another forms of violence.

- With education women are conscious of violence on them but they are not in a position to raise their voice against violence.

- There is an impact of other external factors such as media in institutionalizing patriarchy in the country.

With these pre-study findings, the researcher decided to explore the following themes for an inductive investigation. These are:

- How education empowers women.

- How media and religion impact women's empowerment.

- NGO experts' efforts to empower women in contemporary India.

- Change in the forms of violence Indian women faced.

The researcher collected the main-study data with Expert Interview method. EI is a method of interview with experts. For the thesis, the researcher interviewed experts working for women empowerment. As the thesis adopted inductive research approach, aims at generating a theory rather than testing. The researcher first started with questions on impact of education on violence. But with the pre-study analysis the researcher explored different themes to assess status of women's empowerment in the country. The themes are discussed in the methodology chapter of the current thesis. The empirical data gathered is further illustrated

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[31] The pre-study analysis is explained in detail in finding chapter of the current thesis.

with BNI data which was collected during pre-study field work and previous literature. The researcher collected total 28 interviews during pre-study and main-study field work.

The researcher collected 28 interviews with experts. She analyzed the empirical data with the classic grounded theory (CGT) (Glaser 1978). The data is analyzed with CGT with an aim to discover an all-inclusive theory.

4.2 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. Following introduction chapter, the second chapter discusses literature review. The chapter reviewed past literature on education and its impact on women empowerment. The first section discusses association of education and violence. In the second section, the researcher reviews formal, informal and non-formal education and its impact on empowerment.

The third chapter briefly discusses the process of method collection and procedure of data analysis for the current thesis. The first section of the third chapter discusses rationale for qualitative research, the pre-study field work and rationale for choosing the research area "Pune". The second section discusses, two data collection method and demographic information of respondents who participated in the current thesis. The third section explains the grounded theory analysis, different versions of the grounded theory, classical grounded theory and procedure of classical grounded theory. The last sub-section of this chapter explains credibility of the grounded theory.

From fourth to seventh chapter discusses, the emerged grounded theory "The Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India". The fourth chapter of the current study discusses core category and sub-core category and their properties. The fifth chapter discusses two-related categories "approaching" and "interfering" with their properties. The two-related categories are two stages of the basic social process called "changing the way of living". The "changing the way of living" is discussed in the chapter sixth with their five properties. The

seventh chapter explains the emerged classical grounded theory "The Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India" by integrating different categories and their properties.

The eighth chapter of the current thesis integrates cognitive literature with the discovered grounded theory and discusses the emerged theory with cognitive perspective. The conclusion chapter of the thesis assess the discovered grounded theory by explaining four criteria of evaluation and study limitation of the current investigation.

As per Classical Grounded Theory guidelines, the literature is reviews after analysis of the data. Though the researcher reviewed literature before pre-study field work, but for the main study field work the researcher followed the CGT guidelines. In the following chapter, the researcher discusses the pre-study and main study literature.

Chapter two: Literature Review

As aim of this study is not testing any theory as discussed but to generate a new theory. As this process is complex and multi layered, the researcher weaves this literature review around the content of education. While writing this chapter, the researcher faced a great deal of obstacles due absent of literature on status of women empowerment in the country. To overcome this obstacle, the researcher has integrated cognitive literature and concepts to the findings, yet this chapter literature review discusses the past literature on education which brings social change and critically evaluate their content to know empowerment status of women in depth.

It is universally acknowledged that education plays vital role in women empowerment. Women empowerment is defined as a bottom-up process of transforming gender power relations, through individuals or groups developing awareness of women's subordination and building their capacity to challenge it (Ogato 2013; Dejene, 2003; Baden and Reeves 2000; Baden and Oxaal 1997). In this bottom-up process, the researcher mainly focused on how women have challenged traditional social norms, male domination in a society and confronted violence on them. The rationale for the focus is to investigate whether education has empowered women in challenging patriarchy and has improved the status of empowerment in the country. To fulfil this aim, the researcher mainly focused on investigating association of violence and education. This pre-study mainly focused on various forms such as domestic violence, intimate partner violence, sexual and mental harassment in any form. Thus, pre-study literature review focuses on association between education and violence to understand role of education in the process of empowerment.

Section I: Pre-Study Literature Review

1.1 Educated women less vulnerable

Before focusing on literature on Indian women, the researcher reviewed association of education and violence world-wide. Various literature suggests that women with more education encounter less intimate partner violence compared to women with less education (Benta et.al 2012; Lawoko,2008; Karamagi, Tumwine, Tylleskar, & Heggenhougen,2006; Fonck et.al, 2005; Koenig, Ahmed, et al.,2003; Koenig, Lutalo et.al., 2003; Jewkes et.al.,2002; Jejeebhoy& Cook,1997). Kishor and Johnson (2004) assert that not only education has paved the way for women empowerment but also it is hypothesized that education provides them a source to deal with their violent partner (P 3). Women with most education appeared to be less vulnerable to violence (Bott et al. 2004, P 31). Even many studies on Indian women also concluded that education empowers women in a positive way. Research on the relationship between domestic violence and education in India has proved that, most educated Indian males do not accept the domestic violence (Simister and Makowiec 2008, P 509; Martin et.al 2002, P 569) and the reported domestic violence in India has declined with increasing percentage of education among population (Simister and Makowiec 2008, P 509; Visaria 1999, P 12). In next sub section, the researcher reviewed articles which have proved that only education is not a sufficient factor for women to deal with violence effectively.

1.2 Educated but still vulnerable

On the contrary, though education has empowered women but at the same time, it is also proven that the education does not always decrease violence. Such as, some literature proved that an education and domestic abuse have a curvilinear relationship (Abuya et al 2012; Karamagi et al. 2006; Hindin and Adair 2002; Jewkes et al.2002). The curvilinear relationship suggests that only education is not enough for women to protect against gender- based violence. A study by Benta et al. (2012) supported the curvilinear relationship of education and violence, according to her, well educated women living in urban Kenya have experienced sexual violence

(Abuya et al. 2012, P 2033). The curvilinear graph depicts that education does not negate the incidence of physical and sexual violence on women (Abuya et al. 2012; Rao 1997; Schuler et al. 1996) or the relationship between an education and intimate partner violence is negative as well (Karamagi et al.2006). Verbal abuse and mental harassment are increasing among educated women as stated by Visaria's (2000) article on Indian women showed this relationship as

> Better educated men, who would generally be married to educated women, showed some restraint in abusing their wives. However, educated women were much more subject to verbal abuse than to physical beating for failing in their duties towards the husband, children or other members of the family[32] .

A study on Kerala state, 100 percent literate state and role model for women development in the country, also supports this curvilinear relationship. An article by George (2011) stated that in Kerala state gender- based violence increases due to dowry related issues, rather dowry related issues are higher in this educated state than the national average (George 2011; Panda 2004). In spite of, its higher literacy rate domestic violence, sexual harassment and violence from in-laws have increased over the years (George 2011; Sharma, Reader & Gupta 2004).

The literature review posed an ambiguous association of education and violence. The pre-study field work further deepened this ambiguous association. Due to the pre-study field work experience, the researcher now focuses mainly on education and empowerment.

The growth of education is uneven in the country. Indian women who belong to a lower caste/class group of population are among the most marginalized groups in terms of their access to higher education (Gautam 2015; Chanana, 2012; Raju, 2008; Rao, 2002). Thus, to make the investigation more holistic and all-inclusive, the researcher used a broader definition of education to include the illiterate population for the project. The researcher identifies education

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[32] Visaria, 2000, 1745

with life-long learning (Tuijnman and Boström, 2002). The life-long learning is an unconscious and universal process, which happens at three overlapping levels, which are formal education, informal education, and non-formal education. The life-long learning process is universal, flexible, and diverse in character (Dave 1976)[33]. Formal education includes all literate people, informal and non-formal education includes the literate as well as illiterate population of the country.

Following the pre-study field work, the researcher focuses on content of education for the main- study. Thus, the main study investigates how education empowers women. The literature review for the main study starts with the definition of formal education.

Section II: Main Study Literature Review

2.1 Formal education and empowerment

Formal education defined by Coomb and Ahmed (1974)[34] as an "institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university". In short, Formal education means institutionalized form of learning or institutional teaching centres. In this thesis, the researcher has collected data on lower educated group and higher educated group, where the lower educated group in a normative sense consists of a people who have passed minimum primary school and maximum secondary school. Whereas educated people consist of a group of people who have passed minimum university education. It is the process by which people acquire knowledge, skills, values and culture of the society. Which in turn helps in empowerment as well development of a society.

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[33] Dave, R. H. "Foundations of Lifelong Education". ed. (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, and Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1976), quoted in Tuijnman, Albert, and Ann-Kristin Boström. "Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning." International Review of Education 48, no. 1-2 (2002): 93-110.

[34] Coombs, Philip H. and Ahmed, Manzoor. "Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help". (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), quoted in quoted in Tuijnman, Albert, and Ann-Kristin Boström. "Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning." International Review of Education 48, no. 1-2 (2002): 97.

There are several definitions of empowerment. The definition used by the researcher for current thesis: empowerment is a bottom-up process of transforming gender power relations, through individuals or groups developing awareness of women's subordination and building their capacity to challenge it (Ogato 2013; Dejene, 2003; Baden and Reeves 2000; Baden and Oxaal 1997). In this bottom-up process, the researcher mainly focuses on how women have challenged traditional social norms, male domination and confronted a violence on them. The rationale for the focus is to investigate whether education has empowered women in challenging patriarchy in the country and has influenced the status of empowerment in the country.

The pre-literature review showed that the association of education and violence, but few articles discuss how education helps women to fight against patriarchy. To understand this, it is necessary to analyse literature on how education has changed gender norms and challenged patriarchy.

The literature review is incomplete without reference of Bourdieu's work on education and reproduction of power. Though Bourdieu had not much discussed about gender but his work on education, habitus, cultural capital are still relevant for feminism. Education, for Bourdieu, plays an important role in the construction of Habitus. Habitus which is defined as socially ingrained habits, skills, and disposition. It is the way by which an individual perceives the social world around them and react to it (Bourdieu and Passerson 1990). According to Bourdieu, education legitimized belief on dominant group, "The function of the educational system, Bourdieu argues, is above all to produce the necessary social belief in the legitimacy of currently dominant power structures, or in other words: to make us believe that our rulers are ruling us by virtue of their qualifications and achievements rather than by virtue of their noble birth or connections" (Moi 1991, p 1023). In patriarchal society, male dominance is legitimized through various mediums. One of them is the educational system. Thus, the system

is a tool to transfer the power of dominant group to all pupils. Male domination is re-established and legitimized through the system. Teachers, curriculum and even parents against their will transfer the patriarchal values. Through these values, an individual perceives the social world around them.

Past literature discusses about context specific factors such as an educated woman dealing with violence depends on many factors such as rural-urban dynamics, literate and illiterate husband or poor and rich households. An urban educated woman is more empowered than a rural educated woman (Bental et.al 2012) or financial condition such as in household of educated and financially independent women likely to experience less violence (Simister &Makowiec, 2008). These articles analyzed education with reference to other factors, but very few articles discussed about education curriculum or academic content of education. It is well known fact that society considers women as 'lesser' or 'other' form and the image further disseminated or institutionalized via different literary texts, encyclopaedia and various journal (Bührmann 2014). But very few articles discussed changes, perception and interpretation of the knowledge.

As mentioned earlier, the agent of education system are namely parents, teachers and most importantly the curriculum. Curriculum plays pivotal role in re-establishing patriarchy. There are considerably few articles and books which are critically analysing curriculum from the feminist standpoint. One such study was undertaken in the book called 'Textbook Regimes, a feminist critique of nation and identity' (Bhog.et.al, 2010). In this book, the authors have analysed various textbook such as language textbook, social science textbook, moral science, physical and adolescent textbook from gender perspective. The curriculum is analysed due to the fact that textbooks, for young children, are major source of information of outside world. They understand society around them with the help of their textbooks. For many children, especially for underprivileged children, school textbooks are only source of knowledge. The

textbooks construct knowledge officially for mass consumption and transferred patriarchal stereotypical values among students. Authors, though accepts that in the new modern curriculum women's representations have quantitatively increased and even modern curriculum is making efforts to break some gender stereotypes. Such as women now in school text shown doing men's job. But structure of the syllabus remains the same though she is shown as a bread- winner but men are not shown fully as home maker. Due to the reason that in the process of development of curriculum, feminist critiques have largely remained absent. The book tends to answer how gender was constructed and intersection of caste and class in the school curriculum. The authors have taken power as a central concept for this study. How power is transferred through education.

While talking about women empowerment and education, Bhog et al. stated "In formulaic terms, if women are the bearers of a nation's identity, it is through the instrumentality of education that they are inducted to assume that role. The process of gender socialisation is mediated through the category (or justification) of the nation. The school is a key arena for the creation and normalisation of these specific sets of values, norms and ideals. It sets out the notion of the ideal citizen, the ideal woman, the ideal family, the ideal worker, and so on" (p 23). Thus, education curriculum is a major tool to create and institutionalized new normal values. Education curriculum represents not only present status of women empowerment but also web of intersecting factors such as gender with caste, class, religion. Identities are created through the educational institutes by teaching them what is normal, natural and obvious. Thus, the educational institutes teach pupils their roles in the society, also prepare them for modern societies' new challenges but these institutes hardly empower them.

A recent study shows that, increasing female education has not played any role in curbing female foeticide. Sex-selective abortion is still rampant in the country. As stated by Kumari (2015), a lot of educated women chose to abort female foetus due to marital pressure.

The study conducted by Kumari on educated women's attitudes towards female foeticide finds out that educated women justify aborting female foetuses due to various socio-cultural reasons, their logical and scientific reasoning gets influenced by their socio-cultural position. Though Kumari's field area is a north Indian state (Patna), which is known for its strong patriarchal norms compared to rest of India (Dyson and Moore 1983), the findings are also applicable to Maharashtra state, Pune city. The reasons are Maharashtra state has also witnessed a consistent sharp decline in the female sex[35] and increasing female education which supports the findings by Kumari. The researcher agrees that, the powerlessness increases mental pressure among educated women in India. So, the more educated women are, the more pressurized they are and still controlled by society or the group's collective conscious.

The institute not only re-institutionalized normal and obvious socio-cultural values and norms but also sexual identities. Human body is never purely biological but constructed socially. Socialisation and sexualization of the body are important for the curriculum in preparing women for their future roles. As discussed above, the educational institute has not played any active role in women empowerment, but role of informal education also must be taken into account for over all analysis. To understand the process of women empowerment in the country it is necessary to understand role and contribution of media in this process. Thus, formal education is an institution like any other institution where gender inequalities are institutionalized, internalized and patriarchal social norms become validated among educated masses (Rajan 2011; Bhog et al. 2010).

2.2 Informal education and empowerment

Informal education denotes an education which is non-institutionalized and can acquired by a person without any cost. Informal education is defined by Coomb and Ahmed

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[35] For more information, please refer to a report by Asian Centre for Human Rights on The Status of Female Foeticide in Maharashtra, http://www.stopfemaleinfanticide.org/files/Maharashtra.pdf. Accessed on 4 February, 2018

(1974)[36] as the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to their surroundings. Due to the impact of visual media on the population, the researcher investigated daily television serials and adult entertainment as a part of informal education as media shapes the social construction of their identities (Dwight and Hébert 2006). Media as an informal education plays a vital role in dissemination of knowledge to large audience. In general, the television has deep effects on Indian masses compared to western society. For some parts of India, especially rural India, television seems to be only medium to get information about world (Jensen &Oster 2007; Scrase, 2002; Johnson, 2001; Fernandes, 2000; Mankekar, 1993; Mankekar, 1998).

While exploring literature regarding what kind of knowledge is disseminated among population and how media empowers women, Jensen and Oster (2007) explored how new information brought by cable television has changed attitudes and behavior of people. Though the authors explored the effects on rural India but are applicable for urban areas too. The results show positive impact on women. Due to media exposure decline in son preference, increase in women's autonomy, female school enrollment and acceptability or dialogue about of domestic violence are reported. The reason stated by them is "It may be that cable television, with programming that features lifestyles in both urban areas and in other countries, is an effective form of persuasion because people emulate what they perceive to be desirable behaviors and attitudes, without the need for an explicit appeal to do so" soap operas showing socially acceptable behavior of the main lead which affect large audience. The observed effect of what is good and bad make audience to accept and change their behavior. The cable television is often watched by peers or family. The discussion which often takes place within family helps

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[36] Coombs, Philip H. and Ahmed, Manzoor. "Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help". (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), quoted in quoted in Tuijnman, Albert, and Ann-Kristin Boström. "Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning." International Review of Education 48, no. 1-2 (2002): 97.

to change or modify their attitudes and behavior. Many daily soap operas show women as an independent, controlling, career oriented and have fewer children which effect positively on attitudes of women. Another article by Bhushan and Singh (2014) also supports the results, for them television can also be an important tool in spreading information especially for those people who cannot afford education. Television can actually help to improve status and voice of women in the family. The article mainly focuses on positive effect of media in reducing domestic violence and gender biased through its programs.

No doubt media incorporates new values and can act as a catalyst in social change, but does it empower women from patriarchal values? Daily television serials shape gender identities through portraying gender stereotypes practiced in day-to-day lives. They mediate, create and disseminate information and re-established patterns. Thus, media content is an important component to learn about status of women empowerment in the country as media is a reflection of society. It reveals true picture of the women in the society. Especially after IT revolution, exposure to media has increased. It is necessary to look at how media has represented women in their television serials. In an article by Debanjali Roy (2012) where the author has analyzed two Hindi serials namely Uttaran and Balika Vadhu. The author concluded that even though Indian media shows multiple complexities, still media does not go beyond stereotypes. They label them into socially acceptable categories. Indian daily soaps hardly focus on values of empowerment though they change some habits and norms. As she rightly said "Filtering these diverging characters through the monochromatic lens of the norms of society, these serials in fact block the non- judgmental, unbiased response from its audience. The truth boils down to this that in the garb of presenting real condition of women in the Indian context and attempting to speak for these subalterns, these serials are just conforming to some of the deep-rooted commandments that control the social structure of India" (P 5). Media definitely disseminate knowledge but deeply it abides to social structure. The argument is also

discussed by Patowary (2014), images of women in Indian media reinforce patriarchy and gender stereotypes rather than modern values. The analysis of women in black and white is also supported by Jana (2016), who analysed Indian daily soap operas as follows:

Every person is not perfect. Between black and white there is a large portion of grey. But in those serials female characters were portrayed either in white "ideal women" or in black "vamp queen". In every serial there is an ideal woman, basically who is soft-spoken, obedient, respectful with minimum make-up, minimum dialogues and minimum acting (because in every action she has to be soft-spoken, less active), who cares for every member of the family to sacrifice all her happiness for her family. She religiously carries symbols of marriage--sindur, mangalsutra, kumkum, Bindi etc[37].

No doubt media has great potential for social change due to its exposure to large audience, but past literature suggests that like formal education too informal education uphold patriarchal values.

2.3 Non formal education and empowerment

Non-formal education is defined by Coomb and Ahmed (1974)[38] as any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population, adults, as well as children. The research project investigated the role of various religious preachers on large population of the country. Every Indian child in their childhood listened to religious folk, mythological stories and religious scriptures. Religion is an integral part of child raising in India. These religious stories helped to socialize children, thus unconsciously religious principles become part and parcel of people's personality. All the patriarchal rites, rituals, and values find their sources from ancient, religious Hindu text such as Vedas and Upnisheda.

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[37] Jana, 2016, 7
[38] Coombs, Philip H. and Ahmed, Manzoor. "Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help". (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), quoted in quoted in Tuijnman, Albert, and Ann-Kristin Boström. "Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning." International Review of Education 48, no. 1-2 (2002): 97.

The nation has long history of religious reformation by saints and Gurus. To name a few Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayanand Saraswati reformed the society in spiritual and religious way. Thus, Indian gurus have contributed positively to women empowerment during independence movement. In contemporary times, religion as an informal education is an important component due to rising fundamentalism and rightwing political party coming into power in the country.

In Indian family Gurus or saints are considered as a counselor or father figure. Especially, in the age of technological revolution where virtual presence of any saint is sufficient to make an impact. Social media such as Youtube, Facebook to name a few can act as a tool to disseminate their preaching. Rise of shri shri Ravishankar, Jaggi Vasudev, Maa Amrutanandmayee are some of the Hindu saints who have large followers from all over the world. So, it is necessary to assess how these guru or saints impact women empowerment. Religion plays a pivotal role in women's life. According to Deprivation theory religion act as a safety valve for subordinate people be it ideological, political or social. Religion offers them material, emotional and social benefits (Charpentier 2010; Lewis 1989).

Kremer (2009) critically analyzed debate regarding Hindu priestess and their teachings. she observed that some of the women priestess clearly uphold patriarchal values. These women priestess act passive rather than being a catalyst in social change. Though they can be very powerful medium for women empowerment, but they act as a representative of patriarchal values. But at the same time, the author analyzed two case studies of spiritual gurus namely Ananandmayi ma and Ammachi ma. These both spiritual gurus broke gender stereotypes and their teachings clearly sent message to challenge stereotypes. They empowered women through their teachings, actions and organization. Neither of two Gurus did support any patriarchal structure and gender stereotypes.

Charpentier (2010) in her book Indian Female Gurus in Contemporary Hinduism had analyzed seventy spiritual Gurus by observation and four as case studies from urban environment just like Pune. The spiritual female Gurus receive no special education, but their teachings are largely depending on scripture or spiritual text. For them, direct experience with sacred text is more important than other mediums such as education. It is to be noted that these sacred religious texts idealized good women as obedient, polite and confined with in four walls. In ancient times, women are not allowed to go to pathshala (old school) and to learn religious scriptures. In contemporary times, the picture has reversed, and now Hindu religious Gurus are recognized by public. According to some female Gurus, as the author quoted "there is a widespread belief that women are able to increase their shakti through being exemplary pativratas within the framework of the strreedharma paradigm" (p 191-193) (shakti or sakti is female energy, pativratas are women who have been virtuous and followed all duties toward her husband and streedharma is the duty of an ideal woman). It simply means that female energy is increased only by following all duties toward her husband. Following such duties make one dear to God and path of salvation easier. Few female Gurus followed this framework and set an example of an ideal wife and mother. But in contemporary times, very few female Gurus consider this as an ideal. Thus, female Gurus do not advocate all gender stereotypes These are termed as women of symbol. But not all female Gurus follow gender stereotypes. Some of them have even broke gender stereotypes. Therefore, it is interesting to know how women in general interpret these women of symbol.

Religion for Muslim is a way of living. For Muslim population, madarsa education is preferred over formal education. Though, according to some reports, in contemporary time, enrollment with madarsa has decreased (Amin 2013). But for female children still traditional education is preferred. Large parts of the Muslim population in India prefer to send their female children to Madarsa than schools for education (Ishtiyaque and Abuhurera 2014; Jhingra 2005).

The religious Madarsa centres put emphasis on theological education as opposed to modern technological education (Shazli and Asma 2015; Ishtiyaque and Abuhurera 2014; Jhingra 2005). The religious institution teaches or train the Muslim population to become 'good Muslim'.

According to Yoginder Sikand (2009) in his article "Bridging Deen and Duniya: the 'Modernization' of Islamic Education in India" discussed history of religious education among Muslim in India. The author discussed that how after partition of India and Pakistan, post-independence jamat-i-islami, a socio-cultural organization decided to establish a separate primary school for Muslims with an aim to make them pious Muslim. Thus, Muslims in formal education till primary education learn religious and theological teachings but with modern touch. Ulemas (teachers) teach them Quran, Hadith, personal laws and customary laws with modern touch. Though the content of preaching is not explicitly discussed in the article because Quran is largely interpretive. But it is quite clear that in patriarchal social structure the personal laws are interpreted in a patriarchal way and among Muslim, informal education is institutionalized and widespread than formal education.

Like formal education, informal education, non-formal education literature reviews reveal that these educations have no doubt incorporated new values, values which can lead to social transformation and social change. But there is serious lacuna as this literature hardly throws light on impact of these on population at large. Formal and informal educations have re-institutionalized the patriarchal social structure. In case of non-formal education, two contrasting voices are put forth. There is a considerable research gap as content of this online Gurus, preachers, priestess and their impact on women have largely remained absent from research investigation.

The researcher collected the main study data through expert interview to discover a theory on unmarked reality based on experts' interpretation and perception. To critically

analyze the interpreted and perceived reality, the EI data are illustrated by BNI and previous literature. Further, the emerged grounded theory is supported by extant cognitive concepts from the disciplines of sociology and psychology.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Section I: Research Method

The research project aims at exploring the impact of education on women's subjugation in India in order to generate a substantive theory "Theory of Victimizing Educated Women in India". The qualitative study used two interview methods, Biographical Narrative Interview (Rosenthal 1995) and Expert interview (Bogner, Littig and Menz 2009) to explore the role of education in women empowerment and followed by Glaser's Classical Grounded Theory design (1967) for coding and comparing different emerged patterns to generate a substantive theory from the collected data. The study commenced with an observation of increasing violence on educated Indian women and conducted a pre- study field work to explore the observation further. The researcher initially defined education as learning at an institutional set up for a limited period of time but due to the fact that a considerable amount of the Indian female population is still illiterate (34.54 % illiterate female in 2011)[39], the researcher used broad definition of education as lifelong learning which includes non-formal and informal education (Coomb and Ahmed 1974, P 8). These various concepts of education are broadly already defined in the Literature Review of the thesis.

The following points will overview the research methods and data analysis for the current thesis;

- The pre- study research using two methods, Biographical Narrative Interview (Rosenthal 1995) and Expert Interview (Bogner, Littig and Menz 2009), six interviews of each method were conducted in the pre-study field work.

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[39] For more reference, please see http://www.census2011.co.in/literacy.php. Accessed November 8, 2017. Census of India, 2011 is the latest census conducted by Indian government. Government of India conducts census every 10 years. Census of India 2011 is 15th census conducted by the government.

- Biographical narrative interview is used with an aim to understand subjective meaning given by the participants (Rosenthal 2004)[40] and expert interview method to establish initial orientation on the research theme (Bogner and Menz 2009) from the experts who gained a considerable amount of experience in the field of the social phenomenon under investigation.

- The researcher interviewed 22 experts for the main study field work. For the main study, experts do not serve as a catalyst but rather a tool for obtaining exclusive and specialized knowledge of the issue being researched (Bogner and Menz 2009, P 47)[41].

- Classical grounded theory analysis is used to analyse the expert interview data. In CGT, constant comparison of the data and coding generated a substantive grounded theory (Glaser 1978, 1992). The core-category, sub-core category and related categories were further illustrated by the data collected by the biographical narrative interview and previous literature to make the theory holistic and all- inclusive.

- The substantive grounded theory of "victimization of educated women in India" is generated from the pre-study and the main study field work.

The current research is divided into a pre-study and a main study. To explore the relationship between education and violence on Indian women, the researcher used qualitative methods such as Biographical narrative interview and Expert interview. The chapter starts with a section elucidating the rationale, aim and purpose of using qualitative methods for the current study followed by section explaining the aim of the research, research area, data collection methods and demographic profile of the respondents of the pre-study field work. The next section illustrates the main study field work and its data collection method followed by the

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[40] Gabriele Rosenthal, "Biographical Research", in Qualitative Research Practice, ed. Clive Seale et al., (Sage, 2004), 48-64.
[41] Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz, "The Theory Generating Expert Interview: Epistemological Interest, Forms of Knowledge, Interaction" in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al., (Springer, 2009), 43-80.

demographic profile of the respondents of the main study field work. In the third section, the researcher explains grounded theory approach, different versions of the grounded theory approach and procedure followed for CGT approach. The chapter is concluded by explaining the ethical considerations and criteria for judging classical grounded theory.

1.1   Rationale for qualitative research

While talking about the utilitarian perspective of a research approach Marvasti (2003) stated, "choosing a research method is not about deciding right from wrong, or deciding truth from falsehood; instead, the goal should be to select an approach that is suitable for the task at hand" (P 8). The qualitative approach is best suited to explore in depth meaning associated by educated women to violence and in turn to understand process of empowerment. The sub section illustrates the aim and purpose for choosing a qualitative research approach for the current study.

The current study explores the impact of education on women's subjugation, with particular focus on the impact of education in dealing with gender-based violence. The pre-study literature review gives a notion of paucity of research relating to education and violence on women. Before taking up the research question a review of literature which was discussed in previous chapter, showed a lack of in-depth scientific study and an ambiguous relationship between education and violence on the women. Additionally, the researcher as an insider observed education among women has certainly paved the way for economic independence and empowerment but at the same time, the researcher, as an insider, also observed increasing feeling of being oppressed among women in society.

As stated by Creswell (2013), qualitative research is exploratory and useful, when the topic is new and has never been addressed with a certain group of people (P 20). Due to this ambiguous literature review and lack of in- depth exploration of the complex phenomenon on Indian women, the researcher chooses qualitative approach to study the question.

Indian Women today are making a difference in spite of oppressive social norms. Due to increasing female education, political participation and work participation rate of women due to new economic policy (Sara 2015) and rapid social change have changed the forms of patriarchy. To explore these new social facts and context, a researcher needs to study educated women's behaviour, attitudes on violence, their behaviour pattern and perspective. The subjective meaning associated by the educated women to the complex phenomenon helps the researcher to understand complex process of women empowerment in India, as explained by Catherine Hakim, "Qualitative research is concerned with individuals own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour. It offers richly descriptive reports of the individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behaviour" (1987, P 26). Thus, qualitative methods are well suited approach to study perspectives and perceptions and meanings associated by educated women to gender biased norms and patriarchal values and how education has influenced to construct and re-construct those meaning, perception and perspectives? (Flick 2014). Thus, Qualitative research seemed to be the most appropriate approach for the current study for the following reasons;

- As it enables the researcher to have a microscopic view on patterns of subjugation and women's experiences and interpretations or meanings assigned by them to an act of subjugation (Hakim 1987, P 28)

- Secondly, a qualitative approach enables the researcher to understand how educated women act in their everyday lives to confront with an incident of violence (Taylor et al.2015) which further helps the researcher to assess the impact of education on their vulnerability and educated women challenging their socially ascribed status.

- Thirdly, taking into account the nature of the current thesis, qualitative data reveals complex social processes of changing realities due to various external factors such as

increasing women's work-participation rate and also increasing women's mobility at public places and how women and men perceive their experiences due to changing realities (Castellan 2010; Krathwohl 1998). Qualitative data also gives the researcher a microscopic view of how and why education influences patterns of subjugation. Thus, in depth investigation of attitudes, clusters and participants perception proves to be a great strength of qualitative research (Castellan 2010; Krathwohl 1998; Hakim 1987).

Following the decision of using qualitative approach for the current study, the researcher decided to conduct a pre-study field work to explore the complex theme. The pre-study field work confirmed the observation made by the researcher. The following section defines the aim of the pre-study and difference between a pilot study and pre-study.

1.2 The Pre-Study

Unlike the conventional research process, where the study starts with a particular research design and research question, the researcher started the current study with an idea and observation. As discussed before, the previous literature on education and violence leads to an ambiguous result and needs to explore the idea further. In order to do so the researcher decided to conduct a pre-study field work. The aim of the pre-study field work was not only to explore the idea but also to develop a new interesting approach on the question of inquiry. As discussed by Swedberg: "We need to add a stage to the beginning of the process of inquiry and make it a part of the research process. The task of the researcher at the stage would come up with new ideas and to do so through an early and preliminary, yet intense, confrontation with data." (2014, P 25).

Before going into a deeper analysis of the rationale for undertaking a pre-study field work, it is necessary, to discuss the meaning of the concept pre-study and to differentiate between pilot study and pre-study as they both are used as a mini version before the main planned study (Swedberg 2014; Kim 2011; Prescott and Soeken 1989). However, pre-study

data analysis is formulated to explore the initial idea with an empirical evidence and to generate a theory from a pre-study data (Swedberg 2014), whereas in the pilot study, a researcher aims to collect preliminary data for a range of different other reasons such as it is conducted to evaluate the research process, questionnaires, and to identify the practical research problems during a research process (Teijlingen and Hundley 2002). As the aim of the researcher is theory-formation, the pre-study field work is conducted to decide the research design for the theory formation.

The pre-study field work was undertaken to get new insights into the problem with an aim to theorize the data as suggested by Swedberg (2014, P 26) but the pre-study data assisted the researcher to identify the practical problems of the current study. Such as in the pre-study field work only formal education was considered by the researcher, but interviews with experts and BNI revealed the impact of media and religion on Indian women. Thus, pre-study field work assisted the researcher to recognize practical problems and obstacles to make a theory all inclusive.

The pre-study data was later combined with the main-study data to form the substantive grounded theory. The field work also provided the researcher space to experiment with the data collection method in a creative way, which was further used in formulating "the theory of victimization of educated women in India". The researcher constructed properties of the sub-core category of the substantive grounded theory during the pre-study data analysis.

Following the decision of conducting pre-study field work, the researcher choose Pune city in Maharashtra state as the field area, because it is one of the leading cultural and industrial centres of the country and it has strong roots of female education (Gandhe 2002)[42]. The next

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[42] From 'A Study of Unemployment among Female Graduates in Pune City'. A study sponsored by Planning commission, Government of India. A study conducted by Indian Institute of Education. October 2002.

section elucidates the rationale for selecting Pune city as a field area for the pre-study field work.

1.3   Why Pune?

The interest in the industrially developed, cultural hub of Maharashtra state, Pune is due to its deep-rooted female education and its achievements in gender equality field. The researcher is born and brought up in Pune and has witnessed socio-cultural transformation in the city since the New Economic Policy of 1991. The New Economic Policy has brought employment opportunities for all castes and classes in the city. The city has witnessed growth in work participation rate for women and increase in number of women at public place. Strong roots for encouragement of female education especially at higher levels,[43] due to social reform movements and efforts for women's empowerment in the city have made Pune an ideal place for the current research.

Pune, the ninth largest city in the country has emerged as a manufacturing and IT hub. The city is situated on the 160 Km from Mumbai on the edge of the Deccan Plateau and on the confluence of Mula-Mutha river. Pune is a multi-religious, liberal and educational hub of the country. Various nick names given to city reflect the above- mentioned peculiarities such as 'Oxford of the East' and 'Pensioner's paradise'[44].

Pune is also an ideal place for the research, as the researcher comes from the Pune city, she is well aware of the language and culture of the city. The language efficiency helps to gain access to many respondents who were not well versed with any other language than Marathi. Though the city is known for its liberal values and cosmopolitan nature, the city is dominated

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[43] From 'A Study of Unemployment among Female Graduates in Pune City'. A study sponsored by Planning commission, Government of India. A study conducted by Indian Institute of Education. October 2002. For more information refer to http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/sereport/ser/stdy_femgrd.pdf.Accessed 23 December, 2017.

[44] For more information, please refer to http://www.indiamarks.com/pune-the-oxford-of-the-east/ and http://www.weareholidays.com/articles/pune-history/. Accessed 23 December, 2017.

by Brahmin upper caste (Palshikar and Deshpande 2008). The researcher experienced upper caste/class domination and caste consciousness of the city while establishing contacts with respondents or prospective respondents during the pre-study field work. Such as during pre-study field work, when the researcher invited a prospective expert respondent to participate in the study, the prospective respondent first enquired about researcher's surname (In India, family name or surname of a person identifies with his/her caste) and the researcher refused to reveal her surname to protect any caste/class influence on an interview.

Thus, various experience of caste consciousness in the city, especially after the state has a conservative government, made it as an interesting research area to compare higher caste/class women's education and their experience with lower caste/class experience with violence. Increasing education among women along with increasing economic participation created new social realities in the city. Thus, to understand highly educated women's experience with violence and lower educated women's experience with violence in caste/class conscious yet cosmopolitan society (education and caste/class association is discussed in the introductory chapter of the thesis), the researcher used Pune city as a research area.

To understand these assigned meanings to their subjugation in the cosmopolitan city and the impact of social change on women, the researcher engaged EI. Experts, who experience changes in the city and who are working with the native population for a considerable period of time, helped the researcher to form comparative categories. These categories are further illustrated with BNI to make the theory holistic.

Section II: Data Collection Method of the Pre- study

The pre-study field work was conducted using two qualitative data collection methods, BNI and EI.

2.1 Meaning assigned to subjugation: Biographical Narrative Interview

As discussed earlier, Pune city, as an educational hub, has strong roots of female education and women's empowerment due to its social reform movement in the past (Gandhe 2002). These factors make it interesting to understand the life course of a woman and structure of the society by analysing the development of women's personalities and the subjective meaning assigned to daily activities or interaction by her (Zinn 2004). The method helped the researcher to understand the biographical meaning given by the participants to a social phenomenon (Rosenthal 2004)[45]. The biographical narrative interview method allowed the researcher to understand three things in depth (Rosenthal 2004)[46],

- Reconstructing past events, perspectives and interpretations of past events in current structures. How participants viewed an act of violence in the past, interpretation of their action, which will help to understand their belief system and socialization process.

- Interpretation on temporal and thematic linkages of memories. The BNI helps to understand interpretation of an act of violence during childhood in pre-globalisation period where there was a less exposure and their interpretation of the same act of violence now after globalization. Their perspective now and then will interpret as impact of education on their personalities.

- Interpretation of belief before and after globalization will tell their future course of action.

Thus, BNI assisted the researcher to understand a particular phenomenon in the past, women's interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation. The method assisted the researcher to understand the impact of gender-based violence on their present and the participants' difference in actions, experiences, perspectives to understand dealing with

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[45] Gabriele Rosenthal, "Biographical Research", in Qualitative Research Practice, ed. Clive Seale et al., (Sage, 2004), 48-64.

[46] ibid.

violence and impact of education on their belief and action to understand the empowerment process.

In the BNI method, the researcher becomes a listener, and the respondent is a biographer who narrates her stories since childhood. The open-ended questions aimed at comprehending the meaning associated to subjugation, patriarchy, how they understand violence and confronting to a violent situation in the past in pre-globalization period and less women activism. The meaning associated to patriarchy now, in post-globalization and deep-rooted women activism, by a respondent made the researcher to track how a respondent had constructed the meaning of an event in her mind in the past and present and their future response to violence (Hollway and Jefferson 2008). Tracking the meaning given by the respondents and linking past and present action of confronting with violence and subjugation were the foundation to understand the impact of education on their meaning. The second session of the BNI interview was aimed at investigating content of education and interpretation of knowledge diffused among respondents to understand subjective meaning to their subjugation and patriarchy. To comprehend this complex meaning open ended questions were asked such as 'Do you remember whether your school text- book or your teacher had taught you anything regarding violence or how you can deal with it?' The open-ended question which aimed at tracking the impact of education on the meaning associated to subjugation revealed how meaning changes with time. For example, one respondent, Chandra, when asked about education and dowry said:

I was taught in school what dowry is and that it is an offence to pay dowry. But my parents paid dowry during my marriage. I wanted to oppose them but how can I oppose my elders. Now after coming into contact with feminist movement I have a guilt conscious that my parent paid dowry during my marriage[47]. मला शाळेत हुंडा प्रथे बद्दल, ते कायदा ने गुन्हा आहे है सगळं शिकवलं होतं. पण माझ्या पालकांनी माझ्या लग्नात हुंडा दिला. मला ते खर तर ते पटलं नव्हतं पण मोठ्या माणसं समोर काय बोलणार. आता जेव्हा स्त्री चळवळच्या संपर्कात आल्या नंतर मला अपराधी वाटत कि माझ्या घरचानी हुंडा दिला.

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[47] Chandra, From audio interview, 22.30

The oral interview session following written interview, revealed the impact of education on respondents' socialisation. This in turn helped to understand patterns of behaviour and action, beliefs and teaching which had motivated their action in the past and associated meaning to these past events in the present and on the basis of these participants' perspective on the future.

Sharing the same culture with other Indian women, the researcher presumed the cultural silence of Indian women regarding sexual violence (Bojko et al. 2010) and also experienced respondents' hesitation while discussing sexual violence during oral interviews. To address this problem, the researcher decided to conduct a written biographical narrative interview to understand a woman's daily experience of sexuality and the subjective meaning associated with sexuality in the past (Zinn 2004). Thus, BNIs were conducted with the help of two techniques, i.e. oral and written interview. The following sub section illustrates the association of written interviews with BNI, the aim and purpose of written interview by elucidating a comparative perspective between oral and written interviews.

2.1.1 Written interview and Oral interview

Unlike the conventional tool for BNI, oral interview, the researcher used written interviews to track the subjective meaning assigned to sexuality by women. The written diary interview aimed at understanding respondents past incidents of sexuality, sexuality experiences since childhood and its impact on their present and future.

The written diary interviews [48] is more commonly associated with historical and anthropological research (Kenten 2010; Allport 1942). The tool is not so popular in sociology. For the current sociological study, written interview was used to understand participants' past

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[48] The researcher inspired to construct written diary interview method by Dr. Richa Nagar's lecture on her book, 'Playing with Fire' (2006) held at Savitribai Phule Pune University in the year 2011. Playing with Fire is a compilation of community based written diaries of seven women working with NGOs as activists.

and everyday experiences of sexual violence, the meaning assigned to sexual violence by participants and victims' beliefs and actions to deal with sexual violence. Thus, written interview focused on the structure of BNI but conducted it by using written diary as a tool for the interview.

The BNI which focuses on the link between structure of the society and how an individual abides the structure (Zinn 2004), thus it will help to understand in depth patterns of behaviour around women's sexuality and institutionalized meaning of sexuality given by the Indian society. The diary interview helped the researcher to dig into the meaning and perspective of participants on sexuality. Thus, to understand women's subjugation in a holistic way, sensitive data on sexuality was collected with the help of written interviews. The diary interview assisted in understanding how participants perceive the experience and the meaning assigned by them helped to know linkage of private memories with general perspective. As Kenten (2010) said:

Solicited diaries can also increase the visibility and significance of routine or everyday processes which might be regarded as mundane aspects of everyday life. They can easily be used in conjunction with other methods and are also an appropriate way to capture sensitive data that might be difficult to encapsulate with other methods[49].

Thus, the written diary increased the visibility of the routine experience of sexuality which they consider inevitable or natural. The aim of writing a diary is to facilitate women to express the sexual experience with a lesser degree of 'self- censorship' for expressing their sexuality (Kenten 2010).

Unlike oral interviews, the diary interviews gave the participants more time to reflect on the issues and express the social construction on sexuality (Kenten 2010). Before explaining the diary interview, it is important to look at the definition of diary interview, diary is the document par excellence, it is the document where respondents' notes down events important

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[49] Kenten, 2010, Para 6

to them. The events are reflections of past which do not emerge 'all at once' but they arrest ever changing present from the past events (Kenten 2010; Plummer 2001; Allport 1943). As the definition implies, the flow of experience related to sexuality, participants reflect on their past events in a given time span. The reflection of the participants came from a thought process; social construction of the past events was presented meticulously. Chronicling is writing about their childhood experience of sexuality, sexual education, socio-cultural factors and recent events, their reflection on the past events and present daily events. Thus, the reflection helps to arrest the 'ever-changing present' of the respondents. The respondents were allotted five days to write dairy interviews and on the sixth day, the researcher collected the diaries. The diary interview is formatted at two levels one is to semi-structured interview to arrest respondents past events and second is their daily experiences on sexuality.

The events which were reflected by participants did not come 'all at once' like oral interview but it is a long- evolved thought process composed in the form of diary answers. The written form of qualitative data collected from the participants were further used to illustrate sexual subjugation of Indian women especially for the property of the sub- core category "considering natural", "treating dirty" in depth. The advantages of a composed narrative are the time given for reflection which helps participants recall an event which they might have missed in an oral interview session. For example, Yukti in her second interview session followed by a diary interview explained to the researcher, "I forgot to talk about my experience with an Indian man, I recently again met him, and I have also written down in the diary about my past experience with him and about when I recently saw him[50]". The recollection of a major event, time duration given for reflection unlike in oral interview on an event is an advantage of the diary interview. Additionally, the diary writing providing the participants private space to express themselves in their natural language (Kenten 2010; Meth 2003).

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[50] Yukti in conversation with the researcher, second session of oral interview followed by diary interview.

Though diary interviews provide the perception of the participants and their reflection, the method also has its disadvantages. Prominently, a skill required for diary interview is literacy which is not a primary concern for oral interviews. Though the limitation can be solved by another person composing diary answers, the respondents' personal space can be challenged due to this limitation (Kenten 2010; Milligan, Bingley and Gatrell 2005; Meth 2003). Additionally, as per the researcher's experience, writing a diary can be challenging for participants who have limited reflecting capabilities such as Madhu, who explained that she had asked her husband about what to write as she was confused (as all daily experiences are normal experiences) about the question of sexuality. In case of oral interview, the answer is quick and without much reflection. For the current studies, private reflection of the participant and the meaning assigned to sexual violence or experience by the participants was reflected in more detail by the respondents. Following the diary interview, during the second session of the oral interview, the respondents were more comfortable and open than in the first interview session with the researcher, due to the fact the whole person is visible through diary interview (Bartlett 2012) and the respondents had penned down very personal and private sexual incidents without face- to- face communication. The time slot allotted to each participant is five days, the language is chosen by the respondents. Three respondents chose English language and electronic medium to submit the answers after five days and three respondents chose Marathi and handed in diaries personally to the researcher.

The Biographical Narrative Interview and Expert interview's questionnaires were as follows;

Oral Interview Questionnaires:

- Please tell me your life story.

- Could you tell me more about your parents?

- Can you recall a situation where your father behaved in an authoritative way?

- Could you tell me more about your childhood?

- Could you tell me more about your school days?

- Could you tell me more about the situation where your mother told you as a girl you have to behave different than boys?

- (If you have (a) brother/s) could you tell me that as a boy your brother have/has different rule/s than you?

Written Interview to break the cultural silence on sexuality:

- Could you write down memories about a situation where you learned about your sexuality?

- Could you narrate more about this/these incident/s?

- (on daily basis) Could you write down an incident where you have an unwanted touch in public place or at home, from stranger or from relatives?

- (daily basis) (If married/in relationship) Could you narrate an incident where your husband/boyfriend had a sexual intercourse with you without your permission any other recent incident of unwanted touch?

Second session of oral interview:

- Could you remember the first time you heard about the word 'violence'?

- Can you tell me about your views on violence?

- Could you recall a situation where your father behaved violently with your mother?

- Can you recall a situation where your father slaps your mother or has something like this ever happened in your family?

- Could you tell me more about a situation where you experienced any kind of violence?

- Could you tell me more about the incident?

- Could you recall a situation when for the first time you heard about 'dowry', from where, and when was the first time you got to know that dowry is an offence?

- Can you recall a situation, when your teacher teaches anything regarding violence or how you should deal with it?

- Could you narrate this incident in more detail?

Written interview and oral interview revealed life course of the respondents through their past experience, shaping their present and future. To understand these subjective meanings associated with experience of incidents of violence and to explore changing forms of violence comparing it with old forms of violence the researcher conducted expert interviews for the pre-study field work.

2.2 Expert Interview: Interpreted Knowledge

Expert interview was another semi-structured interview method used for the pre-study field work apart from BNI. The method has become increasingly popular as a social science research method (Littig and Pöchhaker 2014) and useful for investigation at an exploratory phase (Bogner et.al 2009). Since the method is used for exploratory purposes, the researcher faced a dilemma while defining and selecting the framework for the term 'expert', as what kind of expertise and criterion for expertise were not clear to the researcher. The dilemma was solved during the pre-study field work and the researcher defined 'experts' from the pre-study experience.

Though there is a lack of a clear-cut definition for the term 'expert' or 'elite' in the discourse and its researcher who defines expert and select the criterion for definition, as Dexter (1970) said "its researcher's interpretation on the basis of which the term 'expert' is defined (P 19)". Past literature suggests that various social scientists gave a broad understanding for the term expert (Harvey 2011) with specific character. The term elite is a relational term and the researcher ascribed expert on the basis of 'training' such as physicians, lawyers and architects. However, such training is not limited to just an institutional setting. As put forth by Gläser

and Laudel (2009, P 118)[51] "Experts are people who are set apart from other actors in the social setting under investigation by their specific knowledge and skills. Such superior knowledge is produced by designated process of learning and training (For example vocational training)". This implies that an expert is a person who is trained- either a learned person who is a trained expert in an institutional setting with considerable experience or has gathered knowledge by learning in a social setting with considerable experience. The rationale for the definition is not only to include NGO workers who have academic degrees in social work but also to include NGO workers who learned by gaining experience while working in the concerned field.

The EI method is used along with BNI to explore the phenomenon which is poorly understood or to gain a sense of orientation in the new field (Littig and Pöchhacker 2014). The subjective knowledge of experts or elites is used for knowledge production for gaining new insight on the complex phenomenon within the short time span (Bogner 2009, P. 2). As discussed earlier, expert interview method was used to gain a holistic understanding of the complex phenomenon of violence and education. The second reason for using expert interviews was theory generation. As discussed by Bogner and Menz, experts are stores of knowledge which they experienced over a period of time by working in the concerned field. This theoretically rich knowledge is used to build an interpretative theory (2009, P 48)[52]. The knowledge experts gained, experienced and analysed is used further to form a dense and rich theory.

The systematic generation of knowledge gathered during field work, aimed to generate insights into field specific methods followed by the experts to empower women. The analysis

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[51] Jochen Gläser and Grit Laudel, "On interviewing "Good" and "Bad" Experts" in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al., (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009), 117-137.
[52] Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz, "The Theory Generating Expert Interview: Epistemological Interest, Forms of Knowledge, Interaction" in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al.,(Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009), 43-80.

of genesis of the expert knowledge, obstacles experts faced while making women empower and their analysis on the impact of education on women's subjugation were used to create a holistic theory. Theory generation using the EI method stratified NGO experts into caste and gender, compared various methods used by them for women empowerment, patterns and forms of violence they deal with and their analysis on new truth prevailing in the society, which are further illustrated by citing examples from BNI and existing literature.

While interviewing experts, the researcher has taken into account their gender identity and their personal experience to understand their standpoint and position on women's empowerment. Their personal experience of violence which later helped experts in their standpoints, methods, interpretations and perceptions are of great importance to the researcher to understand experts' development in an institutional framework (Meuser and Nagel, 2009)[53]. For example, Swanand, who was a man who first uphold patriarchal values and then later an expert working for gender sensitivity with male. This transformation of being a violent man to a person believing and practicing gender equality helped the researcher to understand how he has used his personal experience to develop methods of empowerment to fulfil his aims and objectives.

A total of six expert interviews during the pre-study and twenty- two during the main study were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide (Bogner and Menz 2009)[54]. The interviews were typically semi-structured, where the researcher asked counter questions to motivate speakers to further analyse the phenomenon under investigation. All six experts have considerable experience in working in the field of women's empowerment, more specifically they work in the field of adolescent sexual education, against child sexual abuse, intimate

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[53] Meuser Michael and Ulrike Nagel, "The Expert Interview and Changes in Knowledge Production", in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al.,(Palgrave Macmillan,London, 2009).,17-42.
[54] Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz, "The Theory Generating Expert Interview: Epistemological Interest, Forms of Knowledge, Interaction" in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al.,(Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009), 43-80.

partner violence and domestic violence, for gender equality, women's liberation and women's empowerment. Though the expert interviews were conducted in a semi- structured framework to stimulate the speaker to talk within framework of a specific theme, the researcher maintained an aloofness but an active ear while entering into conversation to get relevant and structured data (Abels and Behrens 2009)[55]. Maintaining aloofness helped the expert to discuss their experience, views, beliefs and interpretation in depth and provided thick and rich data for the theory generation. The researcher maintained aloofness but was not a passive listener. The researcher played the role of active listener and intermittently asked counter questions to understand the experts' interpretations and perspectives. She motivated experts to narrate incidents or experiences which have shaped their perceptions and perspectives.

Despite the fact, that expert interview is the most suitable method for exploratory purposes, experts' knowledge is an interpretative knowledge or reconstruction of social reality (Bogner and Menz 2009)[56]. Knowing this limitation, the researcher extracted roots of their interpretation by asking them to cite various incidents or rationale for their interpretation. The researcher illustrates the experts' knowledge with BNI data and previous existing literature to derive a critically analytical theory. The rationale for the illustration with BNI and existing literature to get empirical reality which might have covered by experts to show myths on international platform (Abels and Behrens 2009)[57].

The following figure 2 depicts the data collection method used for the pre study field work. The biographical narrative interview which is collected by using two tools, oral interview

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[55] Gabriele Abels and Maria Behrens, "Interviewing Experts in Political Science: A Reflection on Gender and Policy Effects Based on Secondary Analysis", in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al.,(Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009)., 138-156.

[56] Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz, "The Theory Generating Expert Interview: Epistemological Interest, Forms of Knowledge, Interaction" in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al.,(Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009), 43-80.

[57] Gabriele Abels and Maria Behrens, "Interviewing Experts in Political Science: A Reflection on Gender and Policy Effects Based on Secondary Analysis", in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al.,(Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009)., 138-156.

and written interview. The second method used for data collection was Expert interview for the pre study field work. Six respondents of each method were interviewed. The Biographical narrative interviews were conducted with six women between 25-40 years which were further divided into three educational groups. Six NGO experts were interviewed for the expert interview.

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                        │  Research   │
                        │   Method    │
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       ┌─────────────┐                   ┌─────────────┐
       │ Biographical│                   │   Expert    │
       │  Narrative  │                   │  Interveiw  │
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│2 Samples││2 Samples││2 Samples│          │ 6 samples  │
│from     ││from     ││from     │          │ of NGO     │
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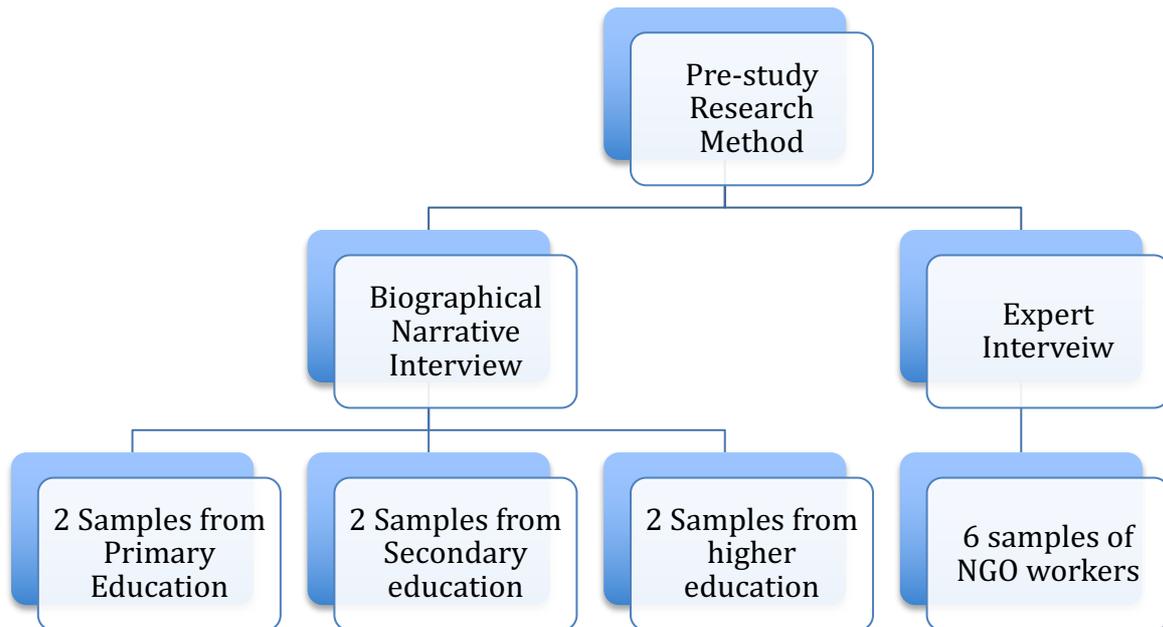
Figure 2: Review of the Pre- study research methodology

1) Questionnaire for expert interview for the pre-study field work:

- Why did you choose this particular field?

- How do you intervene in an issue?

- When a victim or prospective victim complains about violence on her?

- What are the reasons for violence?

2.3 Demographic profile of Participants

2.2.1   Demographic Profile of Biographical Narrative Interview respondent

The section discusses the demographic profile of respondents interviewed using the BNI. In order to protect the identity of research participants which is an important ethical concern, the researcher used pseudonyms for all the participants. The respondent's profile was selected on the basis of their age group and educational qualification. The researcher decided the age range of respondents from 25 to 40 years for BNI. The decision was taken for two reasons. Firstly, the age of completing higher education for an average Indian woman is 25 years and the average age of marriage for average Indian women is also 25 years (Desai and Andrist 2010). The majority of Indian women are settled in their first married life with a child at the age of 40 years. Secondly, women in the age group of 25 to 40 years are prospective victims of violence (Johnson and Johnson 2001). The researcher categorised women respondents from age range of 25 to 40 years into three different levels of education- the primary education, the secondary education, and the higher education and interviewed two women each from these different educational levels. The demographic profile describes age, marital status of a respondent along with the rationale for selecting for the pre-study field work of the current study. Each respondent is introduced with a phrase which describes the rationale for a respondent's selection.

Group of Women with Education above Post Graduation

- ***Tolerated and tolerating abuse, making it a habit: Yukti: -*** Yukti is a 26 years old single woman pursuing Master in Philosophy in German literature (M.Phil.) from University of Pune. Yukti is born in a nuclear family and has a younger brother. She lives in Pune with her mother. Her father has a managerial position and works in Delhi and her brother is studying for a post- graduate degree in the United Sates.

    Yukti is from a modern and well-educated family, and her family had liberal values (society specific) such as gender equality. However, in her childhood, she faced sexual abuse from a known person. Sexual abuse tolerated in the past led her to tolerate many incidents of

sexual violence in her daily routine life. The researcher chose her as a respondent to understand her life course, socialization and personality shaped over time.

- ***Rationale for division of labour as scientific: Saraswati:-*** The respondent is a 28 year old married woman, working in the Information Technology sector and pursuing Master in Philosophy in German Literature from University of Pune. Saraswati has an older brother and her marriage has been arranged by her parents to a man working in the I.T sector from Pune.

    Saraswati comes from a conservative Hindu family. She attended a Hindu fundamentalist school in Pune. The respondent studying German literature. Saraswati's socialization and personality development due to her education from Hindu conservative school to western German literature made her a suitable respondent for the current thesis.

    ### *Group of women completed Graduation*

- ***Touching body is dirty: Chitra****: -* has completed a bachelor's degree in Medicine from University of Pune and is at present working in a reputed hospital in Pune. She is 28 years old and married to an engineer, the marriage was arranged by her mother.

    Chitra was selected as a respondent due to her experience of domestic violence. Due to her childhood experience, where she is taught to consider touching sexual organ as dirty. The meaning associated with sexuality and sexual purity has prevented her from divorcing her husband. The interview session revealed her past experience of sexuality along with dowry harassment by her husband's parents after marriage.

- ***Dowry is illegal yet paid: Chandra: -*** is 29 years old, has a Bachelor's degree in commerce, married, had an arranged marriage and has a child.

    Chandra's exposure to the women's social movement after marriage led her to spend time with introspection on patriarchal values and experience with violence. Her objective

analysis of experience with violence such as she had paid dowry and she could not oppose it due to parent's pressure, made her a suitable candidate for the interview.

Group of women completed primary education

- *Husband is everything: Madhu: -* She is a 25 years old housewife born in Maharashtra and had an arranged marriage. Madhu has four older sisters, a younger brother, and a sister. Madhu could get basic school education and is married in the last seven years and has a six- year- old child.

  She was the first respondent of the lower education group. Her interview revealed for a lower class/caste woman, societal restraint is a less controlling factor than other higher education group's respondents'. Though she did lack introspection due to lower education, adherence to patriarchal values such as husband as supreme were seen from various incidents shared by her.

- *Violence from natal to nupital: Sarita: -* Sarita is 25 years old daily wage labourer at Pune University and completed school up to the ninth grade. Sarita has two elder brothers and a sister. Sarita had an arranged marriage.

  Sarita's is victim of violence before marriage and after marriage, made her a suitable candidate for the interview. Sarita's reflection on her childhood and family revealed about her rebellious personality. Her interview revealed her rebellious personality empowered her but offended her husband who exerted violence on her after marriage.

2.4 Demographic profile of the Expert Interview Respondents

As discussed earlier in the EI section, the experts were selected on the basis of their experience and educational qualification. The following subsection discusses the demographic profile of the respondents and each respondent of the EI is introduced using a phrase, which is also a rationale for selecting expert for the current study.

- ***Victim and impact on mental health: - Kangana:-*** is one of the pre-study respondents. She has a post-graduate degree in Medical Psychiatry from University of Pune. She joined an NGO called ASHA (Action for Self-reliance, Hope and Awareness) as a psychiatrist. Her job profile includes counselling and awareness trainer to ASHA's caseworkers to identify mental illness among victims. The interview lasted for an hour with medium of interaction as English.

  Kangana is a first female respondent of the pre-study field work. The rationale for the selection is not only just an educational degree in Psychiatry but experience with different forms of violence and their impact on the well-being of a woman. She shared various experiences with victims and violence on her female colleagues in the Psychiatry department. She discussed, from a Psychiatric standpoint, how various social norms and stereotypes hamper a woman's mental health, how a woman understands violence and how the society compels her to confirm various social norms and subjugation. Kangana revealed how a psychiatrist understands mental illness of a woman on the basis of social norms. The discussion with the expert was later used to understand the cognitive concept called 'shared social theories' (Seng et al. 2010) by the researcher.

- ***Counsellor to a victim of violence: Kirti: -*** is one of the pre-study respondents. She has a post graduate degree in social work from Karve Institute of social work, Pune. She is working as a counsellor for fifteen years. Presently, she is working in a project called Muskan (smile) designed for child sexual awareness. The interview was conducted in English in two sessions for two and half hours.

  Kirti's interview demonstrated her journey from a victim to a survivor. The social work education helped her to introspect her assumption of being a woman, society's expectation and the causes of violence on women. The journey from a victim to a survivor of violence manifested impact of education on women's ability to deal with violence, such as she said 'If

I have not been educated in social work, I have not been survived from the violence' helped the researcher to analyse the perspective of an educated woman.

- *Law then and now to women then and now: Lata: -* is one of the respondents from the pre-study data collection. She is a practicing lawyer and an activist. She got involved in Nari Samta Manch, an autonomous group of women, working on the issues of gender inequality. The interview was conducted in Marathi and lasted for fifty minutes.

    Lata is a female respondent. The respondent was particularly interesting to the researcher because of the respondent's comparative analysis of how law catered social change and how education paved the way for women's empowerment now. Though the respondent is critical of working women, it is interesting for the researcher to know how and why she viewed a family-oriented woman as an empowered woman. Her interview provided the researcher different views on women's empowerment which later helped the researcher with the emergence of the substantive grounded theory.

- *Female centric work with men: - Milan: -* Milan is active in the field of gender-based violence for 21 years. He worked in CRDD, Centre for Research Development, a documentation centre, later joined MASUM, (Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsh Mandal Women's Holisitc Development organization) under a project called "Working with Men to Reduce Violence against Women". The interview was conducted in Marathi in one session which lasted for one and half hours.

    Milan was the first male respondent of the pre-study field work. Apart from being a male's perspective to empowerment, Milan's interview revealed obstacles in achieving gender equality. How a man who understands and practices gender equality faces criticism from the society and strong collective consciousness are discussed by the expert.

- *Man, masculinity and men: Swanand: -* He has a Post graduate degree in Social Work. Swanand started his own NGO, which is registered as a Communication and Resource

Centre on gender, masculinity, health, and development. The NGO works to promote gender equity and justice, human rights of all individuals. The interview was concluded in two sessions for one and half in hour each in Marathi and English.

He is another male interviewee of the field work. He discussed his journey from a masculine man to an expert working with men to make them understand their masculinity. He is selected as a respondent due to this transformation from a violent man to the expert practising gender equality and his experience working on the masculinity of Indian men.

- ***Forms now and then, methods now and then: Sudha:-***She is working as a chief Executive for an NGO. She is a senior social worker and a founding member of an NGO working towards gender equality. The interview session was conducted in Hindi and Marathi language for two hours.

A female respondent talked about changes in counselling methods now and forms of violence two decades prior and now. Sudha's interview was compared with Lata's interview where both experts shared their experience working with two generations. Sudha perceived young women as more consumerist and individualistic than older generations.

The pre-study field work laid a strong foundation for the main-study field work but with some modification. The following section discusses important factors of the pre-study data analysis and modification made for the main study field work. The detailed analysis of the pre-study field work is discussed in the finding chapter of the current thesis.

Section: III: The Main Study

3.1 Method for The Main study

The pre-study field work analysis had set a direction for future investigation[58] though the theory was not developed after the pre-study which can further be investigated during a

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[58] The pre-study data analysis is discussed at length in the findings chapter of the current thesis.

main study as suggested by Swedberg (2014) yet intense confrontation with the pre-study data helped the researcher to develop related categories used in the substantive grounded theory. The pre-study data analysis justified the observation and phenomenon under question. The pre-study data analysis revealed important factors to take into consideration, such as;

a. Women face violence in their everyday lives.

b. Educated women do face violence, educated women face more verbal abuse and psychological violence.

c. Registration of an act of violence is on the rise due to a rise in women's education but women tolerate violence.

The collected data provided a pattern of behaviour and helped the researcher to develop a suitable framework for semi-structured interviews and the research design for the main study investigation. The main study data is blended with the pre-study data to theorize the phenomenon. The pre-study data analysis provided a framework for future investigation and laid certain limitations for the theme education and violence. These two limitations which were put forth by the pre-study were addressed for a successful main study. These are;

- As the criterion set forth for BNI was minimum basic education for respondents and it has excluded the illiterate population of the research area.

- The illiteracy rate among minority population excluded the representation of minority illiterate population for the current study.

Thus, to address these limitations the researcher decided to continue with the EI method and to expand the definition of education into formal, non-formal and informal education (Coomb and Ahmed 1974). This broad definition helped to understand how education impacts the process of women's empowerment and the current situation of women's subjugation in Indian society. To make the investigation holistic, the researcher decided to interview experts of different castes and religions. The sample size was predetermined. Twenty- four experts

were interviewed in the main study. Among twenty- four interviews, the researcher, could include only twenty- two interviews in the main study. One interview could not be completed due to time constraints and the researcher could not include the other interview due to technological defects in the recording device. The research area for the main study field work research area continued to be Pune city in Maharashtra state, in India, due to the reasons discussed in the sub section 'why Pune?'. The research aim for the pre-study field work was to explore the relationship of education and violence, whereas in the main study the research aim was to investigate how education (Formal, non-formal and informal education) impacts violence on women. The questionnaires for expert interviews were designed with different sub themes to encourage experts to talk about themes without any structured questions. These themes are:

- Details of a respondent's job profile.

- Method of intervention.

- Reasons of violence.

- Formal education and violence.

- Media and violence.

- Coaching institute (educational institute outside formal educational settings. These are private coaching institutes. An aim is to prepare students for various for doctor, engineer and for higher degrees) &violence (later religious preachers & violence).

- Trends and forms of violence now and a decade before.

More than twenty profiles were gathered with the help of the pre-study expert respondents. From the list of potential respondents, there were only six male potential respondents and the final respondents were selected on the basis of expertise, religion, and target population. The selection process was challenging, the researcher went through audio clips of the interview, made notes and by going through audio clips and notes again and again,

the researcher decided to where to look further. Thus, as only twenty-four experts were interviewed. Prior to the fieldwork the researcher established telephonic contact with the five potential respondents. The pre-study interview data gave guidelines where to look, according to which the researcher interviewed initially. Hence, it was first selective sampling turned into theoretical sampling.

The theoretical sampling technique is discussed in detail in subsequent section below. Due to time constraints the researcher excluded two participants out of twenty-four participants. The total sample size of the Pre-study and Main study together were twenty-eight and most of the interviews took place in office settings (22), at participants' home (5) and at an educational institute campus (1) in four different languages Marathi (23), English (3) Gujarati (1) and Hindi (1). It was a spontaneous decision about the language used by the participants. The researcher is proficient in all three Indian languages as well. The researcher transcribed all twenty-eight interviews (pre-study and main study) took immediately after concluding the field work. However, the researcher, transcribed memos after concluding each interview. After the two interviews (in the main study), the researcher realised from the field notes and recorded interviews that the NGO respondents lack concrete answers for a subtheme 'the role of coaching institute's role on violence'. This was collected to understand non formal education's role on violence. To overcome this problem the researcher decided to investigate a religious preacher's role on violence. Religious preaching is organised, systematic educational activity carried out to teach religious values to a particular population (The researcher observed an impact of religious preachers across caste and class during the pre-study field work), thus the researcher investigated religious preachers' role as an indicator of non-formal education.

The changed indicator proved to be functional especially for the minority Muslim religion population therefore the researcher continued the investigation on the theme. All the

data after concluding the fieldwork was coded by the researcher using Grounded Theory Methodology (Glaser et al. 1968). The record duration of twenty-eight interviews (main study + pre study) was 39 hours and 27 minutes. All data was transcribed from digital recordings to text transcripts producing 820 single spaced pages (Times New Roman, font 12, median length page). The data was transcribed along with coding, diagram, and memos.

3.2 Research aims for the main study

The purpose of this inductive study is to develop a grounded theory that discovers the main concern of NGO experts who work for women's empowerment and illustrates conceptually how education impacts violence on women, and how they process knowledge diffused by various mediums. Using a classical grounded approach, the original pre-determined focus on formal education and violence was shifted to explore how and why NGO experts intervene, the impact of formal education, media and religious preachers on women's empowerment, the cumulative consequences on the forms of subjugation in the country and direction of empowerment process in the country.

3.3 Demographic profile of main study respondents

- *Violence natural and normal: Aradhana: -* Aradhana is one of the main study respondents, working in the field of gender-based violence since over two decades. She is a qualified social worker and completed a master's degree in Social Work from Pune University. She is trained in techniques used for family counselling such as Rational Emotive Behavioural Therapy (REBT). Now Aradhana is working as a family counsellor with Rational Emotive Behavioural Therapy. In her interview she discussed her experience with the technique. The respondent preferred Marathi as the language of communication, the interview divided into four sessions of a total of three hours.

Aradhana's profile was selected due to the counselling technique she uses to empower victims of violence. Being a woman, her analysis on how and why a woman chose reconciliation, women's assumption about their inferior status due to social norms were explained from a woman's point of view.

- *Prejudice public violence: Anil: -* Anil is a famous novelist in Maharashtra. He is known for his research- based novels. He is a qualified engineer turned social scientist. He did his PhD in Sociology from Pune University. In 2000, he published an academic paper in a journal named 'Economic and Political Weekly' on denotified and nomadic tribes based on his empirical work on the tribal region of Maharashtra. He chose to do the interview in English and the researcher concluded the interview in one session which lasted for forty minutes.

Anil was a first male expert on a denotified and nomadic tribe women. Coming from an upper caste Brahmin family studying tribal women made him a suitable candidate for the main study field work. The respondent analysed nomadic women from a Brahmin, upper caste male standpoint. The comparative analysis of an upper caste and a nomadic tribal woman assisted the researcher in analysing the status of women from two different caste/class.

- *Religion and women: Akram: -* He is a well-known Muslim social worker and a founder member of the only NGO working for the Muslim community in Pune, Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal established in the year 1970. He established the organization with the aim of socio religious reforms in the Muslim society. He is the oldest and least qualified respondent of all, i.e he is 70 years old and could complete only primary education. Akram responded for one and half hour in Marathi.

The researcher chose him mainly because he is a male Muslim and while establishing a contact with Muslim community expert, the respondent examined a considerably a smaller number of Muslim men or women working for Muslim women's empowerment. Being the

oldest respondent of all, the expert analysed Muslim women's status in the last fifty years and the status of women in the Muslim community in contemporary India.

- *A Man in a social worker: Anchala: -* After graduating university, Anchala worked in a community development programme in rural Maharashtra, specifically, she was involved in making women's right based strategies. She completed a post graduate degree in Social Work from Karve Institute of Social Work, Pune. Anchala also pursued a law degree in Pune. She worked as a coordinator for women studies centre in a Law college. She taught courses on women's law, local self-governance, and social legislation in a law college. At present she is working as a visiting faculty and research co-ordinator at Karve Institute of Social Service. The interview was concluded in Marathi in three different sessions for three hours.

  She is the second respondent after Kirti who a victim of domestic violence is. She experienced domestic violence from her husband who is also a social worker and working for women's empowerment. Her husband's ideas of masculinity posed various questions regarding education and impact of education on conventional social norms. The interview session with the expert informed the researcher on various forms of violence and change in forms of victimization of women due to education.

- *Child sexual abuse: Bhumati: -* Bhumati has experience in dealing with child sexual abuse cases. Last, 17 years she has been working with the Muskan (Smile), a project on child sexual abuse, started in Pune in 2000. It is an initiative of Alochana (a resource documentation and resource centre) with an aim of creating awareness about child sexual abuse. Bhumati completed an MBA and diploma in Women's studies. She preferred English as a medium of communication and concluded the interview in one session in fifty minutes.

Bhumati is a female expert working against child sexual abuse. The expert's interview revealed obstacles she faced in creating awareness about the form of abuse especially with the parents of girl children, the impact of social norms on child sexual abuse and how technology is responsible for increasing incidents of child sexual abuse.

- *Working women violence: Chayya: -* Chayya is an activist working for caste annihilation movement and the rights of marginalised women since 1989. Chayya completed her MPhil in Political Science and is working as an Associate Professor of a political science in a college. The respondent gave the interview in Marathi and concluded in one session of one and half hours.

  Chayya is working with marginalized women since over two decades. Her interview demonstrated not only different forms of violence faced by a working woman but also the difference in the forms of violence working upper and lower caste/class woman faces.

- *Secular and socialist: Imran: -* Imran is a Muslim leader and at an early stage, he participated in the socialist movement and anti-corruption movement. He completed a bachelor's degree and joined a political party. Imran is working with a Muslim organization as well as a Hindu organization which gives the researcher a comparative view on the status of Hindu and Muslim women. The interview was concluded in one session for one and half hours in Gujarati and Marathi.

  The interview with the expert demonstrated impact of Muslim personal law (Shariat) on women and discussed in depth about Muslim personal law. The interview drew a comparative analysis of Indian constitutional law and Muslim personal law.

- *Law and reality: Kshama: -* She is a practicing lawyer in Pune. She is a consultant at Sahyog Trust- a humanistic, pro-active organization. She was one of the drafting members of the Domestic Violence bill in 2005. The interview was concluded in one session for two hours in English.

She is also a human rights activist. The interview session with the expert illustrated Indian law and changed forms of subjugation in the country. She briefly explained lacuna in law education to cater to changed forms of violence and how the law cannot be applied to real gender-based violence.

- *In tolerant modern women: Laxmi:*-Laxmi is a family counsellor working in a socialist women's organization since over twenty years. Her experience working with a women's organization of a political wing made her an expert of the project. The respondent preferred Marathi for interaction and the interview lasted for an hour.

  Laxmi, a female counsellor, shared her experience with educated women. She critically evaluated educated, working women and she holds working women as intolerant and hold it as responsible for violence.

- *It's all about domestic violence: Madhumati: -* Madhumati completed a post-graduate degree in Social Work from Karve Institute of Social Work, Pune. For last 17 years she is working with ASHA (Action for self-reliance, Hope and awareness) as a family counsellor for victims who report an incidence of violence to a police station. Madhumati preferred Marathi as the language of communication and the interview lasted for half an hour.

  The expert demonstrated all facets of domestic violence with women of different castes and classes in the interview. Since the expert worked with the police, she analysed men in police uniform and their views on gender- based violence.

- *Isolation….Menstrual…Scientific: Malati:*- Malati is a volunteer working in Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad's (ABVP) or All India Student organisation's women's wing which is affiliated with the right wing party (The present government is formed by a coalition of the right wing party) of the country. Malati is the Maharashtra regional head for the wing and apart from administration work her job profile includes counselling of

victim female students. She preferred Marathi as a language of communication and the interview lasted for fifty minutes.

The female expert belongs to a Hindu fundamental organization. The expert analysed women's status from a conventional fundamentalist point of view. Her interview elaborated on social norms like 'menstrual isolation' and the scientific reason behind the social norm.

- *Modern priest and patriarchal views: Nima:-*After completing her post graduate degree from Karve Institute of Social Work, Nima worked with Young Women's Christian Association for nine years. The Association aims to promote the full development of women and girls irrespective of race, culture, and creed. At present she is working in a social foundation funded by a renowned local newspaper of Maharashtra. The foundation, working for the general welfare of the people, has formed a Women's Network which aims to ensure the dignity of women at individual, household and community levels. Her interview lasted for an hour in English and Marathi.

Nima is a female expert who converted from Hinduism to Christianity. Her interview was suitable for the current study as she explained her experience with religious preachers during religion conversion. She critically analysed her experience on how religious preachers fundamental views are responsible for women's subjugation. She also shared her counselling method in a virtual world and impact of technology on young generation.

- *Sexual education with girls: Suchit: -* Suchit is working at the Tathapi Trust for last 7 years. Tathapi Trust is a Women and Health resources organisation, partnering with local, rural, and urban NGOs, responding to needs of the communities they work with. The main focus of the Trust is gender equality, women, and health and sexuality education. Suchit completed a post-graduate degree in English literature. After completing his university education, he started his career as a volunteer in an environmental magazine. He concluded the interview in two sessions each lasted for an hour each in Marathi and English.

Suchit is a male expert working in the field of reproductive health and sexual education. Being a male in female dominating area and working for sexual education made him an expert of the field. The expert analysed his experience engaging in sexual education with girls, hesitation of girls and constraint the expert faces while discussing sexual health.

- *Intellectuality…education…caste bias: Swanjali: -* Swanjali has a post graduate degree in Social Work with a specialization in medical and psychiatric Social Work. She is associated with a marginalised caste organization which works for the rights of marginalised communities. Swanjali's interview was conducted in Marathi for seventy-five minutes.

Her interview discussed many forms of harassment at the workplace. The caste and class association with harassment at workplace was discussed by citing various real-life incidents such as intelligent work is preferably given to a higher class/caste woman than lower caste/class woman with similar educational qualifications.

- *Pre-marital sex…. Immoral: Semantini: -* She is associated with a right-wing organisation of India. Semantini organises sexual education workshops with different age groups. Her interview was for one hour in Marathi.

Another female expert from a right- wing organization, she is working on sexual education but against pre-marital sex. The expert finds pre-marital sex immoral and unethical. She discussed views on pre-marital sex, which helped the researcher compare different standpoints on sexual education.

- *Not practicing what preaching: Salim: -* Salim is a Muslim leader acting as a president in Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal. He is working as a counsellor for Muslim women. The researcher concluded the interview in three sessions in Marathi for two and half hours each.

A male Muslim expert working for Muslim women's empowerment. His interview demonstrated violence on educated Muslim women due to Muslim religious norms. The interview session with the expert was very unpleasant though as the expert tried to sexually

harass the researcher. Prolonging interview session, calling at home when no one was around was some of the unpleasant act by the expert. Though the entire episode was reported to a sexual harassment committee, the act opened up how victims are vulnerable before social workers who are supposed to provide them help. The sexual harassment incident by the expert who is working for women's empowerment provided a critical perspective on education and patriarchal values, making the whole preaching by the expert as a questionable act.

- *Working to teaching as a social worker: Tejmani: -* Tejmani is a rural activist, working for deserted women such as working for welfare of divorcee and widows. She completed a post graduate degree in Social Work from Tata Institute of Social science, Mumbai. The interview was conducted in a session of two and half hours in English.

  Tejmani shared her experience working with rural female victim as well as urban victims. The expert analysed social work education, students and obstacles for women's empowerment.

- *Pre-marital sex… guilt and counselling: Vishumati:-*Vishumati was working in the field of Information Technology and later completed a post graduate degree in Social Work from Pune, she is specialized in family counselling. Vishumati is associated with an NGO working for sexual education and pre-marital counselling. The interview was conducted in Marathi for an hour.

  Vishumati's interview provided insights into premarital sex among young people and their guilt due to pre-marital sex due to social norms of virginity before marriage in the society. The expert shared her experience of working as a counsellor with young women and their assumptions of being Indian women.

- *Vocal about violence: Vibha: -* Vibha is a Dalit and has a socialist movement background. She is associated with the marginalised caste movement. She is working for land rights and

marginalized women's right. She preferred Marathi as a language of communication and the interview was conducted over one and half hours.

Being a part of the marginalized caste movement, she explained how a lower caste/class female is more expressive and sharing than upper caste/class women by citing various real life experiences.

- *Reverse dowry, good or bad? Vinita: -* After completing a bachelor's degree in Social Work, Vinita founded an NGO with her friends. The NGO focuses on the emancipation of the most discriminated communities, officially termed as the Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes (hence forth NT and DNT). The language of interaction was Marathi and the interview session lasted for an hour.

A female respondent from nomadic and De-notified tribes, she works for tribal development. Coming from the same community, the expert discussed various tribal norms, status of tribal women in contemporary society in the session which was further compared with various caste/class/religion women.

- *Education and reality, a mismatch: Vijay: -* Vijay belongs to a congregation and group of priests called Divine World Missionaries. He works for an NGO which is a registered charitable society involved in the education, empowerment, and rehabilitation of children at high risk (either at risk of abuse or neglect). The respondent preferred English for the interview which lasted for an hour.

He analysed the impact of education on dealing with contemporary social problems in India. The expert compared education in old times and nature of violence, how technology is posing new realities and present education curricula is unable to cater to the needs of contemporary social problems in the country.

- *Saving environment, saving family: Vishal: -* Vishal completed a post graduate degree in Sociology. He started an NGO which adheres to the principles of sustainable development,

environmental and economic empowerment of men and women. Vishal preferred Marathi as language for the interview which was concluded in a one and half hour session. Different perspectives and methods followed for women's empowerment made the expert suitable for the current study. He shared his experience working with women of lower caste/class. The expert believed in women's empowerment is in serving family needs. He followed saving groups, a financial money saving schemes, to empower women financially.

Table 1: Demographic profile of the Experts (the Pre-study and main study respondents)

	Gender	Name	Expertise	Years of Experience	Education	Focus Group
1	M	Suchit	Sexual education, reproductive health issues.	7 years	PG (Eng)	Other NGO experts and Adolescent.
2	M	Swanand	Women centric male focused empowerment	20 years	MSW	All caste and class women. Focus on men to reduce gender - based violence.
3	F	Swanjali	Sexual harassment at work- place and political leader	20 years	MSW	Lower caste women
4	M	Imran	Development of Muslim women	25 years	Graduation (Political Science)	Women's right in Muslim society
5	F	Anchala	Counsellor and researcher	15 years	MSW	All caste and class women
6	F	Vishumati	Sexual education, counselling	2 years	MSW	Adolescent and young generation
7	F	Semantini	Sexual education and counselling	15 years	Graduation	Hindu fundamentalist. Hindu women

8	F	Bhumati	Child Sexual Abuse	15 Years	Diploma in women studies	Children, teachers, police, parents, juvenile home.
9	F	Kangana	Psychiatrist, mental health of victims	10 years	PG in medicinal psychology	Mental health of victims of violence
10	M	Vijay	Education and development of orphan children	15 years	BCJ	All caste/class children
11	F	Kirti	Child Sexual Abuse	15 years	MSW	Children, parents, teachers, juvenile home.
12	F	Lata	Women's right	30 years	LLB	Victims of violence
13	F	Madhumati	Domestic violence/intimate partner violence	18 years	MSW	All caste/class women
14	F	Malati	Girls education	10 years	Graduation	Hindu fundamentalist
15	M	Anil	Research on nomadic tribes	10 years	Phd (Sociology)	Marginalized, tribal belt
16	M	Milan	Working with Men to reduce violence	21 Years	MSW	Men
17	F	Tejmani	Constructive work of women development	20 years	MSW	Marginalized caste, students
18	F	Nima	All forms of violence	9 years	MSW	Marginalized caste/class women
19	F	Chayya	Development of marginalized caste women	20 years	MA (Political Science)	Labour class women
20	F	Laxmi	Domestic violence/intimate partner violence	19 years	Diploma in women studies	All caste/class women

2 1	F	Kshama	Whistle blower for injustice	10 years	LLM	All caste/class women
2 2	F	Aradhan a	Domestic violence and sexual harassment at work- place	20 years	MSW	All caste/class women, corporate officers
2 3	F	Sudha	Domestic violence and intimate partner violence	35 years	Army Personnel	All caste/class women
2 4	M	Akram	Muslim personal law	35 years	Primary education	Muslim women
2 5	F	Vibha	Marginalized caste movement	9 years	PhD (Commerce) & social activist	Marginalized caste women
2 6	M	Salim	Muslim personal law	20 years	MSW	Development of Muslim women
2 7	M	Vishal	Sustainable development and women	5 years	PG (Sociology)	Marginalized caste women
2 8	F	Vinita	Women's development	4 years	MSW	Nomadic tribal women

Table 1 Demographic information of the respondents of the current study. MSW: Master's in social work, PG: Post Graduation, LLM: Master of Laws, LLB: Bachelor of Laws, BCJ: Bachelor in Communicative Journalism.

After commencing the main study field work, the researcher transcribed each expert interview and had begun analysing the empirical data by the grounded theory method. The following section briefly examines the rationale for using the grounded theory method for the analysis. It critically evaluates different versions of the grounded theory approach and briefly discusses the procedure of classical grounded theory analysis.

Section IV: Procedure of Data Analysis

This section explains the grounded theory methodology and rationale for using the methodology for the current thesis. Along with the philosophical roots of the grounded theory

methodology, the present chapter discusses its different version and explains the philosophical and methodological position of the thesis. The next sub section of this section explains the fundamental methodological steps starting with theoretical sampling, the procedure of the data analysis, extant literature review and criteria for judging classical grounded theory as given by Glaser (1978) as fit, work, relevance and modifiability. The criteria help the reader to assess the quality of the present study. Finally, the section concludes by explaining important parameters for using inductive grounded methodology in the form of ethical considerations: informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality.

4.1 Grounded Theory

The pre-study and the main study data collected by the researcher for the current study was analysed using the CGT approach. This section describes the rationale for using the approach. The Grounded theory methodology was first introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) drawing its philosophical roots from symbolic interactionism (Cho and Lee 2014; Priest et al. 2002). The Discovery of Grounded Theory offers a systematic rigorous procedure for innovative research theory. The methodology offers an innovative theory grounded in the empirical data without imposing preconceived ideas on the data. Grounded theory is not a name of a single, unified methodology (Dey 2004)[59] rather there are different interpretations formed from early versions of Glaser and Strauss' Grounded theory namely Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998, 2001, 2003) Strauss (1987), Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) and Charmaz (2003,2006).

Grounded theory is suited for the exploration of the impact of education on women's subjugation for several reasons. The primary reason behind the selection was that as an inductive methodology, it is ideally suited for exploring new phenomenon where there is little knowledge about the relationship in a relative area under investigation. Additionally, grounded theory emphasises on inductive strategies of theory development in contrast to logical

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[59] Ian Dey, "Grounded Theory", in Qualitative Research Practice, ed. Clive Seale et al., (Sage, 2004), 80-93.

deduction from a priori assumption (Patton 2015, P 109) which is a conventional strategy for theory development. The grounded theory takes the researcher close to the empirical reality without any preconceived notions imposed on the data. As a result, the emergence of a theory is more grounded in an empirical world and embedded in an empirical reality. The grounded theory method aims at 'build up theory' rather than using existing theory to explain phenomenon under investigation (Patton 2015, p 110). In a conventional qualitative approach, existing theoretical understanding is imposed upon the empirical data which may be far from reality, whereas in 'build up theory' theoretical underpinning is abstracted from data to ensure relevance between the empirical world and pre-existing theory of a substantive area.

Grounded theory aims at building up theory, it enables data to speak for itself and lets the main concern emerge from the empirical data (Glaser 1998). According to Glaser, interpreted data is that "which is told by a trained professional whose job it is to make sure that others see the data his professional way, despite the fact that it alters the normal way of seeing it" (Glaser 1998, P 9). In this re-interpreted data, which was collected using expert interviews, the main concern is not how professionals assist their clients in solving their problem as it is central to the participants' narration, but the "way of living" due to which women suffer and seek help from professional. This helped the researcher understand the cause of subjugation of women from various ethnic backgrounds and the changing form of subjugation due to a rise in female education. Thus, the final theory presented in the thesis does not centre on professional methods and approaches to bring women's empowerment but the root cause of the problem in the form of Indian society's "way of living".

Grounded theory studies actions and processes rather than topics and structures studied by other qualitative researchers (Patton 2015, P 111). The current thesis studied the process and direction on women's empowerment due to social change. Diffused knowledge later explains how a group of people process knowledge through cognitive discourse. The

interpretative data collected for the current thesis was conceptualised using rigorous comparative methods to develop conceptual categories, integrated for the emergence of a substantive grounded theory. A conceptual framework deduced from the empirical data takes the researcher close to patterns, norms, beliefs and attitudes of the people, so the findings are grounded in the empirical data (Patton 2015, P 110). The conceptual framework that emerged from the data has general implications far beyond the people under investigation and can easily be applied to others by using the constant comparative method (Glaser and Holton 2004). The theory has the basic social process of impact of female education on women's empowerment and women's victimization due to their education. The theory will not only be relevant to education policy makers in India but other international organizations such as the United Nations. Gender equality and education is one of UN's Sustainable Development Goal and United Nation's laid emphasises on women's education to achieve women's empowerment and gender equality especially in developing countries like India[60]. Additionally, the benefits of the grounded theory are not limited to the substantive area of women's studies but will be extendable to education, religion, media and cognitive research. The above- mentioned arguments established the rationale for the grounded theory as a well-suited method for the current thesis.

Based on the rationale mentioned above, the researcher chose grounded theory for the data analysis, yet the challenging task was to decide one among three different versions of the grounded theory. These three different versions of the grounded theory are: Classical Grounded Theory (Glaser 1978), Straussian Grounded Theory or Qualitative Data Analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1990) and Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz 2003, 2006). The next sub-

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[60] For more information, please refer to http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/ for sustainable goal 5- Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. United Nations top priorities in India is women's empowerment and women's education. For more information, please refer to http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=57232#.WigxRbaZOb8. Accessed December 6,2017.

section discusses the differences between these methodologies and the rationale for choosing the appropriate grounded theory.

4.2 Choosing an approach

Grounded theory was first articulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) for inductively generating a theory from data (Evans 2013; Patton 1990) and has been used extensively across all social science disciplines (Lawrence and Tar 2013). The Glaser's approach is an inductive-deductive mix (Evans 2013) in which, the researcher starts an objective analysis of the empirical data without a literature review, allowing deduction to occur through coding of the empirical data. Due to coding strategies the data is deduced to find patterns and categories and the consequentially generalised data emerges into a theory (Evans 2013).

On the other hand, the Straussian approach of grounded theory works on deduction and verification principles. The Strauss approach unlike the Glaser approach advocates formulation of hypotheses on the basis of a literature review which is further verified with empirical data. Thus, Corbin and Strauss support beginning the research study with a preconceived idea (Evans 2013). Whereas in Constructive Grounded theory approach or Charmazian approach, the grounded theory emerges from a constructive reality through the interaction between the respondents and a researcher. Charmazian constructive grounded theory starts with a preconceived research question constructed from a literature review like Straussian grounded theory (Evans 2013). The epistemological stance of the constructive grounded theory is that each individual assign meaning and constructs reality for the world around them. (Breckenridge et al. 2012; Appleton and King 2002).

Another difference is with the coding practice of these three approaches. In CGT, there are two types of coding, one is substantive coding which was later divided by some authors into open coding and selective coding (Evans 2013; Hernandez and Andrews 2012; Walker and Myrick 2006) and another is theoretical coding, whereas Corbin and Strauss (1990)

suggested three types of coding as open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Three types coding as initial coding, focused coding and theoretical coding proposed by Charmaz (Cho and Lee 2014).

Choosing an appropriate approach from these three versions for this research was a challenging decision. The researcher decided to analyse the main study from CGT. The main study field work was free from any preconceived idea based on the pre-study literature review. Initially the choice of CGT was made without any comparative study between the three versions of the grounded theory. Later the researcher found constructive grounded theory (Charmaz 2003, 2006) the most suited for this research. Charmaz's constructive grounded theory suggested that the data and analysis are created through an interactive process whereby the researcher and the participants construct a shared reality (Breckenridge 2012). Since the interviews were conducted in three vernacular languages, i.e., Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati as well as English as a foreign language, the constructive grounded theory helped the researcher understand the assigned meaning through social construction of language and thus social construction of reality regarding violence and education.

Secondly, the researcher initially chose constructive grounded theory, to analyse multiple realities which are constructed under particular social conditions with the help of interaction with NGO experts (Charmaz, 2008). Thus, the constructive grounded theory was used initially with an objective to co-construct subjective meanings with participants and thereby constructing a grounded theory on multiple realities (Breckenridge 2012).

The researcher had started analysing the data with constructive grounded theory with the aim of constructing a theory from the interactive data, but this was not the aim of the current research work. While analysing the data with constructive grounded theory, the researcher started by analysing the construction of the meaning from the interaction between participants and the researcher rather than processing an analysis of empirical reality. But the reality is

constructed in constructive grounded theory rather than discovered from empirical data; the researcher's construction of meaning becomes an important part of the analysis. The limitation was that constructive grounded theory does not provide the empirical reality to emerge as it is. For the constructive grounded theory, realities are a social construction of the mind and thus for constructive grounded theory multiple realities are constructed (Mills et al. 2006; Guba and Lincoln 1989). Realising the difference between constructing realities in constructive grounded theory and objective reality in Glaser's classical grounded theory (Mills et al. 2006), the researcher switched to the classical grounded theory. Researcher did not choose Straussian grounded theory as Straussian grounded theory proceeds on theoretical grounds which creates preconceived bias (Evans 2013). To avoid any preconceived bias in order to discover a theory rooted in empirical data, the researcher chose Glaser's classical grounded theory

4.3 Classical Grounded Theory

Choosing CGT over Straussian and constructive grounded theory allowed the researcher to grasp participants' perspective and to study participants concerns (Glaser 1998, P 32). Thus, the methodology gives importance to participants' perspectives, concerns and their reflections to gain in depth insight on the issues of concern (Holton 2008; Glaser 1998). The issue of concern for the current study was to gain an understanding of women's education and violence to understand empowerment process from an NGO expert perspective. As suggested by Glaser, the pre-literature review is avoided for the main study field work, consequentially the coding procedure was started without any preconceived ideas.

There are two types of coding in classical grounded theory: substantive coding and theoretical coding. Some authors have divided the substantive coding process into two sub processes; open and selective coding (Evans 2013; Hernandez and Andrews, 2012; Walker and Myrick 2006). In substantive coding, the researcher works with data directly and it is the process of conceptualizing the empirical substance of the area under study: the data in which

the theory is grounded (Holton 2007). Holton further explained, indicators of category or concept are grounded in the incidents of the empirical data from which a grounded theory is generated. The aim of using classical grounded theory was not to verify facts but to generate plausible integrated set of conceptual hypotheses in a substantive area of concern (Glaser 1998). Grounded theory is a general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory on a substantive area (Glaser 1992, P 16). As Glaser (1998) said "All is Data" signifies the flexibility of using all types of data. The researcher used, empirical data collected by BNI and EI, previous scientific literature, newspaper articles, video clips to critically analyse the empirical data. The data collected by various methods such as EIs and BNIs were used creatively to generate an inductive multivariate theory (Holton 2007; Glaser 1998).

The substantive theory that emerged from the systematic data analysis is the theory of victimization of educated women in India, an inductive theory. The systematic data analysis in classical grounded theory engaged a process of constant comparison, coding and theoretical sampling. The following sub section lays out details of each of the components of the CGT process starting from theoretical sampling for classical grounded theory. The section discusses the sampling process laid down by the CGT and pre-determined sampling size in the current study.

4.3.1 Sampling

CGT gave preference to data collection guided by theoretical sampling, the theoretical sampling, as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is, "The process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, P 45). An emerging theory guides the sampling and prevents the researcher from collecting the same data again (Glaser 1998). Thus, the theoretical sampling

prevents repetitive or same data but collection of diversified data for the emergence of a holistic and all-inclusive theory.

As the sample size was predetermined for the current study, the theoretical sampling was still achieved in the current study. During the main study field work, due to lack of time, the researcher could only write observations and notes during the interview. After the interview sessions, the researcher listened to the recorded interview again which helped the researcher to keep a check on the same data and decide where to go, such as which caste and religion NGO experts to investigate next in order to collect diversified data. Thus, due to this process, the researcher could gather data from experts who are working on different forms of violence, following different approaches for empowerment and from different castes and religions of the society. During the main study field work, the researcher analysed the questions based on the themes and revised the questions to get more relevant data for the emergence of a grounded theory.

The sample size was predetermined, the researcher had to pre-plan the field work. In order to develop an all-inclusive and holistic theory, the researcher made notes of different fields of women's empowerment and searched online, and contact was established. Initially only few contacts were established. During the main study field work, the researcher went through the recorded interview and decided which sample to look for next. Initially, the researcher looked for NGO experts working for child sexual abuse, sexual education and intimate partner violence and family problems. After going through the recorded interviews, the researcher felt a lack of data from the caste and class perspective. Thus, the researcher started to look for NGO experts working for marginalized castes and classes. Due to observations and notes made during interview sessions, the researcher analysed experts' different approaches of women's empowerment and their methods to empower women. To achieve these, the researcher collected data from NGO experts who practice different

empowerment methods. To get the contact of these participants, the researcher contacted pre-study NGO experts and got contact details from the participants, and some contact information was collected from the internet.

Post main study field work, the researcher analysed the data with CGT. The following sub section explains the procedure of classical grounded theory analysis. Constant comparison is first step towards forming a multivariate theory. Following section discusses the aim and purpose of the constant comparison in CGT.

4.3.2 Constant comparison

Constant comparison is a concept-indicator (Holton 2007), an underpinning of grounded theory to such an extent that all three streams of grounded theory namely CGT, Strauss and Corbin's Grounded Theory and Charmazian Constructivist Grounded Theory were used for constant comparison in the data analysis process to generate a plausible theory (Evans 2013). The CGT laid strong focus on constant comparative method for concept-indicator initial categorization of incidents and then eventually for conceptualization (Glaser 1992). The data is compared at three levels- a) Incidents to incidents to identify the underlying meaning and pattern within a set of descriptive incidents for the emergence of concepts. Furthermore, b) concepts are compared to more incidents for the best fit data and for the emergence of properties of concepts for verification and densification of the concepts and lastly, c) concepts are compared with concepts to generate a range of concepts and integration to discover a theory (Holton 2007). In CGT, a unit of analysis is data and not participants; the researcher needs to see incidents and constantly compare the incidents to generate categories, properties of categories and integration of concepts to form integrated and parsimonious conceptual hypotheses (Glaser 1998).

For the current thesis, the researcher compared different aspects of the data such as different approaches for women's empowerment followed by experts, status of women in

different communities, aim and purpose of education and its impact on women of different communities to gain a holistic picture on changing forms of subjugation in contemporary India. In the following sections, the researcher discusses CGT coding illustrated by sample coding with different comparative approaches.

4.3.3   Open coding

Initially the researcher struggled not only with large amounts of data (820 pages) but also a lack of self-belief. As Holton stated the researcher also experienced lack belief in the grounded theory method (Holton 2009). The coding process for the researcher was not less than a roller coaster ride. In coding process, open coding provides a direction and answer to deal with these ambiguities emerged at the beginning of grounded theory analysis. In open coding a researcher fractures the data and relevant data is deduced to a conceptual level (Glaser 1978). Open coding is the first analytical step to yield initial categories, it is an initial stage of analysis before delimiting a theory. At this stage a researcher remains open to the data without any preconceived codes and lets the pattern emerge from the incidents which are compared (Glaser 1998). Open coding is "the initial step of theoretical analysis that pertains to the initial discovery of categories and their properties" (Glaser 1992, P 39).

Though Glaser gave a systematic method of constant comparison for emergence of concepts and categories at open coding stage, at this stage a researcher struggles with selectivity and relevance. Deciding which incidents should be coded and which should be omitted is the biggest challenge at this stage. To address the challenge, Glaser (1978) stated, the researcher codes the data every way possible, that is 'running the data open' (P 56). To code data every way possible, transcriptions are read line-by-line, but due to the overwhelming volume and repetitive data, the researcher followed paragraph to paragraph coding (Glaser 1992). In order to avoid pre-conception, the researcher asked questions while coding the incidents such as "what is this data about?", "what does this incident indicate?" and the pattern

emerging from incidents are focused while open coding. The researcher coded the data every way possible, such as coding interpretations, different incidences into as many categories as possible (Glaser 1978, P 56). This allows the most workable ones and the core relevant data to emerge on their own (Glaser 1978, P 56).

For labelling each incident in vivo codes are taken from respondents' interview and subject to revision through constant comparative method to form newer conceptual codes from the empirical data (Holton 2007). In open coding the data is compared until a core category emerges. At this level the researcher verifies and saturates the categories, irrelevant categories are omitted, thus the delimiting theory procedure starts with an open coding (Holton 2009). Open coding sample is discussed in the following table for related category 'approaching'. The table illustrates the procedure followed while coding the data with comparative approaches.

Questionnaire	Interview Data	Questions asked while coding the data	Open Coding	Comparison
Which methods do you follow?	I focussed on her (complainant) assumption. She had a lot of free time. She used to indulge in negative thinking. She used to spend free time in monitoring and	What is this data about?	Focus Assumption as root of problem. Negative assumption	Different approaches to women's empowerment. Aim and purpose of intervention

	supervising. She had certain assumptions regarding husband which caused problems between them.		regarding her husband. Negative thinking cause of action. Monitoring and supervising as action. Solving problem. Working to solve intimate partner violence.	

Table 2: Example of coding for open coding

The sample open coding in table 2 illustrates, initial coding step, the researcher coded every data possible. While coding the data, questions such as 'what is this data about?' which revealed not only the pattern of empowerment method followed but also the causes of violence. Thus, asking questions at each level of coding assisted the researcher in finding relevant data and emergence of patterns of action and belief system. The core-relevance emerged at selective

coding. The following section explains the procedure of selective coding and emergence of core relevance.

4.3.4 Selective coding

Selective coding followed open coding. At the open coding level, the researcher provides the direction to find relevant data whereas in selective coding process the researcher's focus is on emerging core variable and delimiting coding to variables which are relevant and sufficiently used in parsimonious theory. In this process, the irrelevant codes are not lost but are of secondary concern to the main concern (Glaser 1978). The delimiting data in selective coding continued until the researcher elaborated and integrated the core category, its properties, and its theoretical connection with other relevant categories (Holton 2007). The table 3 below explains the sample of selective coding.

Questionnaire asked while doing selective coding.	Interview Data	Open Coding	Selective coding	Comparison
What category this incident or data indicate?	I focussed on her (complainant) assumption. She had a lot of free time. She used to indulge in negative thinking. She used to spend free time in monitoring and	Focus Assumption as root of problems. Negative assumption	Work on basic assumption (explaining the concept) Reaching roots (Concept)	Comparing temporary empowerment and customizing way with reaching roots.

| | supervision. She had certain assumption regarding husband which caused problems between them. | regarding her husband

Negative thinking cause of action

Monitoring and supervision as action

Solving problem

Working to solve intimate partner violence. | Assumption as cause of violence. (main concern)

Negative thinking (secondary concern) | Empowerment meaning- working on subjugating assumptions. |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Table 3: Example of coding for selective coding for the concept 'reaching roots'

Table 3 explains the strategy followed while doing selective coding for the CGT. At open coding, the data is fractured to get relevant codes, at the second step the coded relevant data is further fractured to form concepts, properties and related categories. In the table 3, the main concern for the data mentioned above is related category 'approaching' category and its property 'reaching roots'. While coding the data, the main concern for the substantive grounded

theory 'Assumption as cause' has emerged. The main concern emerged at every level of coding as cause for experts' intervention. The procedure of the emergence of core category is discussed in the sub-section of 'memo' to explain how writing memos had assisted the researcher in determining the core category 'way of living'. The next step of coding is theoretical coding which assisted in the integration of various categories and emergence of the substantive grounded theory.

4.3.5 Theoretical coding

Theoretical coding is the last level of the classical grounded theory analysis and one of the most problematic areas for the researcher (Hernandez 2009). The analysis process started with open coding where the researcher starts with an open mind and emergence of a core category. At the second level the researcher focussed on the core category, related categories and relevant properties to form substantive codes whereas at the last stage the researcher identified and used appropriate theoretical codes to achieve an integrated theoretical framework for the overall grounded theory (Holton 2010). As rightly put by Glaser (1978) theoretical codes established a relationship between different patterns and weaved the fractured story back together again (P 72). Theoretical codes provided the researcher clarity of the relationship of substantive codes, integrative scope, broad pictures and a new perspective (Glaser 1978). As theoretical codes are flexible in nature and several theoretical codes may fit the data, it provides the researcher enough space for creative yet logical and grounded integration (Glaser 1978). During the open coding and selective coding, the researcher already has begun delimiting the theory and establishing an interconnection between core categories, substantive codes, and properties through writing memos. Sorting of these memos is an essential step to discover theoretical outlines (Glaser 1978). Theoretical sorting is based on theoretical codes, the theoretical codes are not imposed but they are fit according to similarities, connections and underlying uniformities, the decision about the precise location of a particular

memo is based on the researcher's logic, creativity (Holton 2010) and understanding of the data.

Out of 23 families of the theoretical coding (Hernandez 2009; Glaser 2005), the researcher integrated the core category, sub core category and related categories with the best suitable theoretical codes such as cause, strategy, intervening condition and basic social process. The finding chapter of the current thesis explains the integrated substantive grounded theory. Sample memos explaining the development of theoretical integration is explained in the appendix of this chapter.

4.3.6 Memos

Memos are the theorizing write-up of ideas about the codes and their relationships; memos are the way to store ideas of an analyst (Glaser 1978). Memo writing is a constant process, which begins right after the first interview. However, due to time constraints the field worker could write only field notes and not memos. These field notes consist of different ideas that came up during the field work. Such as the researcher used to scribble some important words or sentences from the incidents and used to note down conclusion of the interview. Later these field notes were transferred into memo banks after concluding the field work. The purpose of the memo writing is to capture and preserve the conceptual ideas at every stage of coding (Glaser 1998). The memo bank, consisting of the field notes to theoretical coding not only helps the researcher with an in- depth theoretical understanding of the data but also helps the researcher to grow personally (Glaser 1998). Glaser gave no formal rules for writing memos, it is unique to the researcher and consists of a flow of ideas with total freedom (Glaser 1998). The free flow of ideas is not bound by any specific patterns or grammar rules, but the only purpose is to capture free flows of ideas while coding the data to prevent loss of creative ideas (Glaser 1998). Memo writing assists the researcher to determine the best suitable

theoretical codes which later help the researcher to integrate into a substantive grounded theory (Hernandez 2009; Glaser 2003).

As mentioned earlier, the researcher started drafting memos after completion of the field work, while the field notes were transferred into memo banks at the time of sorting. The initial memos were written into the margins of the data transcription and later written down on index cards. These memos were later referred to in order to generate a connection with different categories and properties to generate the theory. Memo writing provided the researcher an in depth understanding and the researcher's ability to see the conceptual scope of the data (Glaser 1978). The sample memo for the emergence of the core category is discussed in the memo (CC-11).

Memo- (CC 11)

After confusion of many days I finally presented my theory with a core cateogry 'intervention' to the colleagues in the summer seminar 2016. The core category emerged after discussion with my colleague and the supervisor was "way of living" which is pattern of living as mentioned before. Glaser mentioned peculiarites of core category as the Central to the integration. To find out whether way of living is central at intergration, it is necessary to find out how "way of living" is main concern of the emerged grounded theory. Following questions asked helped me to find out the main concern of the theory

Questions	answers
Why do women face violence?	Way of living
What is the main concern of participants?	Subjugating way of living
Why do experts intervene?	To empower women
Empowerment against what?	Against patriarchal culture
Why do women accept patriarchal culture?	As it is way of living for Indian women
Do women get empowered due to expert intervention	External factors impacts experts efforts
What do external factors impact what?	Impact way of living
Consequneces of impact on way of living	new way of living
Why new way of living is important	It is the foundation for the future way of living

The question and answer above established "way of Living" as core category for the theory

Outline 1 Memo for the core-category

The memos were written by the researcher to solve confusion regarding the main concerns of the grounded theory. The confusion was regarding 'intervention' as main concern or "way of living". Thus, to address this confusion the researcher asked various question to

determine the central theme. The sample memo above discussed how "way of living" is central to experts' intervention and how external factors impact "way of living" and consequences due to intervention and external factors overall. Thus, the memo writing assisted the researcher to get conceptual clarity and integration of various categories to form the theory. The appendix attached to this chapter discusses some more sample memos for the grounded theory. Memo writing is logically interrelated and sequences in memo sorting. The following sub section explains the theoretical sorting for the emerged theory.

The researcher used memos for citing theoretical ideas. For citing, the researcher has used abbreviations such as EISWMO- Expert Interview Swanand Memo and BNICHMO- Biographical Narrative Interview Chitra Memo. For theoretical ideas memo are cited and further explained by incidents from different EI and BNI.

4.3.7 Memo Sorting

Memo sorting is the integration of connections between different categories and properties to discover the substantive grounded theory. In memo sorting, a researcher logically sequences the memos to discover integrated model (Glaser 1978). Sorting is a creative process, during the process a researcher visualizes the total integration of ideas as well as the conceptual outline. The researcher puts fractured data together with sorting; the sorting of the idea starts without any preconceived idea or outline about theory (Holton 2008).

As suggested by CGT, the sorting of memos should start immediately after theoretical saturation (Holton 2008) but due to predetermined sampling, the researcher had to perform the memo sorting after substantive coding. Memo sorting established the connection and integration of different concepts and properties with theoretical codes. Various index cards were sorted and grouped to form the integration for deriving theoretical codes. Thus, the process posed a challenge to the researcher's creativity and the researcher could see the

emerging theory through memos. The next sub section explains theoretical sensitivity and the importance of theoretical sensitivity in the grounded theory.

4.3.8 Theoretical sensitivity

As defined by Glaser and Holton (2004): "the ability to generate concepts from data and to relate them according to normal models of theory in general, and theory development in sociology in particular, is the essence of theoretical sensitivity" (Para 43). Theory formation is grounded in empirical data with the aim of exploring in depth rather than explaining the phenomenon with existing theory. To fulfil the criterion the researcher entered the field with few predetermined ideas as possible (Glaser 1978, P 3). Due to the absence of a literature review in the main study the researcher could remain open to the data without filtering it through pre-existing hypotheses and biases (Glaser 1978). Theoretical sensitivity helped the researcher to stay open to data and helped in the emergence of relevant concepts and properties without any bias notion. The empirical data is fractured and presented with a model by integrating different theoretical codes to form a plausible theory explaining the phenomenon under investigation. The emergent categories and properties are not limited to the substantive field but touches cognitive sociology and cognitive psychology field, thus, the next sub section illustrates literature review using cross-disciplinary literature used to explain the integrated model.

4.4 Using Extant Literature in Classical Grounded Theory

As previously mentioned, the study started with an observation which was further supported by a literature review for the pre-study field work. The pre-study literature review, as discussed earlier, gave ambiguous results due to which the pre-study field work was undertaken on violence on educated women in India. The pre-study field work findings changed the predetermined research question to a theme of 'education and violence on women'. The pre-study findings set a framework for questionnaires and data collection method for the

main study field work. Regarding the pre-study literature review, unlike traditional research settings where the pre study literature review is necessary to gain an understanding, the significance and gap in the existing literature of the area of interest, Glaser (1998) strongly opposed any kind of pre-study literature review in the substantive area and the related areas where the research is to be done (P 67) in order to explore the phenomenon under investigation. This position supports emergence of an inductive theory and supposedly keeps the researcher free from any pre bias documented concepts (McCallin 2003).

However, the problem one encounters is that a researcher cannot stay away from the relevant literature and the research question is guided by the relevant literature (McCallin 2003). The current research process used pre-study literature and the theme is guided by the literature review, thus Glaser's position is not met for the current study. However, an article by Tom Andrew (2006) in response to McCallin's article (2003) clarified Glaser's position by arguing that 'Central to GT is the idea is that the literature is not used as a source of concepts' (P 30). To adhere to Glaser's position, the researcher remained unbiased and uninfluenced by the literature review and remained focused on empirical data during conceptualization. Though the researcher decided to analyse the empirical data with classical grounded theory after pre-study field work, the main study field analysis started with an open mind, i.e., without any research question but with an aim to explore the theme education and violence. The emergence of the grounded theory without any preconceived bias revealed that pre-literature review played no part in data analysis before and after the emergence of the grounded theory. The literature reviewed before the pre-study field work proved to be irrelevant for the extant literature review after the emergence of the substantive theory. The researcher reviewed previous literature with-in the field of education, media and religion with reference to violence after emergence of the grounded theory. The relevant literature is reviewed in order to critically analyse existing literature on the research theme.

In CGT, the existing literature is considered to be another form of data for comparison once the core category, its properties and its related categories have emerged (Holton 2008). Soon after emergence of the substantive grounded theory, the researcher started to look for literature in the relevant fields. The emergence of the substantive theory increased theoretical sensitivity or the openness to relevant literature (Heath 2006). While searching for relevant literature, the researcher came across literature on cognitive sociology, and various thematic concepts of cognitive sociology. Due to the growing field of cognitive sociology (DiMaggio 2002)[61], the researcher searched for a cognitive discourse in the field of psychology. Social cognitive theory (1977) as proposed by Albert Bandura helped the researcher to fill the literature gap in the cognitive sociology discourse and an opportunity to work with multi-disciplinary approaches to make the theory holistic and contributory (Glaser 1998). Reading the relevant literature for the substantive theory was a challenging task i.e., moving beyond the related area and searching for relevant literature from multi-disciplinary fields due to the possibility of getting lost in a vast pool of existing knowledge. But due to theoretical sensitivity and constant comparison, the researcher could conceptually relate the literature with data.

Referring to Zerubavel's cognitive sociology (1991, 1996, 1997), the researcher could compare existing cognitive sociology literature conceptually only to the sub core category and the properties of the sub core category. For the core category, the researcher searched relevant literature in the field of group cognition or shared cognition, for example in the article by Seng et al (2010) Shared Cognitions and Shared Theories: Telling More Than We Can Know by Ourselves? the concept of shared cognition from article was compared with the core category of the substantive grounded theory. Different concepts from Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura 1977) were also found to be relevant for comparing different related categories and the Basic

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[61] Paul DiMaggio, "Why Cognitive (And Cultural) Sociology Needs Cognitive Psychology", in Culture in Mind: Toward A Sociology Of Culture And Cognition, ed Karen Cerulo (New York, Routeledge,2002),274-283.

Social Process. The substantive grounded theory is the researcher's interpretation of knowledge gained from participants which is further influenced by cognitive discourse literature and a contribution in the field of women's empowerment from cognitive perspective.

4.5 Judging the credibility of a grounded theory

For the researcher who shares the same identity with the people under investigation proving the quality and credibility of the qualitative study was a challenging task. Starting from interviewing people with whom the researcher shares same identity to analysing the empirical data, the researcher not only grew as an analyst but as a human being too, as suggested by Becker (1971, P 279): "The person, as he moves in and out of a variety of social situations, learns the requirements of continuing in each situation and of success in it. If he has a strong desire to continue, the ability to assess accurately what is required, and can deliver the required performance, the individual turns himself into the kind of person the situation demands".

After the field work, the classical grounded theory emphasis on objective constant comparison was a challenging process for the researcher. Constant confrontation between staying objective versus analysing the data without an Indian perspective made grounded theory analysis a stimulating process. A researcher's personal predisposition and biases are a barrier to credible qualitative findings (Patton 2015, P 653). To stay objective, the researcher asked questions such as why, where, and what while analysing the empirical data. The questions asked helped the researcher carry out a systematic constant comparison. While analysing the empirical data, commitment to truth revelation, quality and validity of the research was evaluated by four criteria given by Glaser (1978, P 4-6). Thus, to save the grounded theory from abstraction to just mere description (Holton 2008) Glaser has given four criteria, a standard for judging and assessing the grounded theory, namely fit, work, relevance and modifiability. Each criterion is discussed here at length.

4.5.1 Fit

The first criterion for judging the theory is fit, which signifies codes and properties that are embedded in empirical data, discovered category are not forced or selected on the basis of pre-conceived idea. The theory discovered is more grounded in the data and not from existing literature (Glaser 1978, P 4). Secondly, the criterion fit also signifies that the extant category earned its way into emerging theory (Glaser 1978, P 4). To fulfil the methodology's goal the analyst maximised it by avoiding pre-study literature review for the main study field work which reduces the risk of any preconceived notions while analysing the data.

Due to a lack of pre-study literature review for the main study the researcher could go into the field without any influence of the literature, with an open mind. To maximise the criterion further the researcher systematically applied the grounded theory procedure to discover a theory which is grounded in the empirical data. A systematic application of the analytical procedure through constant comparison of the data (Glaser 1998) and the rigorous constant comparison helped the researcher to refine and modify the category as close as to the empirical data (Glaser 1978). The categories are not static, as Glaser stated they are refit and emergent fit (Glaser 1978), refit in the sense that the researcher refined the category with constant comparison and these categories are further modified when new data comes in. The refined categories are further related to form a theory. The criterion fit was further maximised by discussing and merging it with the emerging grounded theory to develop a holistic theory. Thus, the substantive grounded theory offers new categories and properties to fit into existing categories and properties.

4.5.2 Work

Glaser (1978) states that a theory works if it is "able to explain what happened, predict what will happen and interpret what is happening in an area of substantive or formal inquiry" (P 4). The theory works when it accounts for most of the variation in participants' behaviours

in a substantive research area (Thulesius et al. 2003). The above-mentioned criterion is achieved by a systematic constant comparison of the data to arrest pattern of behaviour, and the categories and properties explained the 'core' of what is happening, why it is happening and changing patterns of behaviours in contemporary India.

4.5.3   Relevance

The criterion underlines the importance of the main theme in the area of research. Grounded theory arrives at relevance as it allows the core theme and process in a substantive area to emerge (Glaser 1978, P 5). Without preconceived ideas the theory is grounded in the data, and categories emerged with constant rigorous comparison until the criterion relevance is met. The various categories achieved through systematic constant comparison indicates the significance and relevance of the data (Holton 2008).

4.5.4   Modifiability

Modifiability is the most important criterion of all (Glaser 1978, P 5). It refers to the ability of the grounded theory to be altered by blending the theory with new relevant data and to modify new variations to an area of research (Glaser 1978, P 5). The new variation makes the theory rich and dense. Unlike verification study where changing the hypothesis is made to meet the needs of the time, the substantive grounded theory once generated is later modified with ever changing data. The theoretical codes, which are more flexible in nature, are more open for modification and can integrate all the new perspectives of the current the world (Glaser 1978). The modification of theory with integrated new perspectives must ensure the fit, work and relevance in order to judge the credibility of the work.

The current substantive theory emerged in the thesis explained behaviour variations with various incidents, with incidents, those denoting new realities or alternative realities easily modifiable to make the theory rich and dense. Thus, as Thulesius et al. (2003) said: "A grounded theory is never right or wrong; it just has more or less fit, relevance, workability, and

modifiability and we ask readers of this article to evaluate its quality according to these principles" (P 1356). Thus, the quality of the grounded theory is assessed on the above-mentioned criteria rather than a right or wrong notion. The fit, work, relevance and modifiability of the emerged grounded theory is explained in the conclusion of the current thesis.

4.6 Credibility of grounded theory

To deal with criticism that accuracy is not proven in the grounded theory, the theory is readily modifiable by systematic constant comparison and with new emerged data (Glaser 2003, P 129). The researcher has provided a specimen of the grounded theory process in the appendix of the thesis. The process explains sample interview, the sample coding process for emergence of the core category and the related categories, sample memos of initial memos and theoretical memo and integration of core category are also explained in the appendix of the current study.

4.6.1 Ethical consideration

For an inductive study, respondents' experiences, life stories, interpretation and perspectives are important tools for emergence of the classical grounded theory, these are not just a mechanical- tools but these narrations are full of empathy, feelings of person which can have a great impact on the researcher. As Patton (2015) says: "Interviews are interventions. They affect people. A good interview evokes thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experience not only to the interviewer but also to the interviewee" (P 495). The entire field work (the pre-study and the main study) was a thought provoking and self-introspecting process for the researcher. Discussing the issue of women's empowerment with experts and gathering life histories through biographical narratives was a reflective and effective process for both interviewer and interviewee (Patton 2015, P 495). At many times, interviewer introspect her cultural values and own thoughts which are product of the socialization.

Understanding and respecting the sensitivity of the data, the researcher set an ethical framework to protect sensitive data and identity of the respondents. Apart from protecting the sensitive data and identity of the respondents, it was necessary to protect from not getting carried away with vast information. Especially, in the case of expert interviews where experts working in the field for a considerable amount of time are more knowledgeable than a novice researcher. The researcher could not foresee the problem before starting the first expert interview. During the first interview, the dynamic of interview-respondents was that of a teacher-student relationship (Obelene 2009)[62]. To solve this problem and to get relevant data, the researcher started to actively participate in the interview and tried to extract the relevant data from the experts. Being an active listener does not mean dominating the conversation with experts but to extract the roots of their analysis by asking for more incidents or the rationale for their analysis. Questions like 'Please elaborate more this point' or 'do you remember any incidents on this?' or 'Did you experience something like this?' helped the researcher to understand the roots of the respondents' analysis.

Due to the short time span given by the funding committee, the researcher contacted experts over the phone, explaining the research project and theme to them, maintaining confidentiality of identity and by seeking permission to record the data and the researcher subsequently invited the respondents to take part in the interview process. At the time of the interview the researcher provided the experts with an authorization letter provided by the Göttingen Diversity Research Institute[63]. At the time of the interview the researcher again sought permission to record the interview and the medium of communication was decided by the respondents. The interview session was based on research themes and the researcher actively participated by asking them counter questions in the interview sessions.

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[62] Vaida Obelene, "Expert Versus Researcher: Ethical Considerations in the Process of Bargaining a Study", in Interviewing Experts, ed. Alexander Bogner et al., (Springer, 2009). 184-200.

[63] For detail information please see Appendix.D.

The researcher sent the electronic consent form for Biographical Narrative Interview and asked participants to sign the form before the interview. The interview consent form[64] provided to the respondent promised confidentiality, protecting identity and audio recording of the data. To introduce the respondents of the Biographical Narrative, pseudonyms are used. In current studies used abbreviation BNI with pseudonyms to introduce biographical narrative interview respondents and abbreviation EI with pseudonyms to introduce for expert interview respondent. Following the procedure of the grounded theory method, the research analysed the empirical data, next chapter illustrates the emerged substantive grounded theory from the data.

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[64] For detail information please see Appendix.C

Chapter Four: Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India

Section I: Pre-study Findings

'It should be like ripples in the water,
It's a concentric circle, each circle is different yet there is a connectivity'
(Kshama, Human Right activist)

Kshama, the human rights activist quoted above, uses concentric circles as a metaphorical expression to explain how Indian women are stratified into caste, class, religion, region, and occupation. Irrespective of this stratification, Indian women are connected with patriarchal values and have experienced gender-based violence throughout their lives. The substantive grounded theory of "victimization of educated Indian women" explains the connectivity of different concentric circles or connectivity of different experiences of subjugation on Indian women to form an all-inclusive grounded theory. The substantive theory emerges from the EI data is illustrated further using BNI data.

The first section of the chapter explains the pre-study data analysis and researcher's role in the thesis development. The second section of the chapter explains the core-category and sub- core category of the grounded theory, followed by two related categories and its properties due to which Basic Social Process (BSP) of the theory emerged. The BSP is explained in the fourth section of the chapter. The last section of the chapter links different categories and properties to a basic social process, which results in "the theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India".

The first section of the chapter unfolds the data analysis from the pre-study fieldwork and the research design for the main study fieldwork followed by the discussion on the researcher's role in qualitative research.

1.1 The Pre-study Analysis

The pre-study data was deduced into various concepts, which later assisted the researcher to form the main study research design. These concepts are later integrated into the codes and categories of emerged grounded theory. The concepts which are formed by deducing the pre-study data method, EI and BNI are discussed as follows:

A   Violence is omnipresent: Various experts revealed that violence can be seen at every level. Indians subconsciously accept patriarchy. women of all castes and classes are victims of violence, though there is considerably less reporting of violence by upper caste/class women due to dreaded social stigma. According to experts, upper caste/class women are victims of subtle violence. Subtle violence such as mental violence due to passing negative judgements about women's capabilities, distrusting their capabilities are some forms of subtle violence in everyday lives. As Swanand said in the EI:

Every woman faces some kind of violence in her lifetime and … reasons are quite structured. My understanding about a cause of violence is, it has a lot to do with patriarchy and privileges. A man thinks, she has to be under his control. The educated man being aware, about the perceived idea of being empowered, and knowing consciously where that power works… nothing has changed[65].

Swanand, an expert working on women's issues with males, discussed his journey from being socialized into patriarchy to being transformed into a person who is striving for gender equality, explained how unconsciously a man accepts women's subjugation as an idea of masculinity. Men from all castes/classes associate an ideal man as a patriarchal man. From experts and BNI, the researcher agrees that an Indian woman tolerate different forms of subjugation be it in a private space or public space. Women from all castes/classes experienced violence throughout their lives in different settings (Bohra et al. 2015). At every stage of their life Indian women are victim of one or other type of violence.

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[65] Swanand, 16; 4-7. Original interview in Marathi and English. The above excerpt is originally in English language.

But regarding forms of violence, various experts analysed that, in contemporary Indian society, domestic violence is on the rise whereas, at the same time severe physical abuse has reduced over the time. While talking about the pattern of complaints they receive they find more people are coming up with emotional negligence and verbal abuse. The expert narratives are illustrated with BNI where the researcher analysed that there is violence on a subtle-psychological level in all Indian women's lives. From data collection at the pre-study fieldwork, the researcher concluded that gender-based violence is omnipresent in India but the forms of violence certainly have changed. Due to an increase in educational levels over a period of time, women experienced more emotional or mental violence. A respondent of BNI who a victim of dowry harassment is shared: "When I used to come back from work, my parent in-law did not open the door for me to harass me for dowry. I used to sit outside the house or often would go to my mother's home". जेव्हा मी बाहेरून घरी परत जायचे, तेव्हा माझ्या सासर कडचाने घराचा दरवाजा उघडला चा नाही. ते मला हुंडा साठी छळत होते. मी घराचा बाहेर बसायचे किंवा माहेरी परत जायचे.

(Chitra, in conversation with the researcher. Audio: 18:13, second oral interview)

This was further supported by various other pre-study experts[66]. Various incidents shared by the respondents of BNI and EI confirmed that violence is an every-day phenomenon in Indian women's lives and gender-based violence has increased at an alarming rate. Thus, the next analysis explains more violence or registration of violence. Which explains that rise in violence is because more and more women are conscious about the violence and they are coming out to register gender-based violence.

B More violence or registration: Various experts interpreted that women have now started registering violence with the police and dealing with it, though the number of reporting is still quite low. Such as an expert working as a Psychiatric counsellor in an NGO said: "I

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[66] EISWMO 10, EIARMO 8, EIMIMO 10

won't claim that it [violence] is on [the] rise, I think it is more, the fact, that people are bringing this out, and they are refusing to just let it be,... tolerating it, that is why we see more cases" (Khyati. 5, 7-8. Original expert interview in Marathi/English. The above excerpt is originally in English language).

The researcher agrees to the expert due to the fact that the availability of resources such as support systems, various legal provisions and non-governmental organizations to empower victims have increased over the time. They have provided women with a support system to deal with violence effectively. Due to which, as claimed by experts, the registration of violence is on the rise and women are conscious of gender-based violence. Consciousness about patriarchy and about violence among women are due to various mediums such as experts' awareness efforts, formal education and media. However, experts also claim that the registration of violence is just the tip of an iceberg, most violence goes un-reported in the country. While discussing various sources of knowledge, experts critically evaluate how effective mediums of knowledge (for example formal education) are and due to these knowledge women deal with violence, which is explained in the following subsection.

C Education but not knowledge: Most of the BNI respondents in interviews shared that they came to know about the dowry and other forms of violence through media. But experienced dowry's first hand meaning during wedding ceremonies. They never discussed violence in schools. The school curricula have not taught women how to deal with violence. But they are learning about various forms of violence through media.

The researcher analysed that electronic media, especially Bollywood movies and television serials which have great impact on Indian audiences. Media as part of informal education, do show dowry and female protagonists who dealt with dowry in the movie. However, most of the respondents only learn that taking a dowry is against the law but do not learn the skills to deal with dowry demand through any medium. The reason is due to social

sanctions given to tradition. The question regarding how education impacts violence answered by Kirti as: "The trend of violence is definitely changing, more girls are educated, but education is not teaching them how to say 'no' to violence, because they have seen violence at their parents' place, so violence at the place of their parent-in-law is not new, it is a normal pattern of behaviour". आणि ट्रेंड ऑफ violence definitely बदलत आहे. मुली शिकत आहे. पण मुलीचा कडे मी मगाशी म्हणटलं तसं   , कि मुलींना काही अशा पद्धती ना शिक्षण दिलेला नाही, कि तुमचा वर violence होत असेल तर त्याला नाही म्हणा. कारण तोच violence त्यांनी स्वतःचा माहेरचया घरा पासून चालू होतो मग सासरी सुरु असेल तर नाही कसे म्हणतील. ते त्याचा साठी रोजच आहे. (Kirti, 10, 8-16. Original expert interview in Marathi).

Kirti's argument is further supported by Chitra, a BNI respondent. She also has seen violence at her parent place. So, dowry and other forms of violence are not new, they are normal for her.

Experts discussed normalization of tradition and subjugation as the obstacle to deal with violence. Due to the impact of formal education, the forms of violence have changed. Due to an increase in education, women are empowered, and men have retained-or would like to retain- their power in patriarchy. Thus, this struggle has changed the shape and nature of violence in society today. Swanand explained,

So, the forms have changed, by education. It has empowered women, but at the same time it has brought vulnerability. Because women are getting empowered, men are not taught to live with women who are empowered. Their ideas of manhood are the same... I see this in this generations, learned, educated, people, you know. So, education has really not changed the notions of power, so the more empowered the women, the more controlled they are from men, or lower the reporting of violence, as they are made to tolerate violence[67].

A BNI respondent, Chitra, who is highly educated and economically independent, shared her experience of domestic violence by her parents-in-law. Her husband wanted to

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[67] Swanand 23; 6-10. Original interview in Marathi. Above mentioned excerpt is in English language.

divorce her and despite of domestic violence, the respondent filed a law-suit against the divorce filed by her husband. The reasons for tolerance of violence is stigma attached to a divorcee woman in Indian society and she sees tolerance as a mark of higher status and respect. For her, a good and honourable woman is one who tolerates violence.

On the one hand experts analysed increasing registration of violence but have not analysed whether educated women report more violence. Previous literature shows that with the increasing education of men and women reported domestic violence decreases (Simister and Makowiec, 2008, P 509; Visaria 1999, P12). The authors argue that with an increase in women's education, women experienced less domestic violence resulting in the empowerment of women. However, the researcher noted from BNI data analysis that the registration by educated women has decreased due to re-establishment of normalization of violence among educated women. The Researcher's rationale is further supported by the previous literature. Decreasing the registration of domestic violence is due to the fact that patriarchal norms are reproduced and re-iterated through school curricula (Bhog et al. 2010). Therefore, school curricula are largely responsible for establishing patriarchy more intensely and decreasing registration of violence. Increasing female education and decreasing registration of violence are due to institutionalization of gender norms through education and not due to a decrease in the incidences of violence per se. The point is discussed in-depth in other related categories emerged due to the main-study fieldwork.

Being brought up in the same society, the researcher experienced the concept of good and ideal Indian women embedded deeply among Indian educated women. A woman is said to be ideal or good when she tolerates violence, especially this ideal women concept is popular among upper caste women. On the contrary, the researcher noted that, BNI respondents of lower castes/classes, seem to be more active in dealing with violence and more empowered. Thus, this analysis raised few new questions, namely, are Dalit women passive and mute

recipients of violence? If not, and Dalit women are empowered then, how does formal education empower or impact women?

Many BNI respondents discussed how media awakened them on dowry issues. Various incidents shared by the respondents of BNI and EI demonstrate the media as a powerful medium of awakening and knowledge spreading. Due to the discussion with respondents, the researcher decided to gather data on the theme 'media and violence'. This assisted in the representation of illiterate women as the researcher faced this as a limitation during the pre-study field work. So, the role of non-formal education was taken into consideration for the representation of Muslim women due to illiteracy among the community (as already discussed lower literacy level among Muslim women). The researcher collected the role of coaching institutes, which later on changed to the role of religious preachers to assess the impact of religious education on the empowerment process as many NGO experts discussed the role of preachers in the institutionalization of gender norms in Indian society. Thus, the research themes formulated are discussed in detail in methodology chapter of the current thesis.

The researcher collected the main study data with the help of Expert Interview method (Bogner, Littig and Menz 2009) and the research area chosen for the main study was Pune, city of Maharashtra state, for reasons stated in the methodology chapter.

Section II: Data Findings

The researcher collected data from 22 experts for the main study field work (6 in the pre-study field work. Total 28 interviews). The data collected during the pre-study and main study field work is analysed using classical grounded theory (Glaser 1978, 1992) to discover a substantive grounded theory. As the researcher finds a qualitative approach more suitable to understand the complex phenomenon, the role and development of the researcher plays a crucial role in the emergence of the substantive grounded theory. Before discussing the

substantive grounded theory, the role and development of the researcher is discussed to understand the development of the substantive grounded theory.

2.1 Researcher's role and development

The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others—to indwell—and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand[68].

A researcher is considered a medium in the qualitative data collection process (Simon 2011; Denzin and Lincoln 2003). The above quotation explains the struggle of a researcher as a social being, as a member of the same cultural group as that of respondents' and as an 'instrument' to filter, fracture and later to integrate the data in the form of findings. For the current study, the researcher's struggle was to understand the data without any biases and preconceptions. The biases and pre-conceptions were even more severe for the researcher, being an insider studying from outside. Especially, when the researcher has spent less time on observation and reflection during field work, due to the considerably short duration for field work. Thus, it is not possible to gain neutrality (Dwyer and Buckle 2009; Ross 1985) peculiarly, if the researcher shares the same identity with the group under investigation nevertheless, the researcher attempts to show empirical reality and gain an understanding of empirical reality.

Being born and brought up in the same society, sharing the same identity and experiences as other Indian women, the researcher started the current study with a role of emic - which means as an insider (Simon 2011; Punch 1998). But eventually, through interviews with BNI and EI respondents, discussing their perception and perspective with them made the researcher's role more that of an objective viewer or etic (Simon 2011; Punch 1998). Being etic or an objective viewer from the outside does not mean being passive but understanding

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[68] Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, 123

respondents' roots of thought processes by asking questions and listening to their answers and asking more counter questions to gain roots of their understanding. To understand the roots of thought process, the researcher also asked questions regarding their personal experience with gender- based violence. The process of being active during the interview session helped the researcher in not only extracting more information but also reflecting on self -value and socialization through which, the researcher also analysed and understood the roots of her own thinking and experience. The process of introspection was a continuous process which was similarly functioning during transcription and reading of the interviews. The struggle of values and principles which is given by the researcher's family many times had contested with BNI respondents' values. The researcher has gone through this enormous struggle during interview, transcription and analysis.

Objectivity gained and questions asked during the field work assisted the researcher in understanding her biases, conceptualization of being an ideal woman from a normative perspective. More importantly, different dynamics which are embedded in cultural norms are understood during EI. Further, interaction with German culture and insights into German culture gave better understanding on Indian society's unconscious acceptance of women's subjugation.

With this consciousness and after going through this painful process (during this process the researcher was asking herself what she would have done or what was her thinking before a particular interview. Introspecting her thought process) the researcher started analysing the interviews and coding process. The substantive theory that emerged from the data was a product of a level of objectivity gained due to the entire process as well as consciousness gained about the researcher's bias interpretation. As a result of this, the findings presented in the following section are based on empirical reality, without any biased interpretation, which are critically analysed by BNI

The purpose of this CGT was to discover the pattern of violence, the impact of education on patterns of behaviour, changed in forms of violence and the impact of different mediums on the pattern of behaviour in Indian society. The specific aim of the study was to investigate the changed nature of the way of living among Indian masses. The substantive theory emerged from the CGT analysis is Victimization of the Educated Women in India which explains the changed status of women in society due to education.

The core category "way of living" of the substantive theory emerged through constant comparison of incidents of gender- based violence shared with the researcher, which led to two related categories namely "approaching" and "interfering" – two stages of the BSP called "changing way of living".

This section represents the four key findings obtained from 28 interviews collected by using the EI method in collaboration with 6 interviews collected by BNI, these are:

1. The core category & sub-core category

2. Two related categories

3. The Basic Social Process

4. The Theory

2.2 Way of living

WAY OF LIVING: The core category of the grounded theory signifies cultural patterns of behaviour which are accepted by a group of people. Way of living is a belief system fabricated around patriarchal values.
GETTING REWARD: It is the property of the core category "way of living". Getting rewarded signifies society's acknowledgement to a woman who confirms to the way of living.

Outline 2: The core-category

"Way of living" emerged as the main concern for the substantive theory and exhibits centrality by relating to all other categories accounting for variations in the pattern of behaviour (Glaser 1978, P 95). The core category "way of living" recurs as a stable pattern in the data and related easily and meaningfully to other related categories and their properties (Holton, 2010). "Way of living" has carry-over, the relevance and explanatory power of the core

category, which has assisted the researcher through the analysis of the process she is working on and accounted for the variation in the problematic behaviour (Holton 2010). All two related categories "approaching", and "interfering" related easily and meaningfully to "way of living". The relation of the core category with the two related categories resulted in the basic social process of the "changing way of living", arrested changing behaviour of masses and direction of women empowerment.

All 28 participants (pre-study and main study field work) viewed "way of living" as the main concern, as an obstacle for women's empowerment and the primary cause of Indian women's subjugation. The "way of living" is the primary reason for the experts to struggle for women empowerment. Many expert participants who are survivors of violence, view the "way of living" as the factor responsible for violence and adopt various approaches to make other women conscious of the cause of violence.

The "way of living" is a sum of certain assumption, the pattern of behaviour and belief system accepted as an ideal way of behaviour by Indian masses. These assumptions and pattern of behaviour are arrangements made for a group of people which are embedded in the cultural traits. These arrangements are treated as a moral and just path of living by the particular group of people. The base to understand Indian women's status is on this understanding of arrangement of conventional-unconventional dynamics. These dynamics are responsible for a group's collective psyche or way of living (Kalra and Bhugra 2013). Each culture has a different way of living; the Indian way of living is weaved around patriarchal culture.

The abstract patriarchal values become concrete through various forms such as gender roles, gender stereotypes and these forms are transferred and institutionalised through different mediums such as socialisation, social surroundings, media, religious preachers and formal education. Confirming to the belief system, people maintained their in-group solidarity. The belief system is accepted by a group of people unconsciously and followed by them as a

normative truth, to live a conventional life. This belief system is seen daily in various activities followed by masses and the researcher conceptualises this conventional, normative truth as "way of living". Talking particularly about Indian society, the "way of living" made people accept patriarchal values as ideal and supreme. All 28 NGO experts analysed patriarchal values confirmed by the masses of society are the cause for women's subjugation in the country. A majority of experts, who shared their journey of becoming an expert in their specific field explained the core-category further by citing various incidents. They also critically analysed the social system, conventional norms, ideology and rituals as the cause of violence. From 28 EI and 6 BNI, the researcher analysed that; women's lives revolve around these social norms and they are socialised to accept the "way of living" for frictionless working of the social system.

Aradhana has been active in the field for more than two decades working as a family and pre-marital counsellor. She states that the process of gaining consciousness about violence is difficult because of the naturalization of women's suppression and she discussed women's psyche to the extent that they are made to believe that men are superior, she said: "May-be she thinks deeply about violence but accepts the violence. She is socialised in that way; society has taught her that this is the way men are supposed to behave, this is an ideal behaviour, not only at home but outside as well. Men are supposed to treat women like this, thus women come from this type of mentality" विचार तिचा होत असेल पण तोच acceptance नसतो. Social impact इतका असतो, तिचा socialisation असा झालेला असत. समाज नि त्यांना सांगितलं असत कि पुरुष आहे ना मग असाच वागणार. त्याचा वागणं तसंच असायला हवं, घरीच नाही पण बाहेर पण. बाई अश्या प्रकारचा मानसिकता मधून येतात. (Aradhana. 5; 10-15. Original expert interview in Marathi).

Aradhana's analysis is an outcome of her experience working using rational emotive behavioural therapy followed by her while counselling to empower women. The psycho-

analytical method is a cognitive-behavioural therapy where the expert understands victims' complaints by understanding the thought process of a complainant. The core of a thought process is "way of living" where women feel obliged to tolerate violence. The expert further analysed that a victim of violence is a victim due to the fact that certain assumptions are internalised by her unconsciously. The expert here does not blame a victim for her victimization, but internalisation of certain assumption is responsible for ideas about right-wrong or moral-immoral life, on the basis of which victims judge their situation. These internalised assumptions make them victims. The researcher analysed the pattern among BNI respondents when they used phrases such as 'that is how I must behave[69]', 'that is what my family taught me[70]' which depict patterns of behaviour as obligatory.

All 28 NGO Expert respondents noted that people are socialised in certain "way of living" and women's acceptance to the subjugating socialisation irrefutably induced gender inequality in Indian society. Women from all castes/ classes and religions experienced the patriarchal way of living. An expert working on marginalised communities, Vinita, discussed in her interview the "way of living" for nomadic tribal society. Vinita stated:

Actually, you know that women have become a part of the system. So, they are not conscious about their questions. They think that's the way of living… or they are just part of the system, so they don't consider violence to be violence. For them if a husband is beating her then it is his right to beat her. There is nothing wrong in that. So, they don't come out in public and talk about the atrocities[71]. Actually, कस झाल आहे कि त्या एका system चा भागच झालेल्या आहेत. त्यामुळे त्यांना माहित चा नाही कि ते unconsciously त्या system चा भाग झालेल्या आहेत. त्यांना त्यांचे प्रश्न चा माहित नाही. म्हणून ते violence ला violence मानत नाही. त्यांचा साठी जर त्यांचे नवरे त्यांना मारत असेल तर ते त्यांचा हक्क आहे. त्यांचा साठी ते चुकीचं नाही, म्हणून ते बाहेर येत नाही आणि त्या बद्दल बोलत नाही.

Vinita, who comes from a nomadic tribal society, discussed her journey from being a part of an un-developed tribal community to an independent, working woman who refused to accept "way of living" as the normal "way of living". She discussed her experience which is

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[69] BNICHMO 32
[70] BNIYUMO 17
[71] Vinita, 14-23; P 20

further supported by previous literature as women from all castes, classes and religions accept violence as a 'normal life phenomenon' (Dalal, Lee and Gifford 2012, P 438) also men accept their action of subjugation women as natural and normal.

The central theme "way of living" is also illustrated with the BNI Chitra, shared her life stories where she saw gender roles and gender difference as the way of living[72]. In Muslim society, women's subjugation is an outcome of the Muslim patriarchal personal laws, i.e., religious laws which have become the way of living. The religious subjugating way of living includes oral divorce, lack of maintenance after divorce, laws against family planning and, a law for polygamy, all of which have become the way of living for the Muslim community in India.

During interviews with various experts, the researcher noted that even some experts accept a subjugating – "way of living" as normal in their personal life too. Latika, a practising legal expert working for women's legal rights, when asked whether lower caste/class women share violence openly, said, 'Yes, they are from a lower caste, you can see violence openly and they are from a lower caste… (that is normal for them)'. हो... ते खालचा जातीचे आहेत, तुम्ही त्यांचा कडे violence खूप openly पाहू शकता कारण ते खालचा जातीचे आहेत... (Latika 6, 12-13. Excerpts translated from Marathi)

Thus, above quotation states, the expert accepts certain assumptions for lower caste women and her body language depicts that she is dishonouring them. On the basis of this assumption, she perceives violence on lower castes/classes. Out of acceptance of the "way of living" as normal and women as inferior, a Muslim expert sexually harassed the researcher during the main study field work. The expert assumed the female researcher, who being educated in a western university, as a loose character and sexually available. The researcher

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[72] BNICHMO 31

noted this from an offer made by the expert to go with him for a drink to a pub while interviewing him (It is in appropriate in Indian context to offer a drink to a visitor in a formal setting).

Swanand, while talking about his journey from being a masculine Indian man to working on gender equality, shared how Indian men unconsciously accept these patriarchal values. Anchala, a victim of intimate partner violence from her husband and now working in the field of women empowerment, said, "he practiced gender equality outside the home but inside the home, he wants me to follow him, agree with him and he used to dominate me" तो gender equality घरा बाहेर कृती करायचा आणि घरी असताना त्याला हवं असायचा कि मी त्याला मर्जी प्रमाणे वागायचं आणि त्याला अनुसरण करायचं.तो मला नियंत्रित करायचा. (Anchala, 34, 12-13. Translated from Marathi).

The quotation stated by Anchala explains how even an expert who practices gender equality outside, unconsciously accepts- "way of living" in his personal life.

The significance of the emerging core-category "way of living" explains the subconscious assumptions people have while entering into any public or private interaction. These interactions are unmarked realities which people take for granted, be it the interaction of women with husbands, boyfriends, brothers, fathers or just a woman interacting with society. A woman unconsciously experiences this and takes it for granted. The phrase 'men will be men' unconsciously used in every-day life, is an unmarked reality which is considered normal while defining men. In Indian society it often translates as being overtly masculine or behaving in a flirtatious manner. Experts, while making these assumptions aware to the researcher, answered several questions, e.g., how these assumptions are taken for granted, why people collectively have created their reality and every generation accepts and adheres to this reality. The next property of the core-category 'getting rewarded', explains the rationale for why

people accept and embrace this unmarked reality irrefutably.

2.2.1　　　Getting rewarded

"Getting rewarded" is a recognition earned for transferring and accepting the "way of living" and the only property of the core-category "way of living". To maintain the belief system, society offers rewards such as the title of a good woman, good mother, good sister and good wife. Many experts in their interview stated that the life span of an Indian woman is divided into two phases: one is pre-marriage, and the other is after marriage and women staying single are not accepted in society (Dutta 2016). Thus, Indian women is always being judged by her performance in marriage institution or in pre-marital life. The acknowledgement and success of an Indian woman is associated with how successfully she executes her roles as a mother, wife, and daughter. The analysis is illustrated by previous literature such as family honour is connected to a girl's behaviour; a woman has to obey, respect and save her family honour as a daughter, wife and mother (Vishwanath and Palakonda 2011; Chowdhary 2007). Society made them believe that a good mother, wife and daughter is a woman who confirms and transfers the "way of living" to future generations. Many experts stated which is further supported by literature that a good woman is the one who accepts violence, who saves family honour (Dhar et al. 2015). The structure of society is such that, in order to boost her self-esteem, a woman needs to get recognition from society and in order to get this recognition, she has to be a good woman. Thus, to confirm to "way of living" is only option available to Indian women[73].

Establishing the fact that women confirm "way of living" and accept their subjugation in order to get a title, many NGO expert respondents analysed how women get the title of a good mother, good wife and good daughter. Kirti, the NGO expert who is a victim of domestic violence discussed her journey from tolerance to agitation against violence: "In our society, it

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[73] EIANMO 44, EIARMO 32, EIMIMO 57, EISWMO 34, EIKIMO 22, EISAMO 66, EIVIMO 70.

is a woman's responsibility to save family and to maintain relationships. Indian women tolerate violence to save their family. The characteristics of an ideal woman are to tolerate violence and the society acknowledges her sacrifice and tolerance, the woman who sacrifices is great".

आपल्या समाज मध्ये बाई ची जवाबदारी आहे कुटुंब ची रक्षा आणि नात्याची जपणूक. भारतीय महिला हिंसा सहन करते कारण तिला कुटुंब ची रक्षा करायची असते. एक चांगली बाई कुठली तर जी बाई हिंसा सहन करते ती आणि समाज तिचा या त्यागाला मान देते. आणि ती बाई जी त्याग करते ती आपल्या समाज मध्ये महान असते (Kirti, 11; 22-26. Originally expert interview in Marathi).

Various roles of women- mother, sister, daughter and wife have not changed with socio-economic development in the country. A woman continues to be a gateway to transfer subjugating values. Swanand, a director of an NGO institute discussed how a mother transfers "way of living" and in turn gets the reward of being called a good mother: "Mothers are made to pass on these patriarchal values to their children, and they get the reward of being called a good mother… the system (social arrangements) makes women transfer these patriarchal values to their children and in turn they get reward of becoming good women". (Swanand, 14; 16-21, Original expert interview in Marathi/English. The above-mentioned excerpt is originally in English). Swanand explains his socialization of being a macho man and while discussing that why he adhered to and acted on those values, said it was due to accepted consequences, in his words 'people easily submit (to give up their power) and it works. You get what you want easily'. (Swanand, 3; 3-4. Original expert interview in English). This quotation indicates contextual positive consequences weaved around "way of living". Thus, positive consequences weaved around women being inferior and male being superior are responsible for people accepting and following "way of living".

It is being reflected from BNI narration that most of the female respondents' value family honour even at the cost of their own self esteem. The phrases used by them such as 'I

tolerated violence in order to save my relationship[74]'or 'my mother gave me a look as if I am dirty and has taught me to behave properly (in order to become a good woman)[75]' reflect the low self-esteem of Indian women and esteem which depends on serving others or tolerating violence. The phrases mentioned above also depict women accepting violence unconsciously or as a given. Thus, during the expert interviews, the researcher analysed how women's actions subtly confirm their socialization; therefore, they consider it as natural and a normal way of living. Thus, the next sub-core category signifies how this "way of living" is considered natural, normal or inevitable in India.

2.3 Considering natural

CONSIDERING NATURAL: It is the sub-core category of the core-category "way of living" which conceptualises people's attitudes to "way of living" as the natural and moral way of living.
TREATING AVAILABLE: It is a property of the sub-core category which signifies treating women as a commodity and as an object by Indian masses.
COUNTING BURDEN: Second property of the sub-category indicates Indian masses consider a female child a burden and as being less valuable compared to a man.
TREATING DIRTY: Third property of the sub-core category signifies treating sexual organs as dirty and the cultural silence of sexuality in society
REGARDING GOD: Fourth property of the sub-core category indicates socialization of women to treat a male as a supreme; brother, husband, father as the superior.

Outline 3: The sub-core category

The experts perceived, a general tendency of Indian masses to consider the way of living natural and obvious, thus "considering natural" is the sub-core-category with values on which the inherent sense of right and wrong are based. The socialisation process makes people accept "way of living" as a normal and natural pattern of behaviour as illustrated by Kalra and Bhurga (2013). They state, 'culture determines definitions and descriptions of normality and psychopathology' (Para 5). The traits of culture are an important part of one's socialization, which have made "way of living" the naturalized pattern of behaviour.

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[74] EIANMO 20
[75] BNICHMO 61

All NGO experts analysed the subjugating way of living which is institutionalised due to the socialisation process, where women learn to accept violence as natural. While talking about the cause of gender-based violence, various experts said that women accept subjugating values as natural and an inevitable part of life. "Way of living" is a framework and the justification that it is natural. It is the reason for its acceptance, which causes incidents of violence to be considered natural. Due to this assumption, they blame themselves for their suffering. The assumptions transferred from generation to generation are accepted irrefutably by women and women's subjugation is considered normal and natural not only by men but also by women. Kirti, as a survivor of domestic violence and who has worked as a family counsellor, provided evidence from her personal life stories to illustrate how violence is natural for Indian women: "be she a woman, a counsellor, a feminist, a case worker, whatever she is, she is not detached from being a woman. It is there in a woman since childhood. All women experience violence, which are experiences of being a woman, which are experiences of subjugation" ती बाई एक counsellor असो, एक feminist असो, case worker असो, काहीही असो. तिचा बाईपन तिला सुटत नाही.ते बाई मध्ये लहान पणा पासून असत. प्रत्येक बाई अशी हिंसा अनुभव करते, है अनुभव बाईपणा चे आहे, है अनुभव आहेत ते कमीपणा चे आहेत, ते अनुभव हलकेपणा चे आहेत. (Kirti. 2; 8-10. Original expert interview in Marathi).

Kirti's analysis is an outcome of her experience with domestic violence, she analysed how a woman enters into interactions with certain assumptions and experience of violence is natural for every woman. On the other hand, Swanand, who shared his journey from being a man to working on women-centric male-focused gender equality, shared how men make certain assumptions regarding masculinity and how a man must treat women in order to prove his masculinity. For men, practising gender equality means going against principle of 'real man' and going against learned principles of life. Furthermore, Milan shared in the interview,

in the process of making men conscious about masculinity and patriarchy, they taught a group of men to exchange gender roles. He shared the experience of the group: "When I asked them what their (men's) experience while doing household chores was, they said that people laughed at them. Other people say that, since they are doing women's job, they are eunuchs, so people bully them and those who practice gender equality". मी जेव्हा त्यांना विचारल कि तुमचा (पुरुष) अनुभव कसा होता जेव्हा ते घरकाम करायचे?. ते म्हणाले कि लोक हसतात आमचा वर. दुसरे लोक म्हणतात कि ते बायका ची काम करतात म्हणजे ते हिजडे आहेत. लोक जी gender- equality ची कृती करतात लोक त्यांची मजा करतात. (Milan, 12; 5-8. Original expert interview in Marathi)

He explained how and why men confirmed to the – "way of living". Milan's argument is further illustrated by Anchala's experience of domestic violence by her feminist husband manifesting that even experts are not free of pressure laid down by the society to confirm these norms.

The researcher agrees with experts' analysis. Being a girl, confirming to gender division of labour is only acceptable from her. This shows how the community unconsciously internalized patriarchal values. The argument is further illustrated in an article, "Indian women have internalised inferiority to such an extent that some even feel that they deserve to be beaten when they have done something wrong". (Visaria 2000, P 1742). This depicts how internalized social norms are and violence is considered normal. During BNI, phrases used by the respondents such as 'I have to'[76], 'we have no choice'[77] or 'that is how I am supposed to behave'[78] are interpreted as the internalisation of subjugation as natural, normal and inevitable by women.

Whether an internalized norm of patriarchy from men's side or accepting subjugation

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[76] BNIYUMO 32
[77] BNIPOMO 35
[78] BNICHMO 30

from women's side, they both consider it an inevitable part of their social existence. Various other assumptions are discussed as a property of the sub-core-category, which are considered normal by society and which have unconsciously become part of the interaction in the community. The first property among four properties is "treating available", which suggests that women of all castes, classes and religions are considered a commodity or object.

2.3.1 Treating Available

The first property of the sub core category signifies treating women as a commodity, objects available only for sexual gratification. An expert working for Nomadic tribal communities, Vinita, described how a lack of social security for lower castes and classes make nomadic tribal women vulnerable. Vinita stated: "Nomadic tribal women migrate from one place to another regularly, so they have no social security. At different places, the upper caste men of the new place they move to, see these women as a sexual object, as a commodity; and easily available" या आदिवासी महिला एका स्थळ पासून दुसऱ्या स्थळ ला स्थलांतर करतात. म्हणून त्यांना सामाजिक सुरक्षा नसते. या स्थलांतरित ठिकाणी उच्च वर्गीय जातीचे पुरुष त्यांना फक्त एक लैंगिक वस्तू, एक वस्तू आणि एक सहजपणे उपलब्ध असणारी वस्तू म्हणून बघतात. (Vinita, 6;22-27. Originally expert interview in Marathi).

Vinita's quotation explained how, in Indian social settings, triple exploitation a marginalised caste/class woman faces. The nomadic tribal people belong to the economic-socially deprived groups. Conventionally, Indian culture permits sexual alliances with the marginalised section's women, but the culture does not promote matrimonial alliances between upper caste men and lower caste women, "(…) is a pointer as to how the ideal of respectable, 'good' womanhood is built around upper-caste women and lower caste, Dalit, women instantly become susceptible, 'sexually available' women" (Christy 2017, P 94). The argument is further reiterated by various experts working on marginalised sections such as Swanjali and Aradhana,

who analysed the situation with historical-cultural references of caste structure as mentioned in the introduction section of the current thesis.

Due to social settings, lower caste/class women are considered available, but when asked whether upper caste/class women are free from objectification, the expert answered upper caste women are also treated as inferior and only for household chores. Aradhana shared:

Indian men are socialised with values such as they are head of the family and supreme in the home. He is a man, and she is a woman and as a woman she is good for nothing, she is dumb, he does not trust her abilities, educational degrees. For a man, a woman is only good to work at home and she is just a commodity and available to use[79]. भारतीय पुरुष ना कित्येक मूल्ये शिकवली आणि रुजवली जातात जसे; ते त्यांचा कुटुंबा चे प्रमुख आहेत, ते श्रेष्ठ आहेत त्यांचा कुटुंबा मध्ये. ते पुरुष आहेत आणि त्या स्त्रिया आहेत. स्त्रिया काही कामाचा नाही. त्या बावळट असतात, ते त्यांचा क्षमता, शैक्षणिक पदवी वर त्यांचा विश्वास नसतो. पुरुष साठी, स्त्रिया फक्त घर कामा साठी योग्य असतात. ती फक्त एक वस्तू आहे, जी उपलबध आहे.

Even Milan, a male expert supports Aradhana's view, Indian society attributes high values to a male who is the breadwinner for his family, who is independent and does not seek advice from a woman. Society respects such men.

Upper caste/class women have taken submissive behaviour for granted. As mentioned by Christy (2017) upper caste women are associated with notions of 'good', but the concept of 'good' women in Indian society depicts the objectification of women. A good woman is one who is expected to stay within four walls, submissive and tolerant in her marriage, and the one who remains silent towards violence (Sharma 2015).

Muslim women too are treated as available due to the religious tradition of polygamy– where a husband is allowed to marry more than one woman. Women in the Muslim community are treated as easily available. Thus, regardless of caste, class or religion, society treats woman as available and women submit to it.

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[79] Aradhana, P 24, 7-19. Original interview in Marathi

The inferior status given to a woman is also seen from the difference in gender socialization in India, where male children of the family are given more resources and opportunities than female children of the family (Ram et al. 2014) as female offspring is supposed to settle in someone else's family when she gets married. Thus, Indian society considers girls and women a burden. The next property discusses the assumption of females as a burden on the family, which are considered natural by society.

2.3.2   Counting Burden

The second property for the sub core-category "counting burden" signifies a female child as a burden on her family due to various economic and cultural reasons. While discussing at length the duties of "good" women with NGO experts, most of the respondents reiterated a fact that in Indian society a "good" woman is one who bears a male heir to the family. A male heir is culturally important, and a girl child is a burden on a family due to the tradition of dowry. When the researcher compared this analysis with experts working for Muslim and tribal community, the researcher found that this is not the case with these communities. Except Muslim and tribal community rest all communities a female child is not welcome. Anil, a family counsellor and an activist working for gender equality attributes that female are counted as burden due to the demands for dowry and the issue is seen among all castes and religions in India, which is further supported by an article by Ahlawat (2014), "The dowry system is thought to put great financial burden on the bride's family. It has been cited as one of the reasons for families and women in India resorting to sex selection in favour of sons" (P 31).

Due to the dowry tradition and the tradition's relation with violence on Indian women, parents consider a female child to be a burden and money spent on dowry creates pressure on women to save their marriage. Milan, working on gender-sensitive education with children, elaborated the point that due to dowry, parents spend large amounts of money on marriage. And because of this, girls feel a burden to save their marriage and they tolerate violence within

the marriage[80]. Milan explained consequences of dowry is due to the fact that male's family finds the dowry tradition as beneficial and how a girl's family considers dowry as a gateway for a functional and successful marriage.

On the one hand experts discussed dowry as reason of female counting as burden whereas Nima, a telephone counsellor, analysed women as a burden due to property sharing. According to her, women are a burden on parents as after marriage, a girl's property is transferred to her husband's home. She explained the relationship between sex-selective abortions and property sharing[81], which is illustrated by previous literature property inheritance as another reason for which female offspring are considered a burden and a male heir is always welcome in the Indian society due to the reason that property stays within the family (Dewan and Khan 2009). Along with this, the researcher stated that there is also a cultural belief that a male heir is a gateway to other-worldly spiritual attainment. This is not widely discussed by experts; experts mainly focus on economic aspects of the skewed sex ratio.

In light of this, the researcher analysed that the dowry system makes a female child a burden on her family. But on the contrary, among nomadic tribe, people the reverse dowry system welcomes a female child. At the time of marriage, a man pays dowry money to the bride's family. A marginalised section's expert established a relationship between female subjugation with an economic aspect such as Vinita:

In nomadic tribe girl children are welcome. They don't want male children in nomadic tribes as they have a system of bride price. The bride price in the community is given by males to a female's parents. So, the community welcomes females. Boys are outnumbered or have equal sex ratios[82]. या आदिवासी समुदाय मध्ये बालिकाच कायम स्वागत केलं जात. त्यांना पुरुष मुलं नको असतात कारण त्याचा मध्ये वधू किंमत असते. या समुदाय मध्ये वधू किंमत मुलीचा आई वडीलना पुरुष कडून दिला जातो. म्हणून या समुदाय मध्ये मुलीचा जन्म हा आनंद दायक असतो. या समुदाया मध्ये पुरुष कमी आहेत स्त्रिया पेक्षा किंवा लिंग प्रमाण समान आहे.

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[80] EIMIMO 57
[81] EINIMO 60
[82] Vinita, P.18, 5-7

But Vinita further added that the bride price system does not empower women due to the fact that, at the time of separation women have to give back the bride price and the burden of paying money back is on the nomadic tribal women[83]. Like most of the patriarchal society, tribal men control economic resources hence, due to lack of economic resources nomadic tribal women also tolerates violence.

The Bride price system tradition prevails among various African and Asian countries. Women in the system suffers due to their lower bargaining power and abuses within the marriage (Ashraf et al. 2015; Anderson 2007). Along the same line, Vinita stated that, due to a lack of economic resources, tribal women continue their relationship and are often abused in the relationship and this makes them more vulnerable. Though, among three Muslim experts, only one expert confirmed that a tradition of dowry is present among Muslims in India. Previous literature too confirmed that the dowry system also prevails in the Indian Muslim community, especially in Maharashtra (Waheed 2009; Jaggi 2001). Though dowry tradition is present among Muslim community, all three experts stated that women are not seen as the burden among Muslim community. The reason for this is Islam has condemned sex-selective abortion and they treat it as a sinful act[84]. According to them, among Muslims sex-selective abortions are absent or lower than among Hindus. While studying the influence of religion on fertility, Abhijit Visaria (2015) too argued that among the Indian Muslim community, female offspring is tolerated more than in the Hindu community, which indicates that the status of Muslim women is not as low as in the Hindu community (P 31).

The next property of the sub-core category is "treating dirty" which is one more facet of the female offspring being seen as a burden, the excess importance given to women's virginity, which is a gateway of family honour and women are seen as a storehouse of family

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[83] EIVIMO 70
[84] EISAMO 66, EIIMMO 68

honour. As a result, women are raised in a restrictive manner. "Treating dirty", the next sub-core category, discusses this silence and importance given to women's sexuality in the country.

2.3.3   Treating Dirty

The next property emerged from the data for the sub-core category "considering natural" is "treating dirty". All 28 NGO respondents discussed the cultural silence related to sexuality in Indian society and excessive importance given to sexual purity. Among all castes/classes, religions, the cultural silence on sexuality prevails. An expert working against child sexual abuse, Bhumati, shared her experience regarding cultural silence on sexual purity and viewed it as the biggest obstacle for reporting child sexual abuse. Parents teach their daughter/ s that their sexual organs are dirty, one is not supposed to touch them. In turn, girls think that talking about sexual abuse makes them "dirty"[85]. Yukti, who is a survivor of child sexual abuse said in her interview that she used to think bad about sexuality during her childhood, she used to perceive touching vagina as dirty or inappropriate. Hence, she chose to stay silent about the sexual abuse she faced during her childhood. Due to cultural teaching about sexuality, she felt embarrassed to talk about sexual violence to her parents thus rendering her unable to share her pain[86]. Thus, cultural assumptions of the sexual organs as "dirty" or "inappropriate" makes the subject a taboo and children find it difficult to communicate with parents (Singh et al. 2014). In her written interview, Chitra stated:

I remember one incident where my mother and I travelled in a public transport and I was sitting beside a man and his thigh was touching mine and my mother shouted at me to behave and sit properly. I felt that I was very dirty, as if I wanted to touch that man. At that time, I realized that I should not let any men touch me[87].मला एक प्रसंग आठवतोय जिथे मी आणि माजी आई एका सार्वजनिक वाहनाने प्रवास करत होतो. मी एका पुरुषाचा शेजारी बसले होते आणि त्याचे मांडी माज्या मांडी ला लागत होती आणि माजी आई ते बघून माज्या वर ओरडली आणि नीट शिस्थत बसायला सांगितलं, मला खूप घाण वाटलं, असा वाटलं कि मलाच त्या माणसाला हात लावायचा होता. मग त्या दिवशी मला कळलं कि मी कोणाला हात लावून ध्येयाचा नाही.

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[85] EIBHMO 42
[86] EIBHMO 42; BNIYUMO 32
[87] Chitra, Written interview, P 2

The experience shared by Chitra also impacted her decision to tolerate violence at husband's place. Her husband wanted to divorce her but due to the stigma of divorcee, changing sexual partner Chitra was fighting against divorce. When asked why she is against divorce despite of the violence experienced at her husband's house she discussed it with much awkwardness and spoke about remarriage and the change of sexual partners and her idea of tolerating violence as a sign of a being "good" woman. Thus, past experiences impact her present decision of tolerating violence.

A right-wing expert, Madhumati, stated in her interview that the most girls drop-out from schools and colleges due to eve teasing. Girls are not comfortable talking about their eve-teasing experience at home, they are afraid of sexual assault and prefer to stay home or remain silent (Chug 2011, P 24). The reason behind the silence is low-self-esteem internalised by Indian women and they assume that parents may blame them or stop them from getting an education. Another expert working against child sexual abuse, Kirti, discussed her point on how Indian culture does not take eve teasing, sexual comment or sexual harassment as a serious form of violence. Kirti stated:

Regarding sexual violence, culture has not taught women to take sexual violence seriously. The parents teach them to ignore eve teasing. If someone misbehaves with a girl, that girl must tolerate it, because she is a woman and has been socialized to tolerate everything and never complain. Basically, women do not accept these as acts of sexual violence. The culture teaches women that men will be men, they will behave in this way[88]. sexual violence बद्दल बोलायचं झाल तर, culture नि बायका ना sexual violence ना गांभीर्या नि घ्याला शिकवलं नाही. पालकांनी त्यांना रस्त्या वरती होणार जो violence त्याला सहन करायला किंवा दुर्लक्ष करायला शिकवलं आहे. जर कोणी गैरवर्तन केलं मुली बरोबर तर त्यांना सहन करायला शिकवलं जात कारण ती बाई आहे आणि तिला तसंच मोठ केललं अस्त कि सगळं सहन करा आणि कधी तक्रार करु नका. आणि कस आहे बायका ना अश्या गोष्टी sexual violence वाटटच नाही. आपली संस्कृती त्यांना असा शिकवते कि पुरुष पुरुष चा रहातील, ते असेच वागतील

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[88] Kirti, 6, 8-12

Kirti further said that in the Indian 'way of living' certain forms of sexual abuse are acceptable and not treated as serious such as touching women in public or passing filthy comments are considered as natural and normal in Indian social settings. Even when the researcher encountered sexual harassment, she first hesitated to deal with it considering it as not a serious crime.

Till now experts discussed women's psyche but when men were asked about their views on sexuality, Swanand, a male expert who conducts sexual education workshops, analysed how men are socialised to treat women as a commodity. With this cultural assumption they enter into physical intimation with a sexual counterpart: "when it comes to sexual activity, they do not talk about it openly. One question they (men) asked me during a workshop is how to satisfy a woman, how to find out if a woman is satisfied. Men raising questions about consent and orgasm are very rare" (Swanand, 32; 21-28. Original expert interview in Marathi/English). The above question raised during the sexual education session reveals cultural silence regarding sexuality in Indian society. Talking about a sexual act, an Indian male does not know how to handle their sexual counterpart, or they are often abusive. Swanand further stated that, due to this cultural silence, an Indian male is unaware about how to handle their sexual partner, he stated: "for Indian men, sexual activity is a pleasure activity. They don't even consider whether the sexual activity for a woman is a pleasure activity or not, men are so much obsessed with pleasure for their own self, they don't even bother about reproduction or the pleasure of women" कारण भारतीय पुरुष साठी sexual activity हि फक्त एक pleasure activity ठरते. त्यांना जाणीव चा नाही कि हि sexual activity बायका साठी pleasure activity असते कि नाही याची. ते स्वतःचा आनंद बद्दल इतके जास्त obssessd असतात कि ते विचार पण करत नाही reproduction अथवा pleasure चा. (Swanand, 32;29-38. Original expert interview in Marathi/ English).

The assumptions that they are sexually available and just an object are internalised among men. These assumptions consequentially lead men to treat their sexual counterpart as a mute-passive server in a sexual act.

Sexual purity is also a part of the nomadic way of living. An expert working for nomadic tribes Vinita informed in her interview that nomadic tribal culture has strict rules about sexual purity. Thus, in an India social setting, sexual purity is excessively given importance. Among all castes/classes and religions a woman's virginity is valued higher than her freedom (Kalra and Bhugra 2013).

The cultural silence on the issue of sexuality also impacts on the sexual health of women, Suchit expresses that the silence makes it difficult to express any matter regarding sexual health[89]. Though Suchit noted this experience from rural areas but not in urban areas. Ravi and Kulasekaran (2014) too agreed that Indian women feel shy to share their sexual health problems with health workers in rural areas. In rural areas, lack of anonymity is responsible for silence, but the researcher would like to point out, as she was born in an urban area, that due to anonymity and availability of professional health services in metro cities like Pune, the sexual health of women has seen a considerable improvement.

The cultural silence about sex is also discussed by experts working among the Muslim community. Here, there is an emphasis on mother-daughter communication for sexual education as natural and normal. The Hindus as well as Muslim community puts an emphasis on informal sexual education either by the mother or the elder sister of the family. A Muslim expert, Salim, informed when asked about sexual education among Muslim community:

No, to talk about that matter (being hesitant to utter word 'sex') is restricted, people think that whatever talk takes place between a girl and her mother about sexuality is sufficient and it is better if it happens in a natural setting, in her home environment. I doubt whether a mother can pass on impartial and scientific information to that girl, but unfortunately, the community thinks that sexual education is a sinful thing, and one must not talk about it[90].नाही,

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[89] EISUMO 08
[90] Salim, 11, 20-25

त्या गोष्टी बद्दल बोलेल चालत नाही. लोक असा विचार करतात कि जे बोलायचं आहे ते आई आणि मुलीचा जो संवाद होतो ना लैंगिकते बद्दल तेवढा संवाद पुरेसा असतो आणि तेच चांगला आहे कारण ते संवाद है खुप natural setting मध्ये आहे. ते घरचा वातावरण मध्ये होत आहे. मला एक शंका आहे कि खरंच आई आपल्या मुली पर्यंत एक निपक्षपाती आणि वैज्ञानिक माहिती देते, पण दुर्दैवाने हा समुदाय असा विचार करतो कि sexual education देन एक पाप आहे आणि लोकांनी त्याचाबद्दल बोलू नये.

The researcher herself experienced hesitation of talking about sexuality during her childhood. Lack of open communication about sexual education in schools and families, the researcher manifested sexuality as a bad or forbidden topic. Especially for the researcher who is from a conservative fundamentalist school, the subject is treated as modern or Western and not part of Indian culture. Today in the 21st century, due to objection from parents, teachers and authorities, the state of Maharashtra has banned sexual education books in schools (Ismail et al. 2015) and adolescents gather knowledge from an informal setting such as adult entertainment media to satisfy their curiosity (Shankar et al. 2017).

In a written interview for BNI, a respondent, when asked who gave her information regarding menstruation, answered; "when I was fourteen years old, I experienced menstruation for the first time, at that time I had many questions. My elder sister explained menstruation to me at that time and my mother taught me how to change behaviour, how I should behave in a composed way". मी जेव्हा १४ वर्षा ची होते ना, तेव्हा मला पाहिलांदा periods आले, माज्या कडे खूप प्रश्न होते.माजी मोठी बहीण मला periods म्हणजे काय ते समजावून सांगितलं.आणि माज्या आई ने स्वतःचा आचरण कस बदलायचा है सांगितलं, त्यांनी मला सांगितलं कि कस शांत आणि संयमी वागायचं. (Madhu, written interview, first question)

Not only sexual organs but also the menstrual cycle carries cultural assumption: for example, menstrual blood is assumed to carry impure and dirty blood. Thus, menstrual women are often forced into seclusion or face restrictions from entering the kitchen and / or performing rituals in daily life. (Garg and Anand 2015).

The next property of the sub-core category is "regarding God" which is a metaphor used for internalised religious values in which women are socialized. The property gives an understanding of how religious norms are established to maintain family honour and the supremacy of man.

2.3.4   Regarding God

The next property that emerged from the data for the sub-core category "considering natural" is "regarding God". "Regarding God" conceptualises women's socialization to consider men as a supreme. The property shows the impact of religious values on the way of living. The religious impact on Hindus is invisible; religious values are unconsciously practiced in day- to- day life and it is a way of living. When asked, Swanand shared his view that religious practice is linked with daily routine and way of living: "The religious institution is embedded unconsciously with day today life, we do not analyse because this is invisible, abstract, we all execute it through day-to-day practice, and day to day practice is linked with violence" धार्मिक संस्था नकळत पने संगडीत असते आपण त्याचा विश्लेषण नाही करू शकत कारण ते खूप अदृश्य आहे, abstract आहे. आपण या गोष्टी रोजचा जीवनात practice करतो आणि आपला रोजचा दिनक्रम हा violence शी जोडलेला आहे. (Swanand, 18;26-30. Original expert interview in English/Marathi).

This includes beliefs like a menstruating girl is not supposed to enter a temple, rites and rituals are only performed by women such as for the longevity and well-being of their husbands.

Hinduism describes marriage as a sacred union, a union for not only one life but for seven lives. Marriage is a spiritual and religious duty (Sharma et al. 2013). Non-commencement of marriage, separation or widowhood is looked down on in society (Sharma et al. 2013).

Marriage is also treated as a sacred among Muslims. An expert working with Muslim women, Salim, informed:

Unfortunately, what we see in other communities is true with the Muslim community, the community assumes that divorce is a woman's fault. This creates a stigma for a divorced woman. There is a norm, which we also see in other communities, that her husband is a God, and a woman should not separate from her husband until death[91]. दुर्दवाने, आपण जे दुसऱ्या समुदाय मध्ये बघतो तेच मुस्लिम मध्ये आहे. या समुदाय मध्ये घटस्फोट हा बाई होतो त्यात बाई ची चूक असते. हि धारणा घटस्फोट महिला ना कलंकित करते. अशी मान्यता आहे जी दुसऱ्या समुदाय मध्ये पण बघायला मिळते कि नवरा हा देव असतो आणि बाई ला फक्त मृत्यू तिचा नवऱ्या पासून वेगळा करू शकते.

Women are expected to submit to their husband as God (Sharma 2015), which is common among all castes/classes and religions in India.

While discussing religious impact on Muslim women an expert described this as direct and visible, an expert who started one of the first family counselling centres for Muslim women, Akram, said that he faced obstacles while starting the counselling centre due to religious preachers. Preachers objected, saying that, for Muslims, religious laws are above the Indian constitution. These Muslim personal religious laws are against gender equality[92]. Another expert, Imran, added that the Muslim way of living is not different from the Hindu way of living but the way of living for Muslim women includes a belief system with Muslim religious personal laws such as polygamy, oral divorce, religious laws against family planning, adoption rights and maintenance after divorce and these subjugating laws have become a natural way of living for Muslim women in India[93].

The core-category and sub core-category discussed above are foundation for the understanding of values on the basis of which Indian people judge, interpret, perceive and construct reality around them. On the other hand, experts intervene in order to empower women. Thus, when experts intervene, they start an interaction in Indian society. The next

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[91] Salim,10, 9-11
[92] EIAKMO 67
[93] EIIMMO 68

chapter explains strategies engaged by experts to empower women. The section discusses how an expert interacts with the Indian community and how Indian people perceive and interpret the information shared by these experts.

Chapter Five: Two Related Categories

Section I: The First Related Categories: Approaching

Followed by the core-category "way of living" and the sub core-category "considering natural" the two categories that emerged from the data are "approaching" and "interfering". The section discusses method followed by expert respondents and the properties of the related category signifies different empowerment methods followed by experts.

1.1 Approaching

APPROACHING: Signifies strategies used by NGO experts to make women conscious about the "way of living" and to empower them to change their "way of living".
PASSING EMPOWERMENT: Signifies the method followed by NGO experts to empower women. Experts aim to give obtain temporary solutions to a complainant's problem.
REACHING ROOTS: Signifies experts' aim to work on the assumption and make people conscious of these assumptions.
CUSTOMIZING WAY: Signifies experts aim to strengthen the family institution and to empower within the family institution.

Outline 4 First related category "approaching"

"Approaching" emerged as the first related category from the data. "Approaching" conceptualises various perspectives followed by experts to empower women. The first related category signifies knowledge spread and diffused by experts among women. All respondents of the project are approaching people either through personal counselling, awareness or advocacy programmes to achieve their aims and objectives.

1.1.1, Passing empowerment

"Passing empowerment" signifies the process of capacity building but without conscious awareness of the "way of living". Passing empowerment is situational family counselling and signifies a temporary empowerment process which aims to solve only one particular issue. Thus, passing empowerment is an approach to solve an issue either through

reconciliation or through separation (as per the victim's decision). Experts who work in the field of domestic violence, intimate partner violence and child sexual abuse follow the passing empowerment method.

Experts who follow the passing empowerment approach discussed the pre-requisite of the method when victims or prospective victims of violence seek experts' intervention over an issue. Intervention aims to find strategies which are suitable to victims or prospective victims of violence to solve a problem or issue for which they have approached to solve for. The researcher noted that victims or prospective victims of violence seek intervention. Seeking an intervention from a family counsellor is in itself a big challenge for women due to two reasons. Firstly, in India, older family members or first-second degree of relatives are supposed to solve the problems in the family or between a couple (Thomas 2012; Udyan Kumar et al. 2007) as talking about family problems with outsiders is criticised in Indian culture. Secondly, from BNI interviews, the researcher interpreted that women have to struggle with the "way of living" not only to make themselves conscious of an act of violence but also have to struggle to accept it as such. Yukti and Chitra talked about their struggle in accepting violence on them with phrases such as 'it was difficult to digest that it was an act of violence and had happened with me[94]' or 'I never thought it would happen to me[95]'. Thus, seeking intervention is a first step towards empowerment. Aradhana, explained that seeking an intervention from a counsellor is a difficult process for Indian women: "Before seeking an intervention, he (a husband) had been beating her, she had been tolerating physical violence, and one morning, she realized the physical violence on her and decided to deal with it. She wanted to stop it and she was talking about the violence to her parents, she wanted to change the situation. That victim comes to me and then I intervene." intervention करण्या आधी, तो (नवरा) तिला मारत असतो, ती तो शाररिक हिंसा

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[94] BNIYUMO 25
[95] BNICHMO 27

सहन करत असते. आणि एके दिवशी तिला कळत कि ती शारिरिक हिंसा सहन करत आहे आणि त्याचा बरोबर ती deal करायचा ठरवते. तिला ते थांबवायचा असते आणि ती तिचा पालकांशी या violence बद्दल बोलते. तिला हि स्थिती बदलायची असते. मग ती माज्या कडे येते आणि मग मी त्यात intervene करते. (Aradhana P 16, 1-7. Original expert interview in Marathi)

As "passing empowerment" aims to only solve a particular problem, the nature and duration of an intervention are largely dependent upon the victim's strength and weakness and range of issues. According to experts, they judge strength and weakness of a victim from their training and experience which they gained working in the field. The researcher noted that experts' judgements are often a product of the Indian of way of living as they have to make their solution acceptable and practical (contextual). Unconsciously, the way of living is a part of NGO experts' personality and a framework to perceive victims' strengths and weaknesses. The criterion on which experts judge victims' strengths include their family background and family dynamics with their extended family, thus in the process of passing empowerment external support is the most important apart from victim's self- actualisation process. A family counsellor, Anchala, stated in the interview: "the important component in dealing with violence is a victim's family members. Family members may give pressure for reconciliation to a victim, her family support is an important factor in deciding a strategy to combat the situation" victim साठी महत्वाचा घटक हिंसे शी डील करण्यात त्याचं कुटुंब असत. कुटुंबा चे सदस्य तिला सलोखा करण्या साठी दबाव आणत असतात, अशा वेळेस कुटुंबा चे समर्थन हा खूप महत्वचा घटक असतो. कारण या वेळेस हा खूप महत्वाचा घटक कुटूंब असतो आणि ते deal कसं करायचा है नक्की करण्या साठी है कुटुंबाची मदत खूप महत्वा ची आहे (Anchala, 11; 11-16. Originally expert interview in Marathi).

Anchala further added that the strength of a victim is also dependent on whether (a) brother/s of a victim support/s her because the brother plays an important role in an Indian

cultural setting[96]. As stated by Chaddha and Deb (2013), in a collectivist society like India, the family acts as a support group during trouble. However, according to the researcher, talking to a victim's brother during crises signifies making women dependent on male supremacy which is similar to institutionalizing the male as supreme.

Experts who follow the passing empowerment method try to change the situation by talking to parents, brothers of a victim, perpetrator and the family of a perpetrator. But in passing empowerment experts give less inputs for changing or making women conscious about their way of living. The researcher's perspective is that these experts lack objectivity while following the approach and hence re-established a tolerant woman as an ideal woman in society. For example, Laxmi, a victim of domestic violence and a family counsellor analysed modern women as intolerant and responsible for the increase in divorce rates, she said, "you know I think women have become less tolerant these days which in a way is good, I feel good on one hand but on the other hand I don't like the fact that get divorced. I think it is not right to get divorced. Before taking the decision getting divorced, they should tolerate more in an optimistic way, find a solution and women should give up their stubbornness. That's what I perceive" मला असा वाटत कि आता बायका ना कमी सहनशील झाल्या आहेत जे एका अर्थी खूप चांगला आहे. मला खूप चांगल वाटत पण दुसऱ्या बाजूला मला ते घटस्फोट होतात ते चांगल नाही वाटत. मला वाटत घटस्फोट घेणे है चांगल नाही. निर्णय घेण्या अगोदर त्यांनी सहन केले पाहिजे म्हणजे सहन म्हणजे आशा न सोडता त्यांनी सहन केले पाहिजे आणि त्या वर उपाय शोधला पाहिजे. बायकांनी त्यांचा हट्टीपणा सोडला पाहिजे. म्हणजे मी समजते. (Laxmi, 7; 1-15. Original expert interview in Marathi).

Thus, the expert tries to combat the situation but within a framework of the "way of living". In passing empowerment experts make less efforts to work on victims' assumptions or

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[96] EIANMO12

self-actualization. A family counsellor, Aradhana, who followed the passing empowerment approach earlier and later changed to Rational Emotive Behavioural Therapy analysed her experience working with the passing empowerment approach as follows: "we always try to handle the situation with this approach, but we hardly see any changes in victims' mind sets".

आम्ही कायम या दृष्टिकोन मधून cases solve करायचा प्रयत्न करतो, पण आम्ही खरंच त्यांचा विचार मध्ये काही बदल बघत नाही. (Aradhana, 4; 29-30. Original expert interview in Marathi).

In "passing empowerment" women have the freedom to decide an outcome and an aim of counselling sessions, most of the women have a pre-defined goal set which is often reconciliation or going back to the same situation [97] and most of the experts perceive reconciliation as an ideal approach. A senior lawyer, Lata, who renders legal service to victims, discussed in the interview: "so to convince victims that if they don't stay with their husbands it is not a stigma at all but at the same time while dealing with the situation we would try to compromise first, because divorce is not a right approach, that is not an ideal or practical approach" म्हणजे victim ला पटवणे कि जर ते त्यांचा नवऱ्या बरोबर नाही राहिला तर तो कलंक नसतो अवघड आहे. पण त्यावेळीस त्या प्रसंगा शी deal करताना आम्ही तडजोड करायचा प्रयत्न करतो कारण घटस्फोट घेणं हा एक ideal दृष्टिकोन नाही आणि व्यावहारिक पण नाही. (Lata, 2; 14-23. Original expert interview in English).

The outcome of the passing empowerment approach is often that victims embrace the same way of living. Aradhana in her interview criticised passing empowerment as:

We used to counsel her why she is in a violent situation and how she must come out of the situation. As a counsellor we used to seek help from the police or judiciary, but as a counsellor we hardly used to see any changes in her mind set, as a counsellor we want to change her life, but a victim wants to go back to the same situation[98]. आम्ही त्यांना समजावून सांगायचो कि का त्या हिंसा सहन का करतात आणि त्या त्याचा मधून कस बाहेर येऊ शकतात. एक सल्लागार म्हणून आम्ही

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[97] EIARMO 21, EISWMO 02, EIANMO 05, EISAMO 26

[98] Aradhana,4, 28-33

पोलीस अथवा न्यायव्यवस्थे कडून मदत घेतो, पण सल्लागार म्हणून आम्ही तिचा विचार मध्ये काही बदल बघत नसतो, सल्लागार म्हणून आम्हाला त्यांचा आयुष्य मध्ये फार बदल दिसत नाही. पण पीडितला आपल्या जुन्या आयुष्या मध्ये परत जायच असत.

Most "passing empowerment" experts give a victim an option of seeking intervention again in case of any problem, rather than empowering women to deal with a problematic situation by herself, these experts give her options to come back, seek help and in a way, experts make a woman dependent on external sources. For example, Anchala shared in her interview that in the passing empowerment method a counsellor-clientele relationship is like a doctor–patient relationship[99].

Thus, the passing empowerment approach is a temporary approach which gives synthetic solutions to a problem, the approach finds external supportive factors such as a victim's supportive extended family members especially brother/s of a family and Victim's healthy relationship with them as a victim's strength rather than empowering women for self-realization and self-actualisation. An outcome of the approach is to confirm the way of living with a temporary solution. On the contrary, there are some experts, who works on making women conscious of their way of living, they make women take their own decisions but by making them conscious of their own assumptions.

1.1.2 Reaching roots

The second property that emerged from the data for the related category "approaching" is "reaching roots". In the reaching roots approach experts work on assumptions, roots of the violence and make women conscious of the way of living. As discussed by Swanand, a family counsellor working with males on gender-based violence, described the reaching roots process as such:

Our organization takes a position, to talk to that man and to help him to understand his socialisation, as a man, his ideas of manhood, how the idea of manhood connects with violence,

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[99] EIANMO11

his ideas of controlling women, his ideas of sexuality, and whether some of these ideas are really leading to an incidence of violence against women[100].

In "reaching roots" experts aim to make women aware of assumptions which they have internalized subconsciously, and the connection of these assumptions with violence. The experts who follow reaching roots methods are family counsellors, NGOs forming SHGs (Self-help groups), who counsel victims' or communities' assumptions[101] and experts who organizes advocacy session through public participation methods[102].

In reaching roots methods counsellors make their clientele or a community identify the roots and origins of violence. As discussed by Aradhana, a family counsellor who switched over to the reaching roots method, uses Rational Emotive Behavioural Therapy for family counselling shared the process of reaching roots as:

   I use Rational Emotive Behavioural Therapy and the therapy is useful for two things. One, I can reach to the roots of thoughts. This means that counselling is important if one needs to change a client's thought process. And second, a client possesses certain basic assumptions and on the basis of these assumptions she/he prepares further assumptions, his/her emotional level is based on these assumptions. With the help of this technique, I bring them to normalcy from their emotional level[103]. मी rational emotive behavioural therapy लावून काम करते. याचे दोन फायदे आहेत. एक, मी त्यांचा विचारांचा मुळा पर्यंत पोचू शकते. त्याचा अर्थ विचार मध्ये बदल हवा असेल तर समुपदेशन महत्वाचा आहे. आणि दुसरा, ती बाईचा कित्येक धारणा असतात ज्याचा आधारे ती आणखी काही धारणा बनवत असते, तिची भावनिक पातळी या धरणे वर अवलंबून असते. या technique चा मदतीने मी त्यांना त्यांचा भावनिक पातळी वरून खाली आणते.

Thus, unlike the passing empowerment method the origin of thought and belief-action process are given importance in the reaching roots method than just giving a temporary solution to a problem which is central to passing empowerment method. In this process the expert teaches the victim to focus on her thought process and through this process the expert makes her conscious of her assumptions which are an outcome of her socialization process. Female

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[100] Swanand, 9, 1-5
[101] EIARMO 21, EISWMO 02,
[102] EIARMO 21, EISWMO 02, EISUMO 01, EIVIMO06, EIIMMO 04, EIBHMO 08, EIKIMO 11, EIANMO 14, EICHMO 19, EIAKMO 24, EIVIMO 25, EIVIBMO 27.
[103] Aradhana,4, 12-21

experts who follow reaching roots methods work on women's assumption. As Kirti, shared, she works on women to bring them out from their low self-esteem. Male experts such as Swanand, who himself have gone through the transformation of being violent, masculine man to a man believing and practicing gender equality, work on men's assumptions of manhood, masculinity and supremacy. Men and women experts who work on men and women respectively, understand their socialisation deeply and can reach to roots of their problems.

Unlike the passing empowerment method in the reaching roots method a family counsellor does not work around an issue, but he/she analyses the thought process and socialization of the client which are responsible for violence. The capacity is built through self-awareness and self-actualization of a client or community.

The researcher analyses that, in the passing empowerment method a counsellor focuses on a problematic issue and external sources to empower women, on the contrary in the reaching roots method a counsellor focuses on a victim's socialization, personality, thought process, thus inward capacities. Aradhana compared the passing empowerment approach with the reaching roots method on the basis of their standpoint towards a problematic issue, she stated:

Earlier I helped to resolve their problems. I used to call her parents, used to report an incidence to a police station, used to register First Information Report (FIR), used to organize protest rallies to help her out. But when the moment came to bring her husband to court, she used to take a step back. She used to say to "leave it now" or discard her complaint at the police. She used to go back to her husband[104]. आधी ना मी जेव्हा त्यांचा problem सोडवायचे तेव्हा मी त्यांचा पालकांना बोलवयाचे किंवा पोलीस ना रिपोर्ट करायचे, FIR दाखल करायचे किंवा एक निषेध रॅली आयोजित करायचे त्यांना मदत करण्या साठी. पण जेव्हा तोच क्षण यायचा कि तिचा नवऱ्याला कोर्टात घेऊन जायच आहे, तेव्हा ती बाई मागे फिरयाची. ती सांगायची कि " सोडून ध्या" किंवा तिची तक्रार पोलीस कडे जाऊन रद्द करायची. ती तिचा नवऱ्या कडे परत जायची.

Swanand discussed one case, where a man was a homosexual but got married to a girl due to family pressure. After two years, the girl understood that he was homosexual and filed

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[104] Aradhana, 4, 18-27

for divorce. The couple approached the expert. The expert worked on an idea of man, masculinity, sexuality and their core societal assumption of marriage.

Experts who follow the reaching roots method other than family counsellors work on mass consciousness to make people aware of values of subjugation and violence caused by these values. Such as experts work for Muslim community to bring consciousness about stringent religious laws through creating literary sources. In which they critically evaluate religious laws among Indian Muslim by comparing it with other Islam dominated countries' laws[105]. Reaching roots work on assumptions of patriarchy and masculinity to achieve gender equality and gender sensitivity. They empower women to solve their problems than solving their issues.

1.1.3 Customizing way

The third property emerging from the related category "approaching" is "customizing way". The property signifies empowering women within the family institution and traditional gender roles. The experts follow this approach view subjugating way of living as a functional and necessary in order to maintain the structure of society. The experts who follow the customizing way use public participation or counselling methods to empower women. Such as Vishal, who follows sustainable development for improving life quality work with a small community. Whereas Tejmani follows construction of a water reservoir with the help of community in a drought prone area of Maharashtra. She organizes and educates them on gender-based violence and their legal rights. Semantini, another expert, adopts controlled sexual education method to counter-check impact of modernity and of a liberal stance on sexual education. Controlled sexual education signifies customizing Indian way of living, the expert who spread messages against pre-marital sex and how to control sexual desires. The expert propagates against liberal sexual education. Semantini, an expert who organizes saving groups

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[105] EIIMMO 04, EISAMO 26, EIAKMO 24

across the city and educates children on sexuality, discussed in her interview: "while taking sexual education workshops, our stand is, we do not support premarital sex, because pre-marital sex is not good for women's physical health and mental health" sexual education चे workshops बद्दल बोलायचं तर आमचा दृष्टिकोन असा आहे कि आम्ही पूर्व वैवाहिक संबंध त्याचे समर्थन करत नाही, कारण पूर्व वैवाहिक संबंध है बायका चा शारिरिक आणि मानसिक प्रकृती साठी चांगल नाही (Semantini, 4;18-21). Some of the experts who follow the "customizing way" are against women's freedom, they strive for equal power relations but within the family. Some experts who follow the customizing way approach propagate against women's westernization and liberalization; they give an extreme importance to family institution. Semantini added in her interview: "Women generally don't realize that they pay heavily for the agitation because the family is breaking up, which results in breaking up society". बायका ना है कळत नाही कि ते या आंदोलन मूळे खूप भारी किंमत चुकवितात कारण कुटुंब तुटत आहे आणि त्याचा मूळे आपला समाज पण अस्ताव्यस्त होत चाललेला आहे (Semantini, 17; 23-27).

In the first property of the of related category "approaching", "passing empowerment" aims to solve an issue without working on the values of subjugation, as per victims' demand, a family counsellor works for reconciliation or separation, thus an outcome is important in the passing empowerment approach whereas in the reaching roots method process. The most important aspect is to work on the belief system and the value system of a victim. On the contrary, in the customizing way approach, experts re-establish some of the assumptions in order to strengthen the family institution.

The "passing empowerment" method views external resources, such as extended family dynamics, as strength of a victim. Whereas "reaching roots" finds internal strength and weakness of victims' internal sources such as victims' personalities and belief systems. In

"passing empowerment", a family counsellor finds a solution to an issue within the framework of "way of living" and views victims' dependency on a counsellor as a positive sign for a counsellor. On the contrary, "reaching roots" experts try to make a victim conscious of her own assumptions and help to reach self-actualization and self-help. For "reaching roots" victims' independency in handling an issue is an assessment of success.

According to the researcher, there is a lack of uniformity in the approach among experts. Which has open three different stands for female empowerment and an ambiguous situation in the field by NGO workers. These three methods give different ideology and knowledge of empowerment among women which is a matter of concern as it effects the way of living and outcome of the process of empowerment. In the section, "consequence" the impact of these ambiguous methods is discussed in detail. However, during EI, the researcher experienced that many experts lack reflection of circumstances around them such as Latika, Vishal and Vijay who judge the situation with right-wrong dynamics or black-white boxes. There is lack of training to deal with new situations arising from various technological applications, media and education.

Section II: The Second Related Categories: Interfering

On the one hand experts working on the "way of living" to empower women and on the other hand, the researcher perceives different external sources such as formal, informal and non-formal education interfering on the "way of living" as well on ideology propagated by experts. Thus, next related categories discuss content these sources spread and impact of these sources on the "way of living". The following category discusses impact of external factors on the "way of living"

2.1 Interfering (Intervening condition)

INTERFERING: Signifies the influence of external factors other than the method followed by experts on the way of living.

BRINGING VULNERABILITY: Signifies that formal education makes women conscious about world outside and tussle between new and old brings vulnerability.

CREATING MEANING: Signifies media, representing world one belongs and the world one caters for thus, the process creates ambiguous meaning.

GLORIFYING: Signifies that religious preachers glorify and in institutionalize the way of living.

Outline 5 Second related category 'interfering'

The other related category that emerged from the data for the core-category "way of living" is "interfering". "Interfering" signifies an impact of external factors such as formal education and media as a part of non-formal education and religious preachers as a part of in-formal education on rudimentary knowledge. Formal education is one of the most important factors for women's empowerment (Mokta 2014) as it enables women to confront the way of living and bring changes in their roles assigned by society (Bhatt 2015). Thus, to break oppressive societal norms and customs, formal education provides women with strength and resources.

Regarding informal education, the researcher investigated media's role, especially visual media's role on the "way of living" as the media's role has been widely recognised in bringing social transformation and social change (Kumari and Joshi 2015). The researcher analysed the role of Religious preachers due to the impact of their charismatic personality on all castes/classes and communities in the region. The first property of the category "interfering", "bringing vulnerability" discusses how knowledge has made women independent yet not given strength to swim against custom and norms.

2.1.1 Bringing vulnerability

The first property of the sub-related category "interfering" is "bringing vulnerability". "Bringing vulnerability" signifies the state of dubiety between knowledge and reality which brings vulnerability to the educated women in India. The property compares educated and

uneducated women and their capacities to deal with violence to explain impact of education on empowerment.

Though, most NGO experts viewed formal education as positive as it gives skills for economic independence and empowers them. But some NGO experts revealed at the same time, how formal education teaches masses politically and constitutionally correct language to control women. Formal education impacts differently on women and men. Experts analysed that formal education gives a sense of freedom and independency to women but at the same time formal education has institutionalised rudimentary knowledge among educated masses. While discussing vulnerabilities, the formal education brought to women, Swanand shared:

"so the forms have changed due to education, you might say that it (formal education) has empowered women, but at the same time it has brought vulnerability as well, because women are getting empowered but education has not taught men to live with empowered women, their ideas of manhood are the same, their ideas of control are the same, men may have learned the politically correct language, men talk about equality, men think about society but men are not happy with empowered women, they are scared, they are anxious about their relationships, and I see this in the generation of learned, educated people, you know, so education has really not changed the notion of power, so the more women are educated and empowered, the more reporting of control or the lower the reporting of violence" (Swanand, 14;1-12. Original expert interview in English).

Working as a family counsellor made Swanand to analyse education's impact on men and women, he shared that society has not given a conducive platform for educated women, he further added: "what I guess now, now they have started understanding that they are a victim of violence but the surroundings are such that they cannot come out of the violent situation, because society does not give respect to such women, their families do not accept these women, society "assassinates" these women's character, so before education ignorance was a bliss, but now the situation is more miserable, now educated women are facing mental health problems more than ever" (Swanand, 15;19-30. Original expert interview in Marathi/English). Thus, Swanand talks about struggle causing anxiety and depression among educated women. Swanand's analysis is reiterated by Khyati's, an expert working as a psychiatrist explained:

"when there is any kind of violence, there is a bit of mental illness associated with it. But I have seen this increasingly among educated middle class". (Khyati, 7; 18-20. Original expert interview in English).

Previous literature studying the mental health of educated women shows that working educated women have better mental health than non-working educated women from rural and urban areas of the Dharwad district of Karnataka (Mankani and Yenagi 2013). The field area of the study, Hubballi- Dharwad, twin cities of Karnataka, is also an industrial-learning centre as similar to Pune district. Though the literature compared better mental health among working educated women, the researcher agrees that with education comes great consciousness of self but still swimming against the stream needs great sense of courage. With keeping pre-study analysis that violence is omnipresent on Indian women in mind, the researcher agrees that the educated female when unable to fulfil their dream along with low esteem are responsible factors for increasing mental unrest among educated women, whether they are working or not. Rather mental problems among working educated women are more severe due to work-family conflict.

Different experts talked about forms of gender- based violence among Indian educated women, such as mental violence in the form of forcing women to conform to traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes. A human rights activist and a policy-maker who helped to draft of domestic violence bill in 2005, shared that in contemporary India, educated women have to participate economically but at the same time socialization has taught to follow traditional gender roles she said: "On the contrary, I think violence has increased among the educated classes. For example, girls who are working in information technology have to work like a man but still they have to fulfil a wife's role at home". उलट मला वाटत, कि शिक्षित लोक मध्ये हिंसेचा प्रमाण वाढत आहे. उदाहरणार्थ, बायका ज्या IT मध्ये काम करतात त्यांना पुरुष सारखा कराव लागत पण त्यांना

सगळ्या घरच्या सगळ्या जवाबदाऱ्या एक बायको प्रमाणे कराव्या लागतात. (Kshama 32; 5-8. Original expert interview in Marathi)

As discussed previously that working women faces more mental problems due to work-family struggle as working women are expected to fulfil all roles in traditional settings. Previous literature discussing the work-life balance of Indian women, especially of educated women postulates family pressure and role conflict as some of the factor which act as an obstacle for the career development of working Indian women. Such as previous literature on career-oriented women, they face considerable family pressure and role strain as obstacles (Kumari 2014; Ming 2007). One of the reasons for role conflict for educated and working women is the traditional role of women in the family are assigned to Indian women with new responsibilities. But education has not fulfilled the objective of empowerment. Rather it has provided Indian women with an additional burden. Women cherished their traditional set-up.

From BNI, the researcher noted that education has endowed women with economic independence, consciousness of the way of living, a sense of freedom and career opportunities. But educated women still follow a pre-marriage and post-marriage life pattern only with some modifications. All educated BNI respondents gave marriage prospects as a priority. Yukti said on this topic that she will marry and then decide whether to continue with her studies or not[106]. Another correspondent, Chitra[107] pointed out "I am working. But I do not want to divorce my husband. My husband is my priority'. मी काम करत आहे. पण मला माझ्या नवरयाला डिवोर्स नाही द्याचा.

मजा नवरा माजा प्राधान्य आहे

A health activist, Suchit, working against sex-selective abortion among the educated classes reiterated Kshama's point that formal education has made women confined more than

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[106] BNIYUMO30
[107] BNICHMO12

before to patriarchal institutions. Women have knowledge but due to societal pressure they can hardly take advantage of formal education. In Suchit's words:

The educated women may get decision-making power, this is true. They are economically independent. But also, we have to see whether in reality are they free from market pressures? And patriarchal culture? If we talk about sex-selective abortion I still feel that women cannot take advantage from their independence, they are still a slave to marriage institutions[108]. शिक्षित बायका कडे निर्णय घेण्याची शक्ती असू शकेल. ते आर्थिक दृष्ट्या स्वातंत्र्य असेल. पण आपल्याला है बघायचा आहे कि वास्तव मध्ये ते बझार चा दबाव मधून किती स्वतंत्र आहेत आणि पितृप्रधान संस्कृती पासून पण ते बघण गरजेचं आहे. आपण जर लैंगिक निवडक गर्भपात बद्दल जर बोललं तर मला वाटत बायका स्वतःचा स्वातंत्र्य पासून फायदा घेत नाही, ते अजून पण लग्न संस्थेचे गुलाम आहेत.

Further he added: "Frankly, we think that women are educated, they must not tolerate violence, but they are more confined to the system". खर तर, आम्ही असा विचार करतो कि शिक्षित महिला नि हिंसा सहन नाही करायची, पण ते या प्रणाली मध्ये जास्त अडकलेले आहेत. (Suchit, 29; 10-12. Original expert interview in Marathi)

The reason for this increase in violence among educated women in Indian society is due to an aim proposed for education by policy makers as already discussed in the introduction and literature review of the thesis. The aim of education is not to empower women but to get a good prospect in marriage, for the nation's development, or to curb population of the country. Anchala, an expert working as a family counsellor and a researcher in gender studies revealed that the reason behind education is not to empower women. The expert highlighted the following incident: "See the irony, this is an era of women empowerment, more and more women are educated, but when we ask their parents why they educate girls, the first answer is girls must be educated, must be economically independent, but in a deeper sense, the reason for education is to get a good husband. So, education is just a medium for a good marriage, not for self-actualisation" विडंबन बघ, हा दशक महिला सबलीकरण चा आहे, जास्तीत जास्त बायका या शिक्षित होत आहे, पण जेव्हा त्यांचा पालकांना विचारल कि ते त्यांचा पाल्याना शिक्षण का देत आहेत तर त्यांचा

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[108] Suchit, 14, 37-49

पाहिलं उत्तर असत कि त्यांना शिक्षण ध्येयाला हव, त्यांनी आर्थिकरित्या स्वातंत्र्य करण्या साठी. पण जर आपण खोल वर बघितलं तर शिक्षण चा उद्देश हा चांगला नवरा मिळावा है आहे. म्हणून शिक्षण है चांगला नवरा मिळावा है आहे आणि स्वतःची ओळख, सबलीकरण है नाही आहे (Anchala 21; 19-23. Original expert interview in Marathi). The researcher too agrees this from BNI, the education is just a medium for secure married life.

Formal education does not induce liberal values and reasoning power among pupils. Anchala in her interview added:

Education has empowered women; it has increased women's decision-making power. An economically independent woman is an asset for her family. Due to economic independence a woman gets recognition in the family, but at the same time cultural and religious patriarchal values have not changed. Education has not played a role in inculcating progressive education among pupils[109]. शिक्षणाने बायकांना सबलीकरण केला आहे. त्याने बायकांची निर्णय घेण्याची क्षमता वाढली आहे. आर्थिक रित्या स्वतंत्र असलेल्या बायका है आपल्या कुटुंब साठी महत्वाचा आहे, त्यांचा आर्थिक स्वातंत्र्य मुळे त्यांना कुटंब कडून मान मिळत आहे, पण त्याच वेळीस त्यांचा सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक आणि पुरुष प्रधान मूल्ये बदलली नाहीत. शिक्षणाने पुरोगामी विचारणा रुजवलं नाही आहे लोकांमध्ये.

From BNI and EI, the researcher has analysed that education just produces a like mind set people to pass on norms. Society idealizes a likeminded pupil, especially conformist women. Education does not teach women to argue or express their wishes, an educated woman hardly comes out and expresses her opinion confidently. Though education is a factor of women's empowerment, in an Indian context it has only partial role of making women conscious of the way of living but has not taught them to express their wishes.

While analysing the cause for failure of education in an Indian context, the researcher noted whether to continue education is parents' wishes and, in this situation, female empowerment is difficult with education. Such as, Kirti, shared her childhood experience. She stated:

Education has not given freedom to think, even a girl's choice of her educational field is not taken into consideration by her parents, parents of a girl decide about the educational

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[109] Anchala, 68, 9-24

field she will go into. If formal education starts to give a space to express one's wish, then girls might start thinking and expressing their mind[110]. शिक्षणाने विचार करण्याचा स्वातंत्र्य नाही दिलेलं, खरा तर मुलीचा स्वतःची निवड तिचे पाल्य या बाबतीत विचारात घेत नाही. तिचे पाल्य तिचा साठी ते ठरवतात कि ती कुठलं शिक्षण घेईन.जर शिक्षण पद्धती ने तिला तिची मत मांडणायची संधी दिली तर मुली विचार करायला शिकतील आणि स्वतःची मत मांड्याला शिकतील

The researcher disagrees with Kirti's statement. From BNI, the researcher's perspective is that women are given freedom to choose the stream of education, on the contrary boys are pressurized to choose an education which gives good returns. But the degree of education an Indian woman can achieve is highly dependent upon her parents' choice. Such as Yukti, who perceived that she was brought up on an equal level, with her brother, said 'My father told me that until my marriage, I can learn as much I like. They were looking for a suitable bridegroom'[111]. When asked what about brother, she said: "My brother will get married once he finishes his degree"[112]. Thus, the researcher's perspective is that the aim of education for Indian parents is to keep girls busy until they get married and not to empower them.

According to a Muslim expert, among the Muslim community the female literacy rate is lower than in the Hindu community and less than two per cent of Muslim women in India are graduates. However, the researcher has analysed that, formal education is bringing vulnerability among Muslim educated women as well. An expert working among Muslim community, Salim, narrated an incident of an educated girl and analysed: "Among the Muslim community educated girls are not accepted or the educated women face difficulties after marriage in accepting the traditional way of living". मुस्लिम मध्ये शिक्षित मुली स्वीकारल्या जात नाहीत किंवा शिक्षित मुली खूप अडचणींना सामोरे जावा लागत आहे, विशेषतः लग्ना नंतर पारंपरिक आयुष्य स्वीकारणे है अवघड असतं. (Salim, 26; 4-8. Original expert interview in Marathi) Girls of the Muslim community of the country are victims of negative attitudes towards women's

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[110] Kirti, 26, 12-21
[111] BNIYUMO3
[112] ibid

education, as the educated girls find it difficult to get bridegrooms (Shazli and Asma 2015). Experts analysed that educated girls are not welcomed in the community due to excessive importance given to early marriage in the community. When compared, the researcher analysed that, among Hindu women an aim of formal education is associated with a good prospective marriage but, on the contrary, among the Muslim community women with higher education are not welcomed, educated women have low prospective for marriage[113].

There are various experts who compared the ability of higher class/caste women and lower class/caste women in resisting violence vis-à-vis the role of formal education. Lower educated women possess skills to resist violence or voicing their opinion against it. Majority experts analysed lower educated/illiterate women as not tolerant towards violence and often exhibiting a form of empowerment. An expert, Aradhana, who has been working on gender-based violence for more than two decades explores the above pattern of core behavioural differences. She shared: "Actually it's the other way around, educated women can't deal with violence directed towards them" she explained the reason as the following: खर तर ते है उलट आहे,

शिक्षित बायका हिंसे शी लढा नाही देऊ शकत

This means I feel that they (lower educated women) are stronger than educated women, because they have more public exposure than educated women, uneducated women have acceptance of violence that they are victims of violence. They quickly accept it. They come and express it without any shame or stigma, their coping capacity is better than that of educated women. Sharing of a violent incident is easier with uneducated women, whereas for educated women they suffer and tolerate violence. They don't cope with violence. Uneducated women handle violence very well[114]. याचा अर्थ मला अस वाटत (कमी शिक्षित महिला) या जास्त मजबूत असतात शिक्षित महिला पेक्षा कारण त्यांना जास्त सार्वजनिक जीवानिशी जास्त निगडित असतात, आणि अशिक्षित महिलाना लवकर स्वीकार करतात कि ते हिंसे चे बळी आहेत ते. ते येतात आणि सांगतात कि त्यांचा वर हिंसा झाली आहे ते पण कुठल्या हि लाज लज्जा शिवाय, त्यांची ना सामना करण्याची क्षमता चांगली असते शिक्षित बायका पेक्षा. हिंसे बद्दल बोलणं त्यांचा शी खूप सोपे असत पण तेच शिक्षित बायका या ग्रसित असतात आणि सहन करतात. त्यांना हिंसे शी लढा देण्याची क्षमता खूप चांगली आहे.

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[113] EISAMO 80
[114] Aradhana, 32, 10-27

Similarly, Laxmi in her interview stated that less educated women are vocal against violence whereas higher educated women have family honour, fame, a name to lose. The group of higher educated women experienced more violence, but they do not have the freedom to resist it due to gender, caste and class identities. Lower educated women are more in public contact compared to higher educated women. Thus, lower educated women have to deal with more public violence in their day-to-day life and suffer more violence. Therefore, these women have better skills to deal with violence[115]. Whereas higher educated women have no freedom to take decisions and lack the skills to handle a violent situation. More educated women more they lack skills to deal a violent situation[116]. The researcher agrees that education gives women consciousness about society and institutionalises their subjugation as "right". Kshama and various other experts who work in slum areas regularly, analysed the situation as chaotic for educated and more empowering for lower educated women due to their more public exposure. Experts find lower educated women as more sensible and responsible in dealing with violent situation[117]. The researcher perceived that political mobilization and mobilization for social justice due to effort of various NGOs and action groups, the Dalit women have developed a positive identity which has helped them to find a way out from public and private violence on them.

From BNI, the researcher analysed that lower caste/class women are socialised with pragmatic values. A lower caste female respondent shared: 'My father told me when I was a child, that whatever it may be, you need to tell us-be it sexual harassment or anything[118]". माझे बाबा नि मला सांगितलं होत जेव्हा मी लहान होते तेव्हा कि काही हि असेल ते आम्हाला येऊन सांगायचं जरी लैंगिक अत्याचार असले तरी. Later, these teachings helped her to act against violence. From the

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[115] EILAMO 70
[116] ibid
[117] EIKSMO 71, EISUMO 61, EIMAMO 73.
[118] BNICHMO 83

above discussion, the researcher concluded that, education has taught women sense of freedom and consciousness of subjugation, but the researcher also agrees that education institutionalizes the socialization deeper. Upper caste values are institutionalized with education. The lower castes/classes have seen violence as a part of their daily lives and are socialized with that reality. Thus, they have the freedom to take action, not to abide by their way of living as their oppressive surroundings educate them to retaliate. These conclusions also gave rise to various question such as, is an act of resilience of lower caste/class women impacted by interfering conditions such as media and religious preachers? How does the knowledge shared by media and preachers affect the way of living? The following category 'creating meaning' discusses the impact of visual media as a part of non-formal education on the way of living.

2.1.2 Creating meaning

The first property of the category "interfering" discussed how formal education made dialogue structured by re-establishing the way of living. Whereas the second property "creating meaning" explores how visual media gives new meaning to the way of living.

During the pre-study field work while collecting data for BNI, the researcher felt a strong influence of television drama series and movies on young people. The experts of the pre-study analysed the role played by visual media, especially adult entertainment on gender-based violence. Thus, for the main study the researcher investigated the impact of visual media on violence. The researcher analysed electronic media which includes television serials, Bollywood movies and adult entertainment as an intervening condition on the "way of living".

The property "creating meaning" unfolds how visual media creates meaning by associating with the belief system. The media give new form to these assumptions and inculcate modern values in masses. The property compared different meanings created by visual media. Visual media creates meaning to men–women relationships through giving them new images. For example, an expert working on health and women, Suchit, mentioned in his interview that

media is responsible for creating views and images, in his own words: "What I think is that media is creating negative meaning, media are creating a structural framework for life. This means creating a sacrificing image of women- a woman who sacrifices is a good woman, something like this" मला काय वाटत माहित आहे का कि माध्यम है नकारात्मक अर्थ देत आहेत, माध्यम है रचनातम्क चौकट निर्माण करतात. त्याचा अर्थ बायका ची प्रतिमा अशी निर्माण करतात कि तडजोड आणि त्याग करण्याच्या बायका या चांगल्या असतात, अशी काही तरी (Suchit 29; 23-31. Original expert interview in Marathi). Suchit analysed daily television Indian serials portraying female protagonists as a tolerant and as protectors of family values as an "ideal" woman now. Suchit's analysis is further affirmed by Swanand, another male expert who analysed discrepancies between media portraying women and reality. He analysed how a producer-director or sponsor wants to see females, in a patriarchal society man always wants to see women as inferior. Indian media, due to Television Rating Point (TRP), have to show society-approved values. As Swanand stated:

> The kind of daily soaps we see: a scene is shown in serials where a female protagonist is waiting for her husband until midnight just to serve some warm food, it is not related to the plot of the story in that daily soap. Or we see contradiction, such as she is independent outside the home but inside, she is submissive, tolerant. These small incidents itself are the result of patriarchal institutions. People enjoy it, they want to see it and they approve it, that's why they are popular[119]. (original interview in English)

Whereas other female experts view the media's role in creating the same boxes but with modern decoration, such as Anchala stated:

> These days in daily serials women are characterised as timid, polite and possess a subordinate position in the family. They work at home wearing jewellery; they are always busy scheming and plotting. As if we don't know any-thing about the outside world. Thus, media structured right and wrong values. Women can either be right or wrong, a separate box is not allowed[120]. हल्ली ना रोजचा मालिका मध्ये बायका खूप भित्र्या, सभ्य आणि घरी खालचा थरा वर असतात. ते घरी खूप सगळे दागिने घालून काम करतात, ते कायम कारस्थान आणि कावेबाजी करतात. त्या बायका अशा दाखविले जातात जसा काही त्यांना बाहेर चा जगाच ज्ञान नाही. याचा अर्थ माध्यम बरोबर आणि चुकीचा मूल्ये संरचीत करतात. बायका या खरं तर त्यांचा साठी चूक किंवा बरोबर असतात, वेगळा दृष्टिकोन ची परवानगी नसते.

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[119] Swanand, 19
[120] Anchala,53,37-38

The researcher agrees that the media as reinforcing patriarchal values yet media in contemporary times, portraying a female image as working women as well. When asked that how these images impact women in contemporary times with female experts during interviews, they analysed it as positive transformation. But the experts have analysed that these working women protagonists are portrayed as super-women who fulfil all expected gender roles along with extra burden of sharing financial burden Roles such as Service Wali Bahu (Bride with Benefits) where the female protagonist supports financially her husband and her husband's family, yet she also fulfils her gender roles[121]. These transformations are regarded as positive, but these images have given new meaning to modernity in society. The researcher's perspective is these images are no doubt positive transformation but also it gives extra burden to become an "ideal" woman.

Negative aspects of entertainment were discussed by the experts who are working on child sexual abuse. Visual media creates a meaning for sexuality for all age groups especially for children. As discussed earlier in the property of "treating dirty" sexual education is not institutionalized in educational institutes in society. As educational institutes have not allowed sexual education and due to the culture of silence the children of recent generations look at pornography to satisfy their curiosity regarding sexuality and relationships. They get new ideas such as to pursue a girl despite of their rejection. New forms of wooing girls due to visual media are stalking, making sexual comments or one-sided love, have given rise to new forms of violence. An expert working in the field of child sexual abuse, Bhumati, mentioned in her interview:

Children get various ideas from a movie; media impacts children the most, they get various ideas to harass a girl from movies. New ideas of wooing a girl are established by movies. The ideas like following a girl despite her rejection and not accepting her rejection,

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[121] Service Wali Bahu or Bride with Benefits is a television serial aired during 2015. It is tussle of a working bride and patriarchal groom. For more information, please refer to https://www.pinkvilla.com/tvtags/kratika-sengar/service-wali-bahu-story-so-far-looks-great. Accessed on 2 April, 2018.

throwing acid on her are some of the ideas the media inculcate in children[122]. लहान मुलांना वेगळ्या वेगळ्या कल्पना या चित्रपट मधून येतात; चित्रपट या लहान मुलांचा मना वर खूप परिणाम करतात. आता या ज्या युक्ती आहे ना कि मुलींना कस पटवायचे है चित्रपट तुन येत. या युक्ती कि मुलीचा पाठलाग करायचा जरी त्यांचा नकार असेल तरी पण, किंवा त्यांचा वर ॲसिड टाकायचा या अशा कल्पना माध्यम लहान मुलं मध्ये रुजवली जातात.

As expert viewed media gives new ideas for harassment. But experts also analysed that society provides these contents to media, harassing girl or wooing girl is a part of the way of living and lack of sexual education intensify harassment further in the society children's imitative behaviour and exposure to pornography are some of the issues of concern. Bhumati stated how seriously these films impact children and children imitate these acts as the way of life: "They see a lot of violence in pornography and they don't think that there are any emotions involved in it, in sexual activity, they think that's life, almost like an animalistic act and then it's over and there is no emotional attachment in that" (Bhumati, 10;2-6. Original interview excerpt in English). Adult entertainment is the most accessible medium to satisfy the curiosity about a sexual- images in a distorted manner (Ownes et al. 2012; Häggström-Nordin et al. 2006). The researcher agrees that due to this silence, the distorted images are interpreted by the "way of living" framework, creating new meaning for the sexual act. Previous literature suggested, based on the background of a lack of sexual education in society that pornography fulfils the curiosity among youth. Additionally, inadequate sexual education and pornography give wrong perception of sexuality, thus increase in sexual violence (Math et al. 2014; Vega 2007)

Not only distorted body images but the media also give distorted images for relationships; various such relationships are portrayed in an idealistic manner such as the virgin bride, loving, timid, submissive and kind girlfriend; masculine, overprotective boy friends are much cherished in contemporary times.

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[122] Bhumati, 8, 1-8

The cumulative impact of distorted body images portrayed in different media are analysed by various experts such as Kshama, Laxmi and Aradhana[123], where they discussed how fictitious images are considered realistic Kshama stated: "I wouldn't be exaggerating when I say I meet women and men who say "see how beautiful she is in that television serial, why can't my wife look similar to her?" And a woman complains when she looks at that television serial hero "how he loves her, why can't my husband do that?" So somewhere they start associating themselves with that role and they forget that this is just a fictitious character, different from reality. So, I think the portrayal of women in the media is horrible and insensitive". मी हे सांगताना अतिशयोक्ती करत नाही जेव्हा मी हे सांगते कि मी अशा बायका आणि पुरुष ना भेटते कि जे मला सांगतात कि 'बघा कि ती दूरदर्शन मध्ये दाखवतात ती बाई किती सुंदर दिसते माजी बायको अशी का दिसत नाही? आणि बाई तक्रार करते जेव्हा ती दूरदर्शन वर त्या हिरो ला बघते आणि बोलते " कि तोच मुलगा त्या बायको ला कस प्रेम करतो, अशी माजा नवरा का नाही करत?' ते कुठे तरी स्वतःशी त्या भूमिका मध्ये स्वतःला बघत असतात, ते विसरतात कि ते फक्त एक काल्पनिक पात्र आहे, जे वास्तव पेक्षा वेगळं आहे. मला असा वाटत कि जे चित्रण खूप भयानक आणि असंवेदनशील आहेत. (Kshama, 43; 14-17. Original expert interview in Marathi).

The expert ignored the fact that even a man's image is distorted in media. Such as assumptions regarding ideal husband or ideal boyfriend are also from patriarchal setting or the "way of living" framework. Thus, media re-establishing the "way of living" and interaction between men-women. So, the researcher agrees that media is one of the other patriarchal institutions, but the researcher also views that media also shows foreign-western images to man-woman interactions. This holds true especially, after India allowed access to foreign television in the country. Thus, in the light of this, the researcher perceived that people use

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[123] EILAMO 70, EIARMO 82

media content to satisfy emotional needs. They extract information from media on the basis of their perceptions, beliefs and values (Mehraj et al. 2014; Rubin 1983; Katz 1978, 1980).

Experts have discussed that on the one hand, visual media has created different meaning for gender roles and gender stereotypes. On the contrary, some experts also discussed that the meaning is not created due to visual media, but people create a convenient meaning out of fiction on the basis of their perception. Meaning extracting peculiarities of media is explained by various experts[124], a Muslim male expert talked about ambiguous meaning created by media. People accept those values which are fit for their beliefs, perceptions and socialization[125].

There are also some experts who analysed media's role as a source of knowledge, especially on the issue of public interest and how this knowledge impacts different sections of the society. Various female experts shared their view regarding media's role in spreading awareness of immediate concern[126], and how media is constructing views on female education. But while discussing about how the media propagate a public awareness campaign against sex-selective abortion, Suchit analysed how the media construct public beliefs by reinforcing gender roles: "There is an advertisement where a female foetus is requesting from a mother 'please! Do not kill me', as if the mother is responsible for killing[127]". Thus, media is capable of propagating public awareness of immediate concern but can distract society from the substantial cause of the problem and reinforce gender rules further. The question that who gets more influenced by the media? to which experts answered that media represents upper caste/classes and Hindu religion. The lower caste and classes do not associate themselves with media[128].

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[124] EIKIMO 71, EIIMMO 63, EIANMO 64
[125] EIIMO 63
[126] EINIMO 77, EIMAMO 74, EIKSMO 71, EIVINMO 77
[127] EISUMO 60
[128] EINIMO 78, EISUMO 23, EINMMO45

Visual media interferes in NGO experts' approach by creating different meaning for subjugating values. Milan an expert working among youth analysed media as an intervening factor on strategies used by NGO experts working for gender equality, he stated: "what I see is we experts go and work with children on gender equality on one hand and on the other hand media hammers all gender roles, gender stereotypes on them, since media has more exposure compared to us, the medium more forcefully established gender stereotypes". मी काय बघतो तर आम्ही तझ लहान मुलं बरोबर काम करतो लैंगिक समानते बद्दल पण दुसऱ्या बाजूला हि वेगळी वेगळी माध्यम ते सगळे लैंगिक भूमिका, लिंग रूढीवादी त्यांचा वर लादत असतात. कारण मुलं आमचा पेक्षा माध्यम चा जास्त जवळ असतात, माध्यम खूप जोरदार पने या रूढीवादी स्थापन करतात (Milan, 5; 1-5. Original expert interview in Marathi)

Taking into account various motives of media as discussed by experts, the researcher conclude that media content is derived from society or from existing way of living. As also supported by literature that the content produced by media takes into account collective assumptions, perceptions, beliefs and consciousness of the people of society (Happer and Philo 2013). But the researcher also agrees that while constructing content, the media do not take assumptions or belief system as they are. They mould these assumptions in new form, giving new ideas to violence. Media impacts more on upper caste/classes and educated group. How media is "changing way of living" is discussed in the BSP of the current thesis.

While talking about formal education, experts analysed it as the source of knowledge which has brought vulnerability among people. The second source of knowledge was viewed as new meaning created for the "way of living". While the third source of knowledge discusses experts' perception of how religious preachers glorify the "way of living".

2.1.3   Glorifying

The third property that emerged from the data for the related category "interfering" is glorifying the way of living. It signifies religious preachers as a medium to disseminate knowledge. The researcher investigated the role of religious preachers as an intervening condition due to reasons discussed in the chapter Literature Review of this thesis. But experts also analysed in the pre-study findings that preacher's impact is invisible. Yet religious values hold dominant position among masses. Religious values are invisible as they are entwined with the way of living; it is difficult to differentiate socio-cultural and religious values. So, it was difficult to extract information regarding impact of religious preachers on public.

Various Muslim experts discussed the knowledge spread by religious preachers as detrimental for female empowerment among the religious community. While analysing the role of religious preachers among the Muslim community, the role of Madarsa education, a religious centre, is important to take into account. Salim, a Muslim expert critically analysed it as follows: "the Indian Muslim community is poor and due to poverty people have become religious, they have blind faith in religion and these religious preachers preach against Television, formal education and progressive ideas. Look at Madarsa, they teach the same traditional, religious teachings" भारतीय मुस्लिम समाज हा गरीब आहे आणि गरिबी मुळे समाज जास्त धार्मिक आहे. त्यांना धर्मा वर खूप अंध विश्वास आहे.हे धार्मिक गुरु किंवा उपदेशक है माध्यमा, शिक्षण, आणि पुरोगामी चा विरुद्ध उपदेशन करतात. मदरसा चा उदहारण घ्या ते तेच पारंपरिक आणि धार्मिक शिक्षण देतात. (Salim, 75; 9-14. Original expert interview in Marathi).

The expert analysed the role of Madarsa further institutionalizing religious laws by creating fear of modern education among Muslim people. They propagate modern education as harmful for women's purity and further promote veiling to protect their sexual purity.

During an interview with a Muslim expert, Imran, a secular progressive leader, he discussed how Muslim religious preachers are the most influential, they have a conservative

outlook, against progressive ideas: "some Muslim preachers preach against girls being educated, they preach such as "don't educate girls too much", how educated girls are bad, ask why they (parents) are sending their daughters to school, if something "bad" happened tomorrow (in a normative sense "bad" signifies against the way of living) to her what will they do then, so preachers try to prevent modern education, girls education" કેટલાક મુસ્લિમ ઉપદેશક છોકરીઓ ને શિક્ષા આપવાના વિરુદ્ધ ઉપદેશ આપે છે, તે ઉપદેશ આપે છે કે" છોકરીઓ ને વધારે શિક્ષા નહિ આપતા" શિક્ષિત છોકરીઓ ખરાબ હોય છે, એ પૂછે કે એમના પાલક ને કે તમે તમારા છોકરીઓ ને કેમ શાળા માં મોકલો છો, જો કાલે કઈ ખરાબ થયું તો ત્યારે તે શું કરશે, તો ઉપદેશક આધુનિક શિક્ષણ અને છોકરીઓને મળતું શિક્ષણ અટકાવે છે. (Imran, 21;7-11. Original expert interview in Gujarati)

Propagation against modern-liberal values by these preachers is not only among the Muslim community but also can be seen among the Hindu community. During field work in Pune, the researcher attended a meeting held by a famous preacher[129] who has considerable followers. The preacher was preaching on how house chores are suitable for women by giving examples from mythology which was also discussed by many experts[130]. These preachers systematically block reasoning by citing mythological illustrations as role models. Often these mythological ideals' images are distorted and twisted to accomplish their goals of propagating against empowering values. The analyses are further clarified by various experts who shared their observation and experience with the researcher. Most of the male and female experts

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[129] During the field work, the researcher attended an event where Aparna Ramthirankar, a Law graduate who preached against modern educated women in July 2014. For more information, please refer to content spread by her through you tube videos; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JYhdi9Rc0M. The link is one of the recording of her lecture. Accessed on April 3, 2018.
[130] EISWFMO 63. EIVIBMO 85

except female expert who follow "customizing approach" (see chapter Five, section 1.1.3) of living critically analyse preachers' roles in the empowerment process.

Female experts who follow the customizing way approach, however, approved preachers' efforts of restraining the impact of modern education on the masses, especially on modern women as modern women are condemned as irresponsible, intolerant and rebellious. The researcher analysed that these female experts viewed preachers' upholding values of gender equality but within family. Whether experts approved or criticised the knowledge disseminated by preachers, they all acknowledged their charismatic influence on the public. The researcher analysed that many experts seek preachers' assistance for preaching against sex-selective abortions which occur more in the upper-elite class. However, the researcher concluded that, seeking help from preachers is really a point of distraction due to the fact that these preachers do not uphold just or fair values about killing a female foetus, but they view men in a role of protector and women in a role of subordinate. So, by establishing the notion of sin and by glorifying past Indian culture, they may preach against sex-selective abortion. These preachers have considerable influence on all castes/classes and religions.

Various properties of the "interfering" demonstrate antagonistic knowledge disseminated by different mediums in society. These mediums give their own analysis of right and wrong. As a result of this disseminated antagonistic knowledge, society changes -- albeit at a subtle level but change is inevitable. Various experts, due to their considerable experience in the empowerment field encounter different forms of gender-based violence and compared these old and new forms of violence in their interview. Thus, the Basic Social Process demonstrates experts' perception of how these forms of violence have undergone a change due to this diffusion of knowledge.

Chapter Six: Changing the Way of Living

Section: I: Basic Social Process

The sub-categories "approaching" as strategy and "interfering" as an intervening condition are two clear emergent stages of the process of "changing the way of living" (Glaser 1978) thus cumulative effect of "approaching" and "interfering" constitute the BSP "changing the way of living". As put forth by Glaser (1978) BSP has two or more clear emergent stages which occur over the time and involves change over the time, the two stages that emerged from the data are approaching and interfering. The sub related category "approaching" curbs the impact of the intervening condition and "interfering" counters the effect of NGO experts' methods for female empowerment. The two stages are different as the "approaching" category specifically aims at women's development unlike interfering, whose intended aim and objective is the educational grade, entertainment and institutionalization of values (im/moral) of masses respectively. But these categories overlap with each other and account for variations in the way of living due to diffused knowledge (Glaser 1978, 97). Thus, the two stages "interfering" and "approaching" meet Glaser's first criterion of Basic Social process.

The second criterion of Glaser's basic social process occurs over time and changes over time (1978, 97). The Basic Social Process "changing the way of living" represents change in shared beliefs and patterns, which occurs over time due to slow social change. The process is cyclical where the new way of living will replace the old way of living. Thus, the process occurs over time and changes over the time.

The two stages "approaching" and "interfering" - strategies and intervening condition satisfy third criterion led by Glaser (1978, 98) that BSP has condition and strategy which lead to consequences. In the substantive grounded theory, the consequence represented here as "changing way of living".

1.1 Changing way of living

CHANGING WAY OF LIVING: Signifies change in the way of living, due to "approaching" and "interfering".

BOUNDED FREEDOM: Signifies freedom but within traditional boundaries.

SUBMITTING INSECURITIES: Signifies women's compromise to resolve their insecurities mostly to maintain their economic stability.

SUPPORTING TECHNOLOGY: Signifies subjugating values supported by technology.

INTERPRETING KNOWLEDGE: The property signifies exposure to vast knowledge and the masses interpret knowledge to institutionalise the subjugating values.

DEALING AMBIGUITY: The property signifies a tussle between traditional society and the modern individual.

Outline 6: The basic social process of the grounded theory

Masses are unconsciously exposed to various sources of knowledge since childhood such as visual media, educational institutes, preachers and kin-playfellow. These various sources of knowledge are external to the home environment and have a considerable impact on human consciousness. Along with these sources, various strategies adopted by experts are also responsible for making masses conscious of the way of living.

The chapter explains the changes in the way of living and forms of subjugation due to the cumulative effect of strategies and intervening on the way of living. Since it is complex to analyse how this single source of knowledge impacts on the way of living. The researcher demonstrates the cumulative impact of all sources of knowledge on the way of living. The BSP changing way of living signifies a new way of living adopted by masses and a shift in the old way of living. The process of changing old way of living to the new way of living will explain the direction of the empowerment process in the country. The cyclical shift from the old way of living to the new way of living have five different facets which explains the direction and the status of empowerment process perceived by experts.

1.1.1, Bounded freedom

She said, "I am free. I can give you an interview, but not after 9 pm. As my father does not allow it. I need to be at home before 9 pm" (Yukti, in conversation with the researcher. Original interview in English), she is highly educated and an independent woman. The telephone conversation between the researcher and the BNI respondent indicates that she is an independent woman, but yet bounded to conform the cultural setting which is against a girl who comes late at night. The notion of coming home late is associated with excessive importance given to sexual purity in the Indian culture. The definition of "bounded freedom" is a freedom bounded to the way of living, the pretension of freedom in a limited sense. The experts claimed that in a modern scenario, patriarchy is stronger in the neo-liberal market than ever.

Various experts such as Sudha, Vibha and Swanad express the view that consumer culture brought freedom for women and endowed them with decision-making capacity. The cumulative impact of consumer culture lies in increasing female education, increasing economic opportunity for women. But are they free in a new consumer culture? Various experts found women are free, but their freedom is succumbed to patriarchal settings[131]. While giving an example of how consumer culture impacts patriarchy, many experts analysed that women do have choice regarding their partner but now the concept of relationship has materialistic interpretation[132]. As Sudha, a female expert said:

Young men told me that they must have a motorcycle-If asked why, then the answer was to attract girls or that girls make friendships with such boys who have vehicles--a motorcycle makes life easier. So, this is an egocentric notion of relationship. My point is how consumer culture is making patriarchy stronger. A woman is subsuming her right to say no, for her the wishes are fulfilled by a boyfriend who has money, she falls prey to patriarchal culture as she wants that man to fulfil her wish[133]. तरुण मुलं मला सांगतात कि त्यांचा कडे मोटोरसायकल असायला पाहिजे- जेव्हा विचारला असा का तर त्यांचा उत्तर असता मुली ना आकर्षित करायला किंवा मुलींशी मैत्री करायला. मुली अशा शी मैत्री करतात ज्यांचा कडे वाहन असतं, वाहन नि आयुष्य सुखकर होतं. है खूप अहंकारक कल्पना आहे संबंध ची. माजा मुद्दा हा आहे कि कस ग्राहक संस्कृती पितृसत्ता मजबूत करत आहे.

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[131] EIVIBMO 115, EITEMO 107, EIKIMO 101, EIANMO 95.
[132] EIVISMO 96, EIARMO 112, EIVIBMO 115
[133] Sudha, 11,8-24

बायका आपला नाही म्हण्याचा अधिकार स्वाधीन करतात, तिचा साठी तिचा जो पैशा वाला मित्र आहे तोच तिचा सगळ्या इच्छा पूर्ण करतो, ती पितृसत्ताक संस्कृती ला शरण जाते कारण तिला तिचा अपेक्षा पूर्ण करण्या साठी पुरुष लागतो.

Consumer culture has no doubt given economic opportunity and increased purchasing power to fulfil their wishes, but they prefer men in a role of provider which is an outcome of the way of living. Such as in this case, as Cole and Crossley (2009) said:

The implications for this changing terrain of feminism are exhibited in many third wave feminists' embrace of consumerism as both a choice and a source of women's empowerment. This is a fundamental problem for feminism, since consumerism, as the cultural logic of capitalism, is the ideological and practical means to reproducing hegemonic domination of the exploitative and oppressive system of global capitalism[134].

According to the researcher, Globalization, no doubt, has given choices and preferences to women in order to break their cultural norms but women are socialized to conform to the way of living, thus women always make choices or preferences which are limited to their horizon.

On the other hand, the researcher perceived a limited horizon of the experts due to the way of living. For example, Kirti said in an interview: "If they (women) have money they can spend it on their boy-friend at the same time they are in relationship as their boyfriends have money. So, their relationships have materialistic notions. They (women) can easily change mates as if changing clothes. The meaning of relationship is now associated with money and they are self-centred" जर बायका कडे पैसे असतील तर ते त्यांचा मित्र वर खर्च करतील आणि ते त्या संबंध आहेत कारण त्यांचा मित्रा कडे पैसे आहेत. म्हणजे याचा अर्थ ते त्या संबंध हा भौतिकवाद आहे. ते त्यांचे सोबती खूप सहजपणे बदलतात. आता संबंध है पैसे आणि स्वार्थ वर निर्भर आहेत (Kirti, 17; 33-45. Original interview excerpt in Marathi). Choice and preference executed by women is subject to criticism by experts who are working in the gender equality and empowerment field. The expert in the quotation criticised the decision to give self-importance over the rules laid down by society.

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[134] Cole and Crossley, 2009, Para 13

Unconsciously, even experts associate right-wrong with the way of living and criticise consumer culture for improving women decision- making capacity. On the other hand, male experts talked about how consumer culture has institutionalized the way of living for men. Milan has analysed it as such:

Indian society treats women as God, but this is not true, society is hypocritical, and at the same time they don't want female children and we see this connection with dowry. Now-a-days dowry comes up in new forms, because we don't see marriage in a simple way, we see people waste a lot of money in marriage. People think that the more money they spend on marriages the more happiness their daughter will get in her husband's home[135]. भारतीय समाज है बायका ना देव समजतात, पण है खरा नाही, समाज खूप ढोंगी आहे, त्याचा बरोबर त्यांना मुली नको असतात आणि आम्हला त्याचा संबन्ध हुंडे शी आहे. आता चा या काळात, हुंडा नि नवीन स्वरूप धारण केलं आहे, कारण आता आम्ही लग्न है सध्या पद्धतीने होणं बघत नाही आहोत. आम्ही बघतो कि खूप पैसे वाया घालवतात. लोकांना असं वाटत कि जास्त पैसे लग्ना वर खर्च केले तर त्यांचा मुली जास्त खुश राहतील नवऱ्या चा घरी.

From a male expert's perspective, consumer culture has given new forms to dowry. According to the new way of living, the dowry tradition is further institutionalised with consumer culture. A materialistic notion of relationship can be seen in these new forms of dowry such as various immovable-movable assets, indirectly asking for dowry such as 'give it (dowry) to your daughter'[136], 'that money is for your daughter's future'[137] or 'do as per your status[138]' are new ways of getting dowry.

In consumer culture, the relationships are materialistic, not only due to dowry but also due to the fact that women are used for gaining monetary resources especially, working women. Male experts, while discussing about how a husband welcomes a working woman as his wife, analysed how policy makers are happy due to increasing female labour-force participation in the country. But these experts also analysed how these remunerations earned by the female work force are distributed is a question of concern[139]. As Swanand stated: "You will have a

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[135] Milan,3,19-26
[136] BNICHIMO 120
[137] EIMIMO 106
[138] BNICHAMO 121
[139] EISUMO 90; EISWMAMO 91

husband and wife working together, both earning, (…), so due to the new economic policy, women are coming out and working but there is an emotional stress between husband and wife while, he is controlling her through her money. If they reject men's power then women become victims of violence" (Swanand, 16; 3-6. Original interview in English).

Thus, women are more prone to exploitation in a consumer market due to their gender ever than before. Beside this the women are more bound due to pressure to balance work-family life. Female experts discussed how males unconsciously internalised the way of living. The situation is more chaotic due to modernization, such as Anchala said:

I find that now men are confused, that they lack clarity about their future partner. Men want educated and modern women with whom men can go out and they want people to call them a modern couple. But at the same time, from a traditional perspective, women must fulfil all house responsibilities, husbands lack clarity about their role in traditional house chores, and even if they are clear men don't want to do it. Men don't want to take responsibility, and due to this the stress level on women has increased[140]. मला असं दिसत कि सध्या मुलांचा डोक्यात खूप गोंधळ आहे, त्यांना त्यांचा भविष्य मध्ये त्यांचा पार्टनर कसा हवा आहे त्या बद्दल एक क्लिअर विचार नाही आहे. मुलांना एक शिक्षित आणि आधुनिक स्त्री हवी असते जिचा बरोबर तोच बाहेर जाऊ शकेल आणि त्यांना हवं असता कि लोकांनी त्यांना एक आधुनिक जोडी म्हणून ओळखावे. पण त्याचा बरोबर, एक पारंपारिक दृष्टीकोन मध्ये त्यांना त्यांचा बायका नि त्या सगळ्या घरचा जवाबदाऱ्या पूर्ण कराव्यात.आणि नवऱ्यानं त्यांचा या पारंपरिक दृष्टीकोन मध्ये त्यांची भूमिका क्लिअर नाही आहेत आणि जरी त्यांना ते क्लिअर असलं तरी पुरुषा ना ते करायचा नसत. पुरुषांना ती जवाबदारी घेयायची नसते आणि याचा मुले बायका चा ताण वाढत आहे.

Men enter into a matrimonial alliance with old assumptions, but they expect new roles of sharing the cost of living. According to the researcher, increased female work participation is indeed an indication of freedom but the freedom is not in absolute terms, it is bounded by males controlling economic sources.

In this new form of living, due to increasing costs of living, females are expected to earn, to share the burden with their husband which has given new forms of the way of living. The next property discusses how women have to compromise to meet increasing cost of living.

1.1.2   Submitting insecurities

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[140] Anchala, 31, 12-22

The second property that emerged from the data is "submitting insecurities". This signifies an excessive burden on women to maintain employment stability and insecurities posed due to global competition, consumer culture and economic duress. The traditional way of living does not teach women to agitate additionally burden of saving marriage is entirely a woman's responsibility. Thus, in order to deal with relationship insecurities women, have to maintain their employment.

Many experts shared that women use their sexuality in order to maintain employment[141]. Due to visual media, the false body image and subjugating socialisation women present themselves as a commodity for their perceived advantage. Nima an expert working as a counsellor on a helpline, discussed in the interview "Since the beginning, parents have curbed their decision-making power and this limitation becomes a part of their personality resulting in women's submission, they don't react. So many times, I have seen women misuse, compromise, and unknowingly present themselves as a commodity". खूप सुरुवाती पासूनच पालकांनी त्यांचा पाल्य चा निर्णय घेण्याची क्षमता ला अंकुश लावला आहे आणि है आता बायका चा व्यक्तिमत्त्व मुळे बायका लवकर शरण जातात, ते प्रतिक्रिया देत नाही. म्हणून खूप वेळा मी बघितला आहे कि बायका गैरवापर करतात, तडजोड करतात किंवा नकळत स्वतःला वस्तू म्हणून प्रेसेंट करतात (Nima, 11; 6-14. Original expert interview in Marathi). It is non-viable to arrest the incidences of sexual favours offered by women for promotion. During BNI, a respondent working in the IT sector, Chandra, narrated an incidence where her female colleague got a promotion by offering sexual favours, though, she later added it as a rumour she heard, and she questioned the character and morality of the promoted girl. While analysing Chandra's narration, the researcher concluded it as her inability to accept the female colleague's competency as she said "She was wearing all that sexy dresses so of course the boss would promote her. She just got promoted without talent. In

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[141] EICHMO 109, EIARMO 112, EINIMO 111

front of the boss, she would show her skin"). ती सगळे सेक्सी कपडे घालते म्हणून आमचा बॉस ने तिला प्रोमोशन दिला. तिला प्रोमोशन मिळालं पण ते तिचा हुशारी मुळे नाही मिळालं. ती माझ्या बॉस समोर खूप मादक आणि शरीराचा भाग दाखवणारे कपडे घालते (Chandra. In first oral interview, 32:13). The respondent's assertive body language suggests her inability to accept competency or jealousy of her colleague. When the researcher discussed sexual favours given by women with an expert, Sudha, a senior female expert for more than three decades analysed it as such, "if it is happening, what's wrong with it. It is their way to deal with an exploitation" (Sudha, 6; 11-12. Original expert interview Marathi/English/Hindi). Internalisation of objectification due to socialization as discussed earlier has shaped a new reality in the form of sexual harassment at the workplace or offering sexual favours.

According to the researcher, sexual favour given by women are judge with moral and immoral value but ignore the fact that vulnerable women either agitate against demand or can submit to it. Agitating is not a considerable option due to cultural and financial constraint, thus, submitting to insecurities are new forms of violence modern educated women are facing in India. In the old "way of living" society treats marginalised castes/classes as available, objectification of women takes place due to their caste and class identity, whereas in the new "way of living" due to changing economic opportunities not only marginalised castes/classes but also upper caste/class women are objectified. More and more women from all castes and classes come out in public with educational degrees and society treats them sexually available as they are now in public eye, prone to sexual harassment. Women from the upper castes/classes with degrees are prone to sexual harassment due to the fact that scanty employment opportunities are available, thus first to get a job and then to maintain the job, educated women tolerate sexual harassment at the workplace (Bhat and Deshpande 2017). Chayya, an activist working for the development of marginalised caste women in Maharashtra

analysed that, due to globalisation and new economic policy more and more marginalised castes are entering into an unorganised sector. The peculiarities of an unorganised economic sector are low job security, lack of legal protection provided to employees and more vulnerability. Chayya compared marginalised castes with upper castes and their insecurities as, she stated: "Other than Dalit and tribal women who are working in corporate sectors are also insecure. Dalit and tribal women are more prone to rape and any kind of sexual harassment and all kinds of violence but now we have observed that other women (educated) are also prone to these kinds of violence" दलित आणि आदिवासी महिला जे कॉर्पोरेट क्षेत्रा मध्ये काम करतात ते पण असुरक्षित आहे. दलित आणि आदिवासी बायका यांना जास्त धोका असतो बलात्कार किंवा लैंगिक अत्याचार चा आणि सगळ्या प्रकारचा हिंसे चा पण आम्ही असं निरीक्षण केला आहे कि दुसऱ्या बायका म्हणजे शिक्षित बायका पण या सगळ्या प्रकारचा हिंसे चा धोका आहे. (Chayya, 6;18-31. Original expert interview in Marathi).

In the new "way of living", irrespective of whether upper or lower caste/class, women are prone to sexual harassment at the workplace but with the lower castes, economically deprived classes live with insecurities given by the neo-liberal economy. A poverty trap and old caste culture together force them into trafficking, sex trade and sexual exploitation in society (Rai 2016; Ashalatha 2013).

So far, Indian women deal with public and private violence, but in the new "way of living", virtual violence has become reality which has cut across geographical boundaries. In public and private violence, a perpetrator is limited to a certain spatial space, unlike in the virtual world, where violence happens across boundaries by known or unknown perpetrators. The next property demonstrates violence happening in the virtual world in the form of "supporting technology" as the new "way of living".

1.1.3   Supporting Technology

The property for the BSP "changing" that emerged from the data is "supporting technology" signifies complex forms of the way of living due to technology. Cultural values shape the meaning of science and technology inventions. According to the researcher, technology has shrunken the world. People, most of the time, connects to the people from similar class. People cherished their in-group solidarity and thus confirm to their class identity. Thus, the researcher perceived technology supports fragmentation of society by supporting ethnocentric values. Technology also brings caste solidarity and re-establishes caste values among masses.

A human rights activist shared her view that now-a-days it is possible to exert mental violence through technology which is subtle and difficult to demonstrate[142]. She further added: "I send an email, a text, and this can trigger an incident of violence. So physical presence is not necessary to exert violence. Complexity has changed now, but in the court, this has become difficult to prove as Indian law has not changed the act of evidence. All technology has changed, people are using it to abuse someone" मी एक ई-मेल, टेक्स्ट जरी पाठवला तरी हि गोष्ट हिंसेला सुरु करु शकते. शारीरिक उपस्थिती गरजेची नसते हिंसे साठी. सगळं खूप जटिल झाला आहे,पण कोर्ट मध्ये खूप अवघड झाला आहे कारण भारतीय कायदा मध्ये बदल नाही झाला. आम्हाला खूप अवघड जातं सिद्ध करणं कारण पुरवा चा कायदा हा बदलेला नाही. तंत्रज्ञान मध्ये खूप बदल झाला आहे आणि लोक त्यांचा उपयोग दुस-याशी गैरवर्तन करण्यात करतात (Kshama, 23; 24-28. Original interview excerpt in Marathi).

The invention of technology is a boon for society, as it has helped every section of society to be empowered especially for women (Halder and Jaishankar 2009). It has given women a powerful platform to express their experience to the masses. Additionally, it has

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[142] EIKSMO 114

broadened women's understanding of violence especially sexual harassment and obscenity. Stalking or bullying and sending obscene messages are new forms of living for Indian women (Halder and Jaishankar 2016). But these are not the only forms of violence. Due to technology, cases of (mis)-using technology to take advantage of a woman's vulnerability are increasing. Multimedia message (MMS) of a sexual act is being used to blackmail girls or to sell such videos in the black market (Halder and Jaishankar 2016,2014b, 2013). Everyday such news has become a new way of living for Indian masses. Suchit, working in the field of women and health, shared an incident with the researcher: "A boy wooing a girl, taking her to a hotel and getting physically intimate with her, and the boy recorded this entire thing on a mobile and sold this clip as a blue film or to black- mail the girl. User-friendly technology is now used to abuse girls, especially sexually. Abusing girls through an MMS or phone call is increasing" एक मुलगा मुलीला पटवत असतो, तिला हॉटेल मध्ये नेणं, तिचा बरोबर शारीरिक संबंध बनवणं आणि मुलं है सगळं त्यांचा मोबाईल मध्ये रेकॉर्ड करतात आणि या क्लिप्स विकतात ब्लू फिल्म म्हणून किंवा त्यांना ब्लॅक मेल करायला. वापरायला सोपी असल्या मुळे आता है तंत्रज्ञान मुलींचा गैरवापर करण्या साठी विशेषतः लैंगिक. मुलींचा गैरवापर करणे एका MMS किंवा एक फोन कॉल द्वारा वाढत आहे. (Suchit, 16; 1-13. Original expert interview in Marathi). As discussed before, a property of the "way of living", "treating dirty" has shown that cultural positions on sexuality, sexual purity as a gateway to family honour have shaped this new form of violence. Thus, Indian women find it traumatising and anguishing to report violence to the authorities (Halder and Jaishankar 2016).

Many experts elaborated different connections between technology and sexual violence. For instance, an expert working against child sexual abuse discussed in detail how science and technology proved to be a curse in the Indian scenario. As aforementioned, in the property "treating dirty" the researcher discussed how Indian society treats sexual organs as dirty and there is a cultural silence around sexuality in India; due to a culture of silence around sexuality

the young population satisfies their curiosity through adult entertainment, an easy access to adult entertainment and considering a sexual act shown in the entertainment as the way of living. These sexual acts support sexual abuse and objectification of women[143].

With time, age of marriage for women and men has increased, a conservative outlook on sexuality, a patriarchal way of living and user- friendly adult entertainment, as well as social networking sites have paved the way for some of the complex forms of violence such as an increased use of pornography by adults, their desire to imitate fictitious sexual acts in reality on their sexual partners even without their consent are new ways of living[144].

A man in order to subjugate women, now uses applications such as WhatsApp, social media and other social networking applications. Checking his wife's e-mails, stalking a female on Facebook are new forms of control. Aradhana, a family counsellor, analysed her experience working with the young generation and on how subjugation values are changing[145]. Anchala shared similar experiences with young couples. Anachala shared an incident in her interview about how a husband speaks lovingly to gain his wife's trust and exerts control over her through technology: "After marriage a husband permits his wife to check his Facebook and a husband expects a wife to do the same. A husband not only ask for a Facebook password but ATM cards and passwords as well. They used the monitored data to keep a check on them". लग्ना नंतर नवरा बायको ला परवानगी देतो त्याचा फेसबुक चेक करायला आणि नवरा पण तसंचा आपल्या बायको कडून अपेक्षा करतो कि तिने तासाचा करावा. नवरा तिला फक्त फेसबुक चा पासवर्ड चा नाही मागत पण ATM कार्ड चे पासवर्ड पण मागतो. ते पासवर्डस त्यांना त्यांचा डेटा मॉनिटर करण्या साठी वापरायचा असतो (Anchala, 41; 5-20. Original expert interview in Marathi). The old way of living of controlling women is now

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[143] EIBHMO 97
[144] EIVISMO 96, EIVIMMO 121
[145] EIARMO 115

a synonym for controlling her communication with different (male) friends or to keep check on her fidelity due to increasing exposure to public life.

In India, women are considered as a burden, the researcher discussed a male preference given in Indian society. Along with this male preference the Indian government adopted a two-child policy; these together have paved the way for sex-selective abortions in the country. Sex-selective abortion with the help of technology is a new way of living increasing among the higher-educated classes in India (Nagpal 2013). The discovery of Amniocentesis, a medical procedure used for prenatal diagnosis for chromosomal abnormalities and foetal infections[146] is used for determining the sex of a child in India. Which is the cause of a skewed-sex ratio in the country.

Fundamentalist people now use technology to spread religious messages[147]. Muslim religious groups in India have allowed new forms of oral divorce. In which now a husband can divorce his wife just by mentioning the word talaq (I divorce you) three times through an email or SMS. Violence through technology is the new way of living among the Muslim community as well. Salim, an expert working for Muslim women, discussed the nature of oral divorce in contemporary Muslim society: "now a husband can use oral divorce with the help of technology. He can send an SMS or an email. This is valid and allowed now" आता नवरे ओरल डिव्होर्स है तंत्रज्ञान चा मदती ने होऊ शकतो. तोच आता एका SMs अथवा एका ई-मेल ने होऊ शकतो. आता है कायदा ने ग्राह्य आहे (Salim, 5;27-28. Original expert interview in Marathi).

The evolution of technology certainly has given us exposure to the world around us. But societies have given shape to these technologies in accordance with their cultural and religious values. This convenient ideology is an outcome of cultural goals set for women.

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[146] For more information, please refer to, http://www.merrionfetalhealth.ie/what-is-amniocentesis/. Accessed on 5th June, 2018
[147] EISAMO 119 , EIIMMO 94

1.1.4   Interpreting knowledge

The next property that emerged from the data is "interpreting knowledge". Which signifies knowledge perceived by the masses within a framework of the way of living. The property "interpreting knowledge" is a result of an impact of formal education and visual media. Knowledge generated by media and education is perceived by the masses to support their traditional set-up for women and the inferior status of women in society. Interpreting knowledge is a scientific argument given by society to establish a rational argument for women's subjugation. In the Indian way of living the values of right and wrong are pre-established and compartmentalised by masses. Children are socialised to be ethnocentric on the basis of tight compartments of right and wrong, where people with out- of the-box thoughts are often subject to criticism and bullying.

Today, in contemporary society educated and learned people consciously or unconsciously use these values to judge the subjugating way of living. An expert working for health and women, Suchit, who was involved in a sting operation against a radiologist performing Amniocentesis (in India it is illegal to use the medical procedure for sex selective abortions) to determine the sex of a foetus shared the sting operation incident with the researcher, he stated: "When you asked these doctors about sex-selective abortions the doctors shamelessly answered that they are doing social work. The argument they give is, if a girl is born then her life is so difficult, she has to tolerate so many things, so instead of all difficulties and toleration, the doctors kill the female foetus". तुम्ही जेव्हा या डॉक्टर ना विचारता लैंगिक निवडक गर्भपात बाबत तर है डॉक्टर निर्लज्जपने उत्तर देतात कि ते एक प्रकारच सामाजिक कार्य करत आहे. तोच जे युक्तिवाद मांडतात तो असा आहे कि जर मुलगी जन्मला अली तर टिकाऊ आयुष्य किती अवघड आहे, तिला किती सहन करावा लागत. म्हणून या सगळ्या अडचणी आणि सहनकरना पेक्षा डॉकटर्स गर्भ मारून टाकतात (Suchit, 12; 47-49 & 13; 1-5. Original expert interview in Marathi)

To re–establish the position educated classes manipulate their abusive actions. For instance, the legal knowledge of dowry tradition proved to be fatal, as people have started using other forms to extract dowry. A BNI respondent, Chitra, got married in an arranged marriage. She shared her experience of dowry harassment after marriage as such "My in-laws had an expectation of dowry; they didn't ask for the dowry at the time of marriage they said, "whatever suits you". The demand for dowry was not direct, after marriage my in-laws started gossiping about me to their relatives, that they have brought me home for free, without any dowry. My father in-law once told me to ask my mother for gold equivalent to some lakh rupees". माझे सासू सासरे माझ्या कडून हुंड्याची अपेक्षा करत होते. त्यांनी लग्न चा वेळीस हुंड्या ची मागणी नाही केली त्या फक्त एवढेच बोलल्या कि जे तुम्हाला पटेल ते करा. त्यांची अशी प्रत्यक्ष हुंड्या ची मागणी केली चा नव्हती. माझ्या लग्न नंतर माझ्या सासऱ्या कडचे माझ्या बद्दल त्यांचा नातेवाईक शी बोलायला लागले कि त्यांनी मला घरी फुकटात आणला आहे. माझ्या सासऱ्या नि एकदा मला सांगितलं कि माझ्या आई ला सांगायला कि मला किती तर लाखा चा सोनं आणायला (Chitra, second interview in Marathi, 6.32). Also, an expert working as a family counsellor, Madhumati, shared a similar incident of an indirect dowry demand by in-laws[148].

Many experts talked about an ambiguous situation due to knowledge gained from adult entertainment and other visual media on sexuality. This leads to ambiguous knowledge regarding sexuality. Suchit, a health activist, who conducts sexual education workshops in schools, shared his experience. Suchit gave an example of the false concept, he cited

"While conducting sexual education workshops I came across some parents who talked to us regarding menstruation, how menstruation blood is impure and carry some small bacteria. Those who are well educated middle class, they read something like this somewhere that isolation during mensuration is a sign of illiteracy. So, they do not ask their daughters to stay in isolation, but they ask them not to touch their God or are not allowed to perform any rituals. They are somewhat confused about everything. And now-a-days it is in fashion to give a

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[148] EIMADMO 103

'scientific reason' for everything, whether it is true or not[149]". लैंगिक शिक्षण चे जेव्हा आम्ही कार्यशाळा घेतो आम्ही त्या दरम्यान कित्येक पालका बरोबर संवाद केला मासिकपाली बद्दल कि मासिकपाळी मध्ये येणारे रक्त है अपवित्र असता का आणि छोटे विषाणू असतात का. जे खूप शिक्षित मध्यम वर्गीय असतात, है असा काही तरी कुठे तरी वाचतात कि ते मासिकपाळी दरम्यान वेगळा बसवणं है अशिक्षित पण चा लक्षण आहे. म्हणून ते त्यांना वेगळं नाही बसवत तर ते त्यांना सांगतात कि देवा ला हाथ नाही लावायचा किंवा पूजा नाही करायची. ते या सगळ्याचा बाबतीत थोडेसे गोंधळले असता. आणि आज-काल है फॅशन मध्ये आहे कि सगळ्या ला एक वैज्ञानिक कारण ध्यायचा ते खरा असो किंवा नसो.

The quotation is further illustrated by Saraswati, another BNI respondent. When asked about her views on gender division of the roles in society, she gave a scientific reason for gender division. She explained that those women who do house chores and those men who perform physical exercise burn calories faster. Thus, she approved Indian gender division of roles as ideal and scientific[150]. Saraswati, who was born in a conservative Hindu family and acquired basic education from a school patronised by a conservative political organisation, has constructed traditional values as rational which she carries forward, in spite of doing a master's degree in German.

The researcher analysed the traditional values re-established by the experts who follow the customizing way approach. Such as Malati, who, while talking about gender equality as a myth, discussed: "They have different capacity. Physical power is more in men, whereas women are mentally stronger than men. Men and women have to decide how to use their respective power. The power of reproduction is with women which is not with men. My point is that gender equality is improper. They can never be equal". त्यांचा कडे भिन्न क्षमता असते. शारीरिक शक्ती हि पुरुष मध्ये जास्त असते, बायका या मानसिकता जास्त स्ट्राँग असते. पुरुष आणि बायका नि नक्की करायचा कि त्यांचा शक्ती चा कसा उपयोग करायचा. बाई कडे जी पुनरुत्पादनची क्षमता आहे ती पुरुष कडे नाही आहे. मजा मुद्दा हा आहे कि लिंग असमानता है अयोग्य आहे. ते कधी सामान नाही होऊ शकत. (Malati,

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[149] Suchit, 22; 1-8.
[150] BNISAMO 123

6; 13-19. Original expert interview in Marathi). "Way of living" and "interfering" together give various contradictory stand points on gender equality. Yet, women who are raised to believe Hindu values as right and moral tend to rationalize and perceive reality on the basis of these values. This also holds true with the Muslim community as well.

In the Muslim community men have interpreted knowledge to establish their privileged position. Salim, an expert, narrated an incident of interpreting knowledge in the interview:

There is a case. Which we recently handled, about a girl from Pune. She married into an affluent family, a well settled family. She got pregnant and gave birth to a child, the child was a mentally challenged child. The husband got to know about the child, and he sent a divorce notice to the wife and the reason for divorce was that the girl had hidden some facts before marriage. The facts which the husband was referring to were calcium deficiency, low Haemoglobin and low immune capacity--these were the reasons for divorce[151]. आम्ही नुकतीच हाताळलेली एक केस आहे जिथे एक पुण्याची मुलगी आहे. ती खूप संपन्न घरात दिली आहे, खूप चांगली स्थाईक झालेले लोक आहेत. ती मुलगी गरोदर राहिली आणि एका मतिमंद मुलाला जन्म दिला. नवऱ्याला तिचा मुलं बद्दल कळलं तेव्हा त्यांनी तिला घटस्फोट ची नोटीस पाठवली आणि जी कारण दिली आहेत ती म्हणजे त्या मुलींनी लग्नाचा आधी काही गोष्ट लपवून ठेवल्या होत्या. त्यांचा मते ह्या गोष्टी म्हणजे तिला कॅलशीइम ची कमतरता असणे, कमी प्रतिकार शक्ती असणे आणि कमी हिमोग्लोबिन असणे या आहेत

Thus, in a pool of knowledge, people are well informed, but information is not used to empower women. But rather to re-establish subjugation not only by men but women also. Dealing with ambiguity between information and education demonstrates the next property of the new way of living.

1.1.5   Dealing with Ambiguity

The next property that emerged from the data is "dealing with ambiguity" which signifies anomie in contemporary Indian society. A tussle between the modern individual and the traditional pattern of behaviour. The tussle can be prominently seen in the socialization of children. Female children are nurtured at their parents' home as an equal, in a free environment in urban city like Pune but after marriage they are supposed to submit all their freedom to the marriage institution. Muslim experts and Hindu experts talked about the socialisation process

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[151] Salim 33 - 34

and knowledge pools leading to an ambiguity[152]. In present Indian society the term gender equality has an ambiguous meaning which signifies making women conscious of outside inequality but at the same time giving her equality at home. For instance, Anchala explains the concept of freedom in the family as such: "Gender relations with-in the house have changed. At home gender relations are equal but outside the home, when a girl goes out parents make her conscious that she is a girl and needs to come home on time in the evening" लिंग संबंध घरा मध्ये बदलेल्या आहेत. घरा मध्ये लिंग संबंध है बरोबर चे असतात पण घरा बाहेर जेव्हा एक मुलगी घरा बाहेर जाते तेव्हा तिचे पालक तिला जाणीव करून देतात कि ती एक मुलगी आहे आणि तिने वेळे वर संध्याकाळी घरी यायला पाहिजे (Anchala, 33; 20-25. Original expert interview in Marathi). A respondent of the BNI, Yukti, who is pursuing a postgraduate degree in German in India while her brother is in the US for higher studies discussed her modern socialization and her modern parents in her interview. She said that she was raised as equal to her brother. She said her parents are open and allowed her to wear western dresses, but they also taught her how to be an ideal house-wife as well as respect and looking after elders, cooking and respecting her husband[153].

Due to the cumulative impact of media and education women have become empowered but the ambiguity prevails when self-actualisation and society's expectations are different. This may result in losing one's identity. According to the researcher, the reason for an ambiguous way of living as a work-family conflict on one side and a family self-fulfilment conflict on the other side. Various experts[154] analysed how increased female education in the past one decade has changed women's ambition, the ambition to have a successful career and these conflicts with expected family roles lead to an ambiguous role and conflict as another form of violence. Previous literature reviews on work-family conflict (Reddy et.al 2010; Boles and Babin 1996;

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[152] EIANMO 95, EISAMO 123, EIVIJMO 100
[153] BNIYUMO 122
[154] EIMIMO 106, EISUMO 91,EIANMO 95, EIARMO 112

Hays 1994), or family-work conflict (Reddy et al. 2010; Greenhaus 1985), where either family role conflicts have negative impact on working or where job situations are not compatible with family situations leading to role-strain among women. But the researcher perceived that, this literature hardly focuses on the rationale for women's getting jobs, their ambition and expected family roles. Such as, a BNI respondent, Chandra, shared: She has a dream to achieve a good position at her workplace but if, after marriage or childbirth, her husband does not agree with her pursuing career, she has to sacrifice her work. But on the other hand, another BNI respondent, Saraswati, shared that she wanted to pursue her career and made it clear to her husband that he must accept her with her career ambitions. These contradictory findings are further illustrated by various experts who worked with the young population such as Vishumati, Radha, Milan, Anchala and Swanand. They view young Indian women as ambitious to pursue their career goals with increasing education and ambition as a cause of breaking the family institution in India. Thus, the researcher views, on the one hand, women's ambition has increased due to education and economic opportunity and, on the other hand, there are society's expectations which have given rise to complex situations as family-work-self conflicts. Wentling (2003) assessed as a twofold problem for working women, the Hindu social structure remaining the same for working women, which gives rise to role conflict. The Hindu structure has remained the same as it is perceived the same by women and men of the community. But Wentling ignored the impact of knowledge on working women, the researcher noted that women and men perceived the structure with new knowledge, they faced ambiguity and identity crises.

Milan further gave various case studies about educated women compromising their dreams for the sake of their gender roles and to show that Indian men have a low acceptance for empowered women. In contemporary Indian situations girls have accepted modern traits but with a traditional framework. Such as, for instances, now youth accept premarital sexual

relationships but with a traditional framework. An expert working with youth on sexual education and pre-marital sexual education, Vishumati, discussed that now pre-marital sex is not taboo[155] in modern society. Further, she analysed how this modern way of living has given shape to old forms of living, she said: "Boys and girls are sexually involved in a relationship and, should it be the case that they do not get married then women take it as an offence. They interpret it as fraud, or they interpret as being used sexually". मुलं आणि मुली लैंगिक संबंध ठेवतात आणि आणि असा आहे कि जेव्हा त्यांचा लग्न नाही होऊ शकत तेव्हा बायका त्याला गुन्हा मानतात. ते त्याचा अर्थ त्यांची फसवणूक झाली आहे किंवा त्यांचा लैंगिक उपयोग करण्यात आला आहे असा लावतात (Vishumati, 15; 11-19. Original expert interview in Marathi).

Though none of the BNI respondents in their interview reported incidents of pre-marital sex. The rationale behind this is that Indian women tend to under--report their experiences, as they possess more conservative outlook towards pre-marital sex than their male counterpart (Hindin and Hindin 2009). But pre-marital sex is acceptable as the new form of living due to modernization and urbanization. Educated, working women accept pre-marital sex to check their compatibility which is an individualistic modern phenomenon but at the same time, modern women view marriage as a family affair. As stated by Bhandari (2017) who investigated middle class youth in the metro city New-Delhi - which attracts migrants, both men and women from all states and regions like Pune city, stated: "the young middle class certainly explore and experience various forms of romantic relationship, yet they continue to construct and present their selves along the norms and rules of marriageability, reiterating the importance of marriage in their social and cultural worlds" (Para 41). Thus, for modern women, marriage is still constructed from social and cultural norms, which has shaped new forms of living. As Vishumati analysed, Indian women consider pre-marital sex to check the

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[155] EIVISMO 96

compatibility before marriage but in case of a non-commencement of marriage by their male sexual partner, women consider it cheating.

To illustrate the new way of living, a verdict passed by a session court judge in New Delhi is analysed. In Delhi session court 2014, an educated woman accused her sexual partner of rape after he failed to fulfil the promise of marriage with her. The court acquitted the male counterpart but blamed the girl for pre-marital sex as the act is immoral and against religion[156]. Media and researchers across the world paid attention to the judiciary for being patriarchal but almost no attention to the fact that the educated woman perceived the entire episode and how modern women judge their relationship from old social and cultural norms shaping the new form of living.

On the one hand, experts analysed women not accepting a break-up in sexual relationships due to guilt and on the other hand, women tolerate violence in sexual relationships to save the relationship. In old way of living women had to shoulder the burden to save their marriage and in the new way of living women have the burden of saving their sexual relationship. The reason for tolerance is fear of society; still society judges a woman's character from traditional framework. Virginity is still an important measurement to judge a woman's character. Anchala, an expert working as a researcher and counsellor discussed why women tolerating violence in a relationship is a new way of living. Women accept living in relationship as a modern factor but at the same time guilt about physical intimacy before marriage makes women tolerate violence in sexual relationships. Anchala in the interview stated: "In the institution of marriage a woman's character is more important than men. The framework to judge a woman's character is still traditional. So, after premarital sex women don't want to break up the relationship, they don't want to initiate for the breakup, so they prefer to stay in

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[156] For more information, please refer to http://www.thejournal.ie/india-rape-pre-marital-sex-1250832-Jan2014/. https://www.dawn.com/news/1078645. Accessed 21 February, 2018.

relationship" लग्न संस्था मध्ये बाई चा चारित्र्याला जास्त महत्व आहे पुरुष पेक्षा. बाई चा चारित्र्य पारखण्याची चौकट अजून पण पारंपरिक आहे. म्हणून लग्न पूर्व शारिरिक संबंध असणाऱ्या बायकाना संबध तोड्याचा नसतो, त्यांचा कडून ते तोड्याचा नसतं. म्हणून ते त्या सबंध मध्ये राहण्याला प्राधान्य देतात (Anchala, 30; 5-9. Original expert interview in Marathi).

As an insider, the researcher observed and experienced excessive importance given to the virginity of a girl, especially those that date online or who meet through a Marriage Bureau face this question often.

The present- day Indian scenario is that society accepts modernity but only in terms of outer appearances; now men set a traditional framework to frame modernity and have a different--modern--way to control women. Swanand, a male expert working with males on women's issues experienced different modern forms of control, such as controlling a wife' or girlfriend's or daughter's clothes. He analysed men's behaviour as such: "For instances, the forms of control have certainly changed, I do a lot of workshops with different classes and different age groups. Now young women or a learned educated woman would report, "now he does not beat me, but he scans through an inbox of a mobile phone". (Swanand, 17; 6-7. Original excerpt in English) Forms of control have changed but things have remained the same, control is still there.

Earlier the researcher mentioned modernity but with a traditional mind set, the definition of a modern woman in a normative Indian sense is in her outer appearance and her reasoning capacity to conform to the traditional way of living[157]. For the purposes of marriage, boys prefer girls who are modern in a traditional framework. Swanand further shared his observation about the ambiguous way of living in form of recent trends in marriage patterns in India. Boys prefer girls who have a modern outlook, but they value a traditional pattern of

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[157] All 28 experts defined modernity as girl who is educated, speaking English language and wearing western dresses. EIMO: Field note on expert interviews

marriage[158]. Even several female experts noticed this trend among modern women. Girls are raised in a modern environment, but they expect men as a protector or men to fulfil all roles as their fathers did[159]. The trend is also analysed from BNI respondents such as Yukti and Chandra or Saraswati. Here respondents seek masculine or macho men as an ideal husband. The assumptions of Indian men-women regarding ideal husbands-wives have not changed in recent times despite of structural changes in society.

The ambiguity is also seen among Muslim women due to the impact of education and due to the influence of the majority population on minorities. An expert working for Muslim minorities, Imran, discussed an ambiguity as such women have progressed and men have not changed, they are still traditional and cherished their patriarchy[160].

Similarly, educated Muslim women face this ambiguity, after marriage educated women find it difficult to follow religious norms and the conservative atmosphere of their parents-in-law's house. Salim, an expert working for Muslim women empowerment discussed: "In many places educated women are tolerating more violence in marriages, parents don't accept them or sometimes a girl is raised in a liberal way, her parents gave her a good education. Parents sometimes arrange marriages of their daughters with a person who has a religious family background" खूप ठिकाणी शिक्षित महिला घरघुती हिंसे ला बळी पडतात, पालक त्यांचा स्वीकार करत नाही किंवा खूपदा मुली लिबरल पद्धती ने वाढवल्या आहेत पण त्यांचा पालकांनी त्यांचा लग्न पारंपरिक पद्धती चा पुरुष बरोबर लावून दिलं आहे (Salim, 26; 4-14. Original expert interview in Marathi).

The ambiguity in public life faced by marginalized sections (SC/ST) is discussed by experts working for women who comes from these marginalized sections. Here marginalized section women are not only victimised due to their caste and gender at the work- place. They

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[158] EISWAMO 92
[159] EIVISMO 96, EIARMO 112, EIANMO 95, EISUMO 113, EIMALMO 104
[160] Salim, 26, 4-14

are often treated as less capable compared to their other counterparts sharing the same education[161]. Due to the reservation system in India, more and more women from marginalised sections of society being educated though the number is far less than compared to higher caste/class groups, but these women have experienced considerably more exploitation and insecurities at their work- place than other women (Dubey 2016).

Honour killing is new forms of violence marginalized women are facing today in modern India. Vibha, an activist working for marginalized group rights, discussed new forms of living for marginalized castes/classes in the form of honour killings. As discussed earlier, marriage alliance between a lower caste boy and upper caste girl was not allowed in ancient India, thus Vibha talked about the ambiguous values of contemporary India as such: "When marginalised sections achieve upward mobility, society does not accept equal positions for marginalised sections. Due to the effect of media and openness, girls and boys are more in contact with each other and they get attracted to each other. We see incidents of honour killing increasing". जेव्हा उपेक्षित समूह उच्चस्थर पोचते तेव्हा समाज त्यांना समानतेन बघत नाही. माध्यम आणि मोकळेपणा मुळे, मुलं आणि मुली जास्त एकमेकांचा सहवासात असतात आणि ते एकमेकां कडे आकर्षित होतात. म्हणून आम्ही होनोर किललिंग चे प्रकार वाढताना बघत आहोत (Vibha 6, 10-23. Original expert interview in Marathi).

During the main study field work in 2014, Pune witnessed such an incident[162]. The incident triggered much protest throughout the state and almost all experts during their interview discussed honour killings as the new way of living and its periodic occurrence across the nation. The Indian government with its affirmative policies, globalization and modernization in the country has given an opportunity for lower castes for upward mobility.

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[161] EISWFMO 93
[162] For more information, please refer to;
http://punemirror.indiatimes.com/pune/crime//articleshow/34388980.cms. Accessed on 22 February, 2018.

Lower caste/class assertion has started posing a challenge to the age-old Indian caste stratification and supremacy of upper caste/class people in society. Thus, upper castes/classes, to maintain endogamy and honour of a family which is prerogative for a girl of the family, kill either the girl, boy or couple. An honour killing is not only done to institutionalise pureness of caste but also religion and race. Though inter-caste marriages are increasing due to technological development and globalization in India (Vishwanath and Palakonda 2011) but still marriages in India are family affairs, where families prefer an equal caste/class status for their offspring, inter-caste marriages are not absent but are considerably less in society.

The BSP of the substantive grounded theory, which demonstrates the consequences of the "interfering" and "approaching" give rise to the victimization of the educated Indian women. The next chapter discusses integration of core-category, sub-core category, two related categories and changing the way of living to form the substantive grounded theory "The Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India"

Chapter Seven: Integration of Categories and Discussion of the Grounded Theory

Section I: Integration of Categories

The core- category "way of living" central to the theory is a cause of women's inferior status and Indian people's way of living as natural and normal. NGO experts work to empower women based on "way of living"; thus "way of living" and NGO experts' methods impact one another. On other hand, "interfering" factors, such as media, formal education and religious preachers find their source from the "way of living" and in turn information flow through these mediums impact the way of living. In the second phase, two different external factors impact way of living. The third section, consequences and BSP explains the impact of "approaching" and "interfering" on the "way of living" is "changing way of living" or new form of living. The new forms of living replace the old "way of living" indicating cyclical process of the "way of living".

The processing of the data into codes and memos and integration of codes and memos resulted into a substantive theory of victimizing educated Indian women. According to Glaser (1978) the CGT process "generates theory that fits the real world, works in predictions and explanations, is relevant to the people concerned and is readily modifiable" (142). The substantive theory of victimizing women emerged from the real-life experiences shared by NGO experts who are striving for women empowerment. The BSP of "changing the way of living" has two stages which are "approaching" and "interfering", the BSP explains the consequence and shows that changes in the way of living lead to victimization of women. The "changing way of living" is easily modifiable with new social facts. In the current study, the BSP was modifiable based on the educated women's daily experiences, experiences a woman faces in her pre-marriage, married and post-marriage life. The properties of the BSP "changing

way of living" such as Bounded freedom, submitting insecurities, supporting technology, interpreting knowledge, and dealing ambiguity illustrate modern forms of violence on women.

The figure 3 explains the substantive theory of victimization of educated Indian women. The figure explains "approaching" and "interfering" and "way of living" impact one another. Indian mass accepts "way of living" irrefutably. The "way of living" is considered as natural and inevitable. The subjugating "way of living" brings vulnerability to Indian women. The related categories "approaching", "interfering" and "way of living" together bring "changing the way of living" which is interpreted by experts as "Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India". The "changing way of living" replaces old way of living indicating cyclical process of subjugation of women in the country.
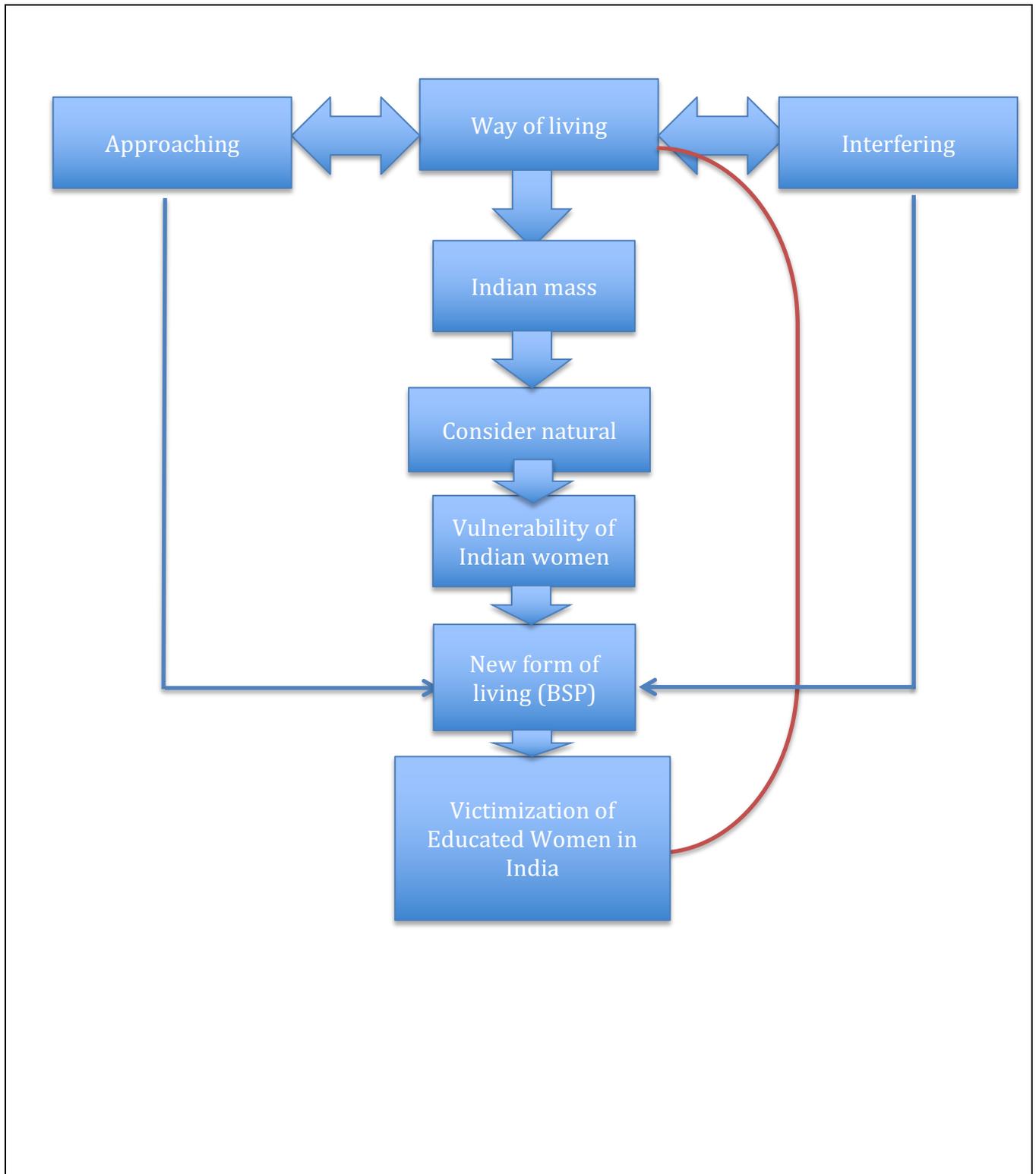
Figure 3: The Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India.

1.1 The Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India

As discussed earlier in the introduction section, the empowerment process of a woman is closely related to how effectively a woman agitate against social norms and customs (Mokta 2014), thus in relation to this mark indication of women empowerment, the experts answered whether an Indian educated woman is empowered. Data collected from EI and BNI are coded into various categories and properties to formulate theory on the status of educated women and direction of empowerment in contemporary India.

The emerged grounded theory, "Victimization of Educated Women in India", explains two factors. Firstly, how experts perceived that patriarchy has become stronger than ever for Indian educated women underlying the factor that the more empowered they are, the more oppressed they are. Secondly, victimization and empowerment go hand in hand in contemporary Indian society making empowerment a complex process which needs an in-depth investigation. The theory starts from the core category "way of living" which explains basic assumptions that Indian society holds in order to carry on a peaceful coexistence. The researcher analysed from BNI data, that "way of living" is presumed reality that most of Indian people take for granted without critically analysing it including experts working for women empowerment.

Society ensures the institutionalization of the way of living by arranging rewards around the confirmative action by people, hence society treats the way of living as natural and normal. Thus, considering the way of living as natural and normal is a sub core-category of the core category "way of living".

Four properties of "considering natural" one of which is "treating available" which denotes objectification and commodification of women, secondly "counting burden" which explains that a girl being born is not welcome due to the dowry tradition and other cultural factors. Thirdly, 'treating dirty', women as a gateway of family honour are strictly under

control by controlling their sexuality. Lastly, 'regarding god', Indian women are socialized to treat their father, brother and husband as supreme and themselves as inferior. These four assumptions make the way of living a central theme for the substantive theory. Being an insider, the researcher analysed that these four properties are the foundation of public and private interaction and judge right-wrong dynamics. The core-category, sub-core category and the properties of their respective categories are responsible for society's collective conscience, institutionalization of norms and formation of new norms. Formation of new norms are responsible for how society judge new information from the framework of old information. Thus, to change the framework of perception the experts work on the way of living which is the next related category of the emerged substantive theory.

The first related category is "approaching" which has explained methods followed by NGO experts to make women conscious of the assumptions they are socialized into. These experts work not only to make masses conscious of various presumed realities but also their socialization of considering it as natural. The first property of the "approaching" category, "passing empowerment" is to give situational help according to women's decisions whether they strive for reconciliation or separation with regard to their relationship. In "passing empowerment" the women's decision-making capacity is given more importance, experts working on this method work on the problem but not on women's vulnerability. On the other hand, through the reaching roots methods experts make women conscious of the "way of living". Hence experts work with men and women on the roots of women's vulnerabilities. "Reaching roots" is a property where experts empower women against social customs and norms of society but there are other experts in society who follow and uphold women's subjugated position. The next property discussed the method followed by experts who are antagonistic towards "reaching roots" values, they are propagating against it by upholding

women's position in the family. Though they favour gender equality they value women in the conventional role of mother, wife or daughter.

The overall analysis of experts' methods posed that two antagonistic sides of information are available with masses to form a right and wrong perspective. The researcher analysed that the field of women empowerment is dominated by female experts due to the fact that the soft skills required for counselling and empowering women are inherited naturally for women. Female experts are working with women and very few male experts are working on male on gender-based violence. Thus, there is an uneven diffusion of knowledge on empowerment which brings a huge gap of reasoning and perceiving capacities of men and women. Along with this, the researcher perceived different information diffused by these specialists and impacts on the way of living, shaping new form of living in society, which is discussed in the BSP of the theory. Not only the personal ideology of experts' produces ambiguous information, but various social institutions produce ambiguous information to fulfil their intended aims and objectives, which is explained in the second related category.

The second related category "interfering" is not only a source of knowledge which impacts on the way of living, but it impacts experts' efforts of making women conscious of social customs and norms. The first property of the intervening condition discusses formal education as a source of knowledge; experts perceive formal education as re-establishing the way of living in contemporary Indian society. But from BNI and EI, the researcher analysed that the formal education provides a platform for women empowerment but the skills necessary to agitate against social customs and norms are still unknown to educated women. Experts do instil skills to agitate such as law-knowledge, providing support groups but intervening factors such as formal education, media and religious knowledge often put limitation to infiltrate such skills. Thus, on the one hand, formal education has brought vulnerability for educated women. But on the other hand, in electronic media the content is presented by blending the "way of

living" with imagination. Thus, in this process the media created meaning to the way of living by blending foreign elements to it. The gap of uneven development due to uneven efforts on men and women widens due to media, who portrays objective images of women and re-establish the way of living by creating different meanings giving shape to the new form of living. The third property "glorifying the way of living" discussed how religious preachers resist the female empowerment process by citing mythological examples. Preachers further deepened the antagonistic knowledge.

The cumulative impact of "approaching" and "interfering" with the way of living form a new way of living which is further entwined with rewards, so that people consider new form of living as natural and inevitable. Various experts perceived new forms of living as an outcome of BSP due to uneven diffused knowledge among the masses. Experts discussed five major forms of the way of living. The first one, "bounded freedom" signifies social change and uneven diffusion of knowledge have brought sense of freedom, but society continues to judge women from patriarchal values and this limited sense of freedom brings restrained and controlled freedom. The second property analysed by EI and BNI, "submitting insecurities", where women are victimized at their workplace due to objectification. These vulnerabilities are further triggered due to the technological evolution, which are used by patriarchal society to re-establish these values. The widened gap between men and women are amplified by hammering it through technology. Women are victimized by technology. As a result of antagonistic knowledge diffused by different mediums, women interpret the knowledge according to their own internalized patriarchal values, giving shape to a new form of living where victimization is rationalized by the educated women. The last property signifies an uneven diffusion of knowledge. It is responsible for ambiguity in women's lives and female restraints and limitations in breaking social norms leading to their victimization.

In contemporary Indian society, it is analysed that, victimization and empowerment go hand in hand, victimization has come due to striving for empowerment. Women are empowered due to increasing exposure due to different media, but society has victimized them as women are expected and bounded to stay within social customs regarding choices and preferences of knowledge. Victimization of educated women is an outcome of such struggle of choice and preference they face in their daily lives. Expert arrested this struggle they face in every level of life as victimization, but they ignore the fact that knowledge has given them voice and a sense of empowerment and victimization is a repercussion of the choice and preference of one knowledge over other. The choice of choosing one ideology, values over other is a matter of concern for cognitive discourse. Thus, cognitive literature explains how, and which knowledge is diffused among people, how they consciously choose some beliefs from the diffused knowledge and beliefs are turned into action to explain new forms of living. The next chapter elucidates the process of victimization of Indian educated women illustrated with cognitive discourse.

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Integration of Extant Literature

Section I: Introducing Cognition

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and integrate the extant literature beyond gender discourse, verifying the extensive relevance of the emergent CGT of "Victimizing Educated Women in India". The chapter discussion and integration elucidate the wider theoretical potential of the emerged substantive theory followed by the chapter of empirical research findings. Unlike in conventional qualitative study where reviewing literature ahead of data gathering aims to refine the research question (Halberg 2010) grounded theory first allows the development of theory followed by reviewing extant literature to avoid research bias (Glaser 1998). The literature review in classical CGT is conceptual and not contextual (Christiansen 2011). In this section, the researcher compared emerged categories and properties with cognitive discourse rather than on the basis of gender discourse.

The emerged CGT had four main findings as a result of using systematic and rigorous CGT approach. The first finding was the discovery of the core category and the sub-core category "way of living" and "considering natural". The second finding was the discovery of two related categories that constituted the BSP "approaching" and "interfering". The third and fourth findings were the "changing"- BSP and the substantive "theory of victimizing educated women". To expand the understanding of the thesis beyond its original area of gender discourse, the researcher weaves the emergent substantive grounded theory to cognitive discourse. The core category of the substantive grounded theory "way of living" is interlinked with the concept shared social theories (Seng et al. 2010).

The sub-core category 'considering natural' which explains collective conscience and schema of different sub communities under investigation is explained by different cognitive concepts, such as cognitive plurality and mnemonic socialization (Zerubavel 1996). However,

encountering a knowledge gap of a growing field of cognitive sociology discourse (DiMaggio 2002) [163] the researcher engages cognitive psychology to address this. The substantive grounded theory of the "victimizing educated women" is explained using cognitive psychology to explain a cognitive shift of the thought community. The cognitive shift, which the thought community have achieved through different external sources. The research engaged cross disciplinary approaches to analyse experts' perception of the status of women in Indian society. A cognitive shift of the thought community is explained using social cognitive theory of Bandura (1986) from cognitive psychology, especially using sub part of the Social cognitive theory, Social Diffusion and Innovation (1986) is used to explain impact of the experts' different approaches and education and consequently changing nature of women's subjugation as perceived by experts, are explored in great depth here. The aim is fulfilled by interlinking the core category, the sub-core category and the BSP with the different thematic cognitive discourse concepts the substantive "theory of victimization of educated women" which highlights diffusion of foreign knowledge responsible for shaping new social realities of women's subjugation is discussed.

Essentially, this chapter situates the emergent-grounded theory within a cognitive discourse landscape. Rather than an in-depth exploration of each of the single theoretical code and their properties presented within this chapter, the intention is to highlight how "the theory of victimizing educated women in India" can be comprehended through cognitive perspective. The current study contributes to growing cognitive sociology discourse by incorporating with cognitive psychology and by demonstrating it with more empirical evidence for constant comparison. The integration of extant literature is intended to develop a more generalised understanding of the burgeoning theory and its concepts (Glaser 1998). The thematic literature

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[163] Paul DiMaggio, "Why Cognitive (And Cultural) Sociology Needs Cognitive Psychology", in Culture in Mind: Toward a Sociology of Culture and Cognition, ed. Karen Cerulo (New York, Routeledge, 2002), 274.

review starts with elucidating a conceptual meaning of the cognitive discourse followed by significance of the data collection methods from a cognitive perspective. The core category "way of living" is integrated with shared social theories (Seng et al. 2010) and sub-core category "considering natural" with Zerubavel's cognitive sociology (1991, 1996, 1997) in the second section of the chapter. The third section of the chapter explains the two related categories "approaching" and "interfering" and BSP "changing way of living" with the substantive grounded "theory of victimization of Indian educated women" with cognitive psychology.

1.1 Thinking as a social being

As stated in Encyclopaedia of Social Theory: "Cognitive sociology investigates the ways in which sociocultural factors shape and guide the process of human thought"[164]. Cognition is the mental process of perceiving knowledge and understanding day to day experience on the basis of the perception. As per definition, cognition is the act of processing and interpreting knowledge, thought and experience from an existing socio-cultural norm by a social being. The cognitive process of interpretation is socially prescribed process than just a mechanical one. The process is socially prescribed which highlights that thinking is not just an individual act or performed by human being universally, but an act of thinking is more as a member of a social community; as Zerubavel says: "Cognitive sociology reminds us that we think not only as individuals and as human beings, but also as social beings, products of particular social environments that affect as well as constrain the way we cognitively interact with the world" (1997, P 6). Here the author argued that an individual is a product of his/her social environment, thinking is a collective process discerning in a social being through the socialization process.

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[164] Cerulo Karen, "Cognitive Sociology", in Encyclopaedia of Social Theory, edited by Georg Ritzer (Sage, 2005). 107-111.

The socialization process teaches us how, as a social being one must cognitively interact with the world and as a member of a thought community how must one interpret their experience. Using the cognitive sociological argument, the chapter highlights how the Indian thought community socializes and tends to homogenize their interpretation and perception of interactions which leads to women's subjugation. The patriarchal, cultural, and religious norms are provided to members of the Indian thought community as part of their cognitive tradition as a result of which the thought community perceives, thinks, and associates with experience in a homogenous manner. Resulting action from processing information from the framework of cognitive socialization paved the way for women's subjugation. Cognitive sociology focuses on the process of interpreting, perceiving and associating as a social being but the discourse's scope of inquiry is limited to thinking as a social process. The researcher perceived that, cognitive sociology ignores the question of how perceiving and interpreting causes a belief and then action which is drawn from Bandura's social cognitive theory in his social foundation of thought and action (1986).

1.2 Why Cognitive Sociology and Psychology?

As discussed earlier, Cognitive sociology laid emphasis that perception is a product of a social environment. Cognitive Psychology stream ignore this contextual and subjective interpretation of a social being. The information is processed as a product of social being than as an individual or a human being. For example, a woman who wears uncovered outfit is sensed differently in Indian community than other thought community, these set of perception are directed by social rules, on the basis of which a social being perceived reality. While making out an attribute of cognitive sociology and blending it with cognitive psychology, Zerubavel in his book Social Mindscape; An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology asserts:

Despite their (Psychologists) considerable interest in the schematic nature of human cognition, only few of them have explicitly noted that 'schemas' are conventional, sociomental structures grounded in culturally, historically, and subculturally specific cognitive traditions

(of perceiving, attending, associating, and remembering) that we learn as part of our cognitive socialization[165].

This implies that the cognitive process is homogenous and universal for psychologist whereas for cognitive sociologist the process is society specific embedded in social norms and assumptions. The collective conscience of the Indian thought community under investigation is grounded in various patriarchal norms and assumption which perceive, attend and associate women as inferior to men.

The rationale for integrating cognitive sociology to the core category and sub-core category is to elucidate social conventional schema of the Indian thought community. Schema is defined as knowledge structures that represent objects or events, pattern of thought and behaviour, schema manifesting representations of knowledge and information processing mechanism (DiMaggio 2002, 1997)[166]. By analysing various social norms, patterns and assumptions which are organized in schema and information processing mechanisms leading to women's subjugation is explained. In addition to this, women's subjugation in present context is understood by comparing the cognitive diversity of different ethnic groups and religious groups. Elucidating the brain as a warehouse of representational constructs such as patriarchal, religious and cultural society specific norms embedded in a cognitive tradition of a social environment and integrating 'foreign information' with these representational constructs producing new knowledge, the thesis elaborates new knowledge causing new realities and a gained cognitive shift for the Indian thought community.

Various innovations are diffused in society by means of media, formal education and other sources of education under investigation, which are processed through active schema causing a cognitive shift. But during BNI, the researcher noted that not all 'foreign information'

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[165] Zerubavel, 1997,113

[166] Paul DiMaggio, "Why Cognitive (And Cultural) Sociology Needs Cognitive Psychology," in Culture in Mind: Toward a Sociology of Culture and Cognition, ed Karen Cerulo (New York, Routeledge, 2002), 276.

is noticed, processed and perceived. Deriving information processed as relevant and some as irrelevant is a part of cognitive socialization explained with Bandura's Social Diffusion and Innovation (1986) with Zerubavel's Cognitive sociology (1996, 1997) the substantive theory of victimizing educated women as perceived by NGO experts is discussed. The next subsection explains the rationale for using expert descriptive interviews for explaining the cognitive process of perceiving 'foreign' information.

Comparing 'new knowledge' with 'rudimentary knowledge' composed in the core category "way of living" addresses the existing active schema on the basis of which information is perceived by the thought community. The core category is explained with 'shared social theories' (Seng et al. 2010) of the discourse. The subject matter of cognitive tradition is shared social theories in the thesis. The Indian thought community's shared social theories are patriarchal knowledge, structures, guidelines, norms and assumptions shared by all the members of the thought community. It is the foundation and forethought on account of which foreign information is selected as relevant, stored and interpreted, due to this process a thought community tends to homogenize their interpretation and action and gained shared cognitive shift. Thus, laying the foundation of shared social theories, the NGO experts' perception of the process of "victimization of educated women" is interpreted, but the cognition of NGO experts is explained before that.

1.3 Experts - Optical Socialization

Interviewing experts for the project assist the researcher in two ways, firstly though the experts are cognitively socialized in the Indian thought community, due to their formal education in the social work stream, special training in the field of women empowerment and considerable experience on the women empowerment field made the experts to see certain cues as relevant and certain cues as irrelevant. Such as perception and interpretation of victims on violence consider as relevant in comprehending the nature of women's subordination in the

Indian society. Due to experts' optical socialization, experts view on structures and patterns of the violence, the nature of violence in past and present, experts' comparative analysis of women's status in different tradition narrated in the interviews are used to discover the holistic and all-inclusive substantive grounded theory. The subtle distinction between the nature of past subjugation and present subjugation was made visible due to experts' optical socialization (Zerubavel 1997). Which have helped the novice researcher to discern boundaries which are otherwise treated as normal or usually escape from the attention of the researcher.

Suspending the usual concern due to experts' optical socialization, comparing it with BNI data, the researcher arrives at the rich burgeoning theory. Experts perceived information, shared experience, behaviour and observation stored in schemata at work are organized separately from the information and schemata about behaviour at home may be little correspondence between the two (DiMaggio 2002)[167]. These different schemata helped experts to objectively analyse their self- experience with violence. Correspondence between schemata of organized behaviour at work and at home is also critically analysed by experts who have experienced incidents of domestic violence. While analysing the incidents of violence, the phrases such as 'I can evaluate from my self- experience[168]' or 'if I have not been trained in Master in Social Work, I could never ever have solved my problem[169]' are used while analysing transcending of two schemata and evaluation of incident of violence from an objective perspective.

1.4   Individuals- Unconsciously Accepting Boundaries

Interpreting the cause and origins of women's subjugation using expert interviews clarified collectively shared values and norms regarding patriarchy. The researcher further illustrated the collectively shared values and norms with the experience of the subunit or

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[167] ibid., 276
[168] EIARMO 8, EIANMO 5
[169] EIKIMO 12,

individuals' experiences who unconsciously abides by these norms. Perceived cognitive shift by the collective unit of analysis is explained further by the data collected using BNI. The interviews collected on formal education and media explained how these participants process, blend foreign information and act. The subunit in the analysis of collective consciousness is important as Durkheim in Division of Labour stated that the totality of beliefs which are common to average members of a society have a life of its own and termed as the collective consciousness. The collective consciousness is diffused over society as a whole. The common consciousness marked with specific characteristics that makes it a distinctive reality. Though, the collective consciousness marked with specific characteristics, it is independent of the particular conditions. People continues with it from generation to generation (1893, P 39). Durkheim discusses the functional role played by an individual in diffusing a belief system and making it a distinctive reality. Thus, the representational participants of the BNI method illustrated the act of diffusion of collective beliefs and norms and how individual abides these beliefs and norms unconsciously.

Section II: Integrating Theory with Literature

2.1 Rudimentary Knowledge

The thesis presents the "victimization of educated women" that conceptualises the cause of violence, highlighting the changing nature of women's subjugation through diffusion of 'foreign information'. In so doing, "the theory of victimizing educated women" demonstrates its relevance by aligning it with cognitive concepts from cross- disciplinary fields. The core category, which emerged from the data for the substantive theory, "way of living", denotes a shared pattern of behaviour accepted unconsciously by the Indian thought community, an implicit belief system fabricated around patriarchal, religious and cultural values; "way of living" is the cause of subjugation of Indian women. The core category is supported by the

cognitive concept 'shared social theories' put forth by Nisbett and Wilson (1977). It signifies a type of shared cognition that refers to shared beliefs, shared assumptions which influence the behaviour/decisions of group members (Seng et.al 2010; Nisbett and Wilson 1977)

The core category "way of living" signifies the patriarchal pattern, assumptions and norms in the country, these implicit assumptions and norms are shared by all the members of the thought community (1977). These implicit assumptions are transferred unintended without any explicit communication. Thus, the core category supports the assertion made by Nisbett and Wilson (1977), demonstrating the action of women's subjugation is not necessarily an outcome of a clean slate, but the status is an outcome of a society specific shared belief which patriarchal norms, beliefs, assumptions reverberating homogenization of behaviour as women's subjugation in the society. Additionally, this thesis develops a further dimension to Nisbett, and Wilson's shared social theories (1977) by offering the sub-core category "considering natural" to explain how the shared social theories make the entire process of subjugation natural and inevitable. The thesis adds a new substantive theory to the cognitive discourse, which explains the process through which the thought community shifts, the cyclical process of gaining new shared social theories through rudimentary shared social theories termed as a process of cognitive shift.

Justifying the complex shared social theories with empirical evidence used otherwise in the findings section clarified the various experiences shared by experts regarding women's interpretations of an act of subjugation. When asked if women realise that they are victims of violence, Aradhana, a family counsellor expert replied that may be a woman think deeply about violence, but acceptance of violence is rare. She further added that due to socialization a woman considers violent action as natural, normal or ideal behaviour. Men are supposed to treat women like this[170].

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[170] EIARMO 22

An implicit patriarchal beliefs and assumptions that men are supreme, and women are commodities, shared by the thought community provide a rudimentary postulation for interpretation to an act of violence as an ideal behaviour of men. Interpreting process that is conditioned by society conveyed through cognitive socialization gives the process of thinking, interpreting and perceiving a normative dimension. Zerubavel claims that, thinking has an important normative dimension, specific societal norms determine what one must perceive as a reasonable or nonsensical, thus cognitive norms are something one learns as a part of socialization. As Zerubavel's says, "we learn how to focus our attention, frame our experience, generalize, and reason in a socially appropriate manner" (Zerubavel 1997, P 13). Pertaining Zerubavel's claim to the empirical data mentioned here led to the thought community framing their experience of subjugation, generalize and reason an image of women in an identical manner termed as 'socially' appropriate manner. With the cognitive socialization men and women enter into a situation and interpret a situation in a socially appropriate manner.

Discriminating or reasoning an act of subjugation as a male's right conditioned by society allows a social being to enter the social realm, intersubjective world causing the process of thinking in a homogenous way, assigning the same meaning and perceiving experience in a socially appropriate manner lead the Indian thought community viewing an act of violence as logical and natural. It can thus be explained that the thought community considers the inferior status of women as a part of shared social theories, similarly an Indian social being tacitly socialised in the way of living to assign and perceive an experience and information in a similar manner. Verifying an individual's cognitive ability to process and perceive an information in a socially appropriate manner. BNI respondent, Chitra shared in her interview, "I am born and brought up in such a home atmosphere where I have a lot of restriction. No one has taught me that being a girl you need to do this or that, but it came in me without a conscious thought. So, I never saw any difference in my brother's upbringing and mine. I took it as that's how I should

behave" मी अशा वातावरण मध्ये जन्माला आले आहे आणि वाढले आहे जिथे खूप निर्बंध आहेत. कोणी मला

शिकवलं नाही कि एक मुलगी म्हणून तुला है करावं लागेल पण ते मला नकळत कळत गेलं. म्हणून मी खूप लक्ष

पूर्वक माज्या आणि माज्या भावाचा संगोपन मध्ये काही फरक नाही बघितला. मी असच वागायचं है नकळत मी

समजून घेतला (Chitra, first interview in Marathi. Audio- 15.33 mts). This verifies the cognitive

dimension of how cognitive socialisation teaches us to not to notice or to ignore the

discrimination of upbringing and to perceive gender- based restriction as logical. Not only does

this signify a normative dimension of thinking and perceiving but also the control cognitive

socialisation frame of one's mind to view certain information as relevant and certain as

irrelevant while interpreting information (Zerubavel 1997).

Additionally, the thought community interprets and perceives information on the basis

of rudimentary shared social theories. The shared social theories also frame people's minds to

accept certain parts as reality and ignore certain parts from consciousness (Zerubavel 1997).

The argument explains the reason the thought community regards gender roles as relevant, as

a reality. The interview by Aradhana demonstrated the argument,

I came across many males who complained that they have not seen since childhood or
no one has taught them that their wives will go out and run a dairy business and bring money
home. This is beyond their imagination. Dimple's (a complainant) husband told me that he
would agree that his wife should do any other activities other than household, but he can only
imagine her making some decorative items[171]. मी खूप मुलांचा संपर्क मध्ये येते जे म्हणतात कि त्यांना
लहानपण पासून कोणी शिकवलं नाही किंवा त्यांनी ते बघितला पण नाही कि बायका बाहेर जाऊन दुग्ध व्यवसाय
करून पैसे घरी आणतील. है त्यांचा कल्पने पलीकडंच आहे. डिम्पलचा नवरा मला म्हणाला कि त्याची बायको
दुसरा काही करून पैसे कमवत आहे है त्याला पटत पण तो फक्त एखाधा डेकोरेटिव्ह आयटम करणे एवढीच
कल्पना करू शकतो

This implies that the thought community regard gender roles as an ideal, restrict their

mind frame to perceive reality beyond shared social theories. Emphasizing the fact that the

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[171] Aradhana, 18, 4-7

thought community collectively ignore certain things and learn the societal rules to consider certain things relevant, the classification sets the horizons for the thought community's attention and concern acquired through learning (Zerubavel 1997). But the researcher's main concern is, which is ignored by cognitive sociology that, how the thought community learn certain facts as relevant or irrelevant is answered by social cognitive theory. The theory laid stress on prudent calculation of consequences enforced by society. These calculations are an incentive facilitate rules of remembrance to include certain norms as relevant and certain norms as irrelevant (Bandura 1977). The property "getting reward" for the core category "way of living" for the substantive theory victimizing educated women signifies socially established consequences as an incentive to accept the subjugation. Incentive for acknowledgement such as rewards in the form of ideal women, wife, sister and mother act as a motivation to confirm to shared social theories and to accept subjugation, citing a quotation from empirical data verify the perceived calculation as an incentive for women's acceptance of "way of living", an NGO expert stated that in Indian society, saving the family and maintaining relationships are a woman's responsibility. Indian women tolerate violence to save their family. She further added that the characteristics of an ideal women are to tolerate violence and society acknowledges their sacrifice and tolerance, a sacrifice makes Indian women great[172]. Tacitly, members of the thought community learn consequences for performing certain actions bring positive consequences.

These are learned through observation and cognitive socialization, which teach us the frame to observe certain information or ignore certain information. Learning or observing creates expectations such as tolerating violence sacrificing violence may bring societal acknowledgement. By seeing foreseeable outcomes, symbolically learning and observing through media and surroundings, people can convert future consequences into current

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[172]EIKIMO 17

motivators of behaviours. Such as negative consequences perceived by an Indian woman in confronting with an act of violence is an obstacle for the process of women empowerment. In an interview Sudha explained, "I asked that lady that, since her husband is an alcoholic and violent, why she is tolerating, to which she answered that the husband is her safety measure to save herself from other men's exploitation" (Sudha. Original interview in Marathi and Hindi. 13; 4-6). मी त्या बाई ला विचारला कि तुजा नवरा दारुड्या आहे आणि तुला मारतो पण मग तू है सगळं का सहन करत आहेस तर तिनी उत्तर दिलं कि तिचा नवरा हा तिचा सुरक्षा कवच असतात जे तिला दुसऱ्या पुरुष चा शोषण पासून रक्षा करते.

Thus, future consequences perceived by a woman lead her to consider tolerating violence as a relevant factor, the thought community by learning and observing perceived relevant and irrelevant actions and its consequences. Patriarchal norms are treated as relevant as the norms bring anticipatory rewards and the confirmation to patriarchal assumptions bring benefits for the participation, tolerating subjugation, serving and saving family, serving their husband are shared social theories which bring acknowledgement for women in Indian society. Indian women with their past experience (observed and learned) perceived patriarchal shared social theories as relevant as they anticipate bringing beneficial consequences in the society, the Indian society has collectively reinforced and the thought community through cognitive socialization learn, perceive and interpret patriarchal norms as beneficial. Reinforcing consequences increase the behaviour automatically without any conscious involvement (Bandura 1977, P 19). Thus, explaining the shared social theories as natural, logical and universal reality for the core category, the researcher explains further how "way of living" is considered as normal by the thought community. The sub-core category "considering natural" for the substantive grounded theory explains these conventional norms are accepted as logical

which constrict our mind to ignore other information than socially approved as irrelevant information.

Anticipatory consequences emphasized by cognitive socialization exert social control over the thought community to confirm social norms regarding what they attend to, how they reason, what they remember and how they interpret the experience of subjugation, reasoning society specific positive consequences as a relevant such as the Indian thought community proffer positive consequences to women's acceptance to an act of violence functional for a successful human relationship and for concretization of society (Bandura 1977). Getting into a social contract through the consequential arrangements affirm an effortless interaction with known specific outcome such as when asked about why women transfer subjugating values to next generation. Swanand, an expert working on female centric issues with men analysed a good mother's role is passing patriarchal values to children (see in findings section. Swanand. 14; 16-21, Original excerpt is in English). A reference to the system depicts arrangements for institutionalisation of patriarchal norms which is socially constructed as positive action-consequences which are reinforced extrinsically (Bandura 1977). Since socially constructed action-consequences are learned and observed by the thought community, the "way of living" is termed as natural and logical due to the fact that their presence is independent of any individual so, the thought community considers it natural.

The sub-core category for the substantive theory "considering natural" signifies the status of universal reality given to inherent sense of right and wrong, people accept the way of living as normal and natural pattern of behaviour due to cognitive socialization. The institutionalization of social facts due to cognitive socialization the patriarchal behaviour is specified as natural and normal, as quoted by Zerubavel in his book 'The Fine Line' claimed that reification of conventional norms is a result of people's tendency to regard the merely social as natural. Though these facts are merely mental, the institutionalized conventional

norms constitute social reality. As such, these conventional facts are in fact, 'real' in more than just an experiential sense, which explains how people come to perceive the ignorance of purely mental entities as a natural, rather than a merely conventional fact (Zerubavel 1991, P 28-29). Zerubavel claims the process of reification of conventional patriarchal values due to cognitive socialization makes a social being to perceive it as real or natural. Aradhana said, "they (women) live with certain assumptions such as husbands are powerful than women, they are breadwinners. Breadwinning is a husband's responsibility. All husbands are like that, raining is very natural phenomenon and like raining, husbands beating their wives is natural. Women live with these assumption" ते एका विशिष्ट धारणा घेऊन जगत असतात कि नवरे जास्त ताकतवान असतात, ते पालक असतात. पालन करणं है त्यांची जवाबदारी आहे. सगळे नवरे तसेच असतात. जसा पाऊस हा एक नैसर्गिक क्रिया आहे तसं चा नवरे बायका ना मारतात है खूप नैसर्गिक आहे. बायका याच धारणा घेऊन जगत असतात (Aradhana. Original interview in Marathi. 7; 5-7). Thus, the reifying process depicts how mental reality is deeply embedded in the social reality and vice-versa.

These institutionalized social realities become inevitable fact of the daily lives, that one can no longer ignore or wish away (Zerubavel 1997, P 32). Due to the reification of conventional norms the thought community is a product of a patriarchal social environment that considers patriarchal values natural and inevitable. The Indian thought community is in fact a product of the patriarchal social environment treating the subjugating social facts as natural, inevitable and taking them for granted. The way of living structured around attending patriarchal culture as normal and natural. Espeland (2002) in his article Commensuration and Cognition analyse Foucault and Gramsci's notion of power. The power of unnoticed social fact around which the thought community established their daily activities and women are subjugated, he says:

Like Gramsci, Foucault's understanding of power requires us to account for what we do not notice, for the effect of discipline that is not experienced as such, for routines that seem

natural. Both Gramsci and Foucault, in showing how power inserts and reproduces itself apart from intentional agents, forces us to attend more precisely to the structure of attention, to how routines, discipline, and discourse can mute our imagination and encourage our submission (Espeland 2002, p 64)[173].

This illustrates the structure of daily routines around patriarchal values which the thought community regards as relevant and intended to constrict to perceive any other reality than that which is socially prescribed by Indian society. The category and the sub-core category argued with cognitive sociology literary works extend further to unravel a challenging environment for women's empowerment in the country.

The emerged CGT analysed the comparative approach linking marginalised section community and Muslim religious minority community to address cognitive diversity of the thought community. The cognitive diversity indicates a different cognitive tradition of various sub cultural and religious groups which caused the subjugation of women. Cognitive tradition is explained with the social memory. Each of these cultural. groups possessed and bring women's vulnerabilities as the consequential cognitive process. The social memory of any group plays a significant part in how the particular thought community remembers its past and interprets its present with the forethought. Taking into account the nature of the thesis, only social memory which gives rise to women's subjugation are compared and explained.

As quoted by Zerubavel, social environment not only has an impact on how one mentally processes the present but also how one remembers his/ her past. The BNI data helped the researcher to analyse these temporal and thematic linkage. Zerubavel further adds, "Like the present, the past is to some extent also part of a social reality that, while far being absolutely objective, nonetheless transcends our own subjectivity and is shared by others around us" (1997, P 81). He claimed social memory as a part of social reality, the perception of past, remembrance of the past is socially prescribed shared by all members of the thought

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[173] Wendy Espeland, "Commensuration and Cognition" in Culture in Mind: Toward A Sociology of Culture and Cognition, ed. Karen Cerulo (New York, Routeledge, 2002), 64.

community. Social memory as an aspect of cognitive socialization is explained by an expert who politically represents the SC,

Violence on Dalit women is due to the fact that culture has permitted upper elite caste to sexually exploit the SC. This is a part of history of Indian culture… but in Indian culture the types of marriage, Anuloma-pratiloma theory, in which the upper elite class male can keep sexual relation with lower caste female, so upper class takes this for granted that they are allowed to or that is their right to sexually exploit the poor, unskilled labour class or marginalized caste[174]. दलित बायका वर हिंसे च कारण आपली संस्कृती आहे, आपल्या संस्कृतीने उच्च वर्गीय जात ला लैंगिक अत्याचार करायला परवानगी दिली आहे. हा भारतीय संस्कृतीचा इतिहास आहे. भारतीय संस्कृती मध्ये अनुलोमा आणि प्रतिलोमा या लग्ना चा प्रकार मध्ये उच्च वर्गीय पुरुष है खालचा वर्गातल्या स्त्रिया मध्ये लैंगिक संबंध प्रस्थापित करायला परवानगी देते म्हणून उच्च वर्गीय यांनी ते ग्राह्य घेतलं आहे कि गरीब, मजदूर आणि उपेक्षित वर्गीय महिला ना लैंगिक शोषण हा त्यांचा अधिकार आहे.

Explaining cognitive tradition, a part of a social memory the expert analyses how marginalized caste/class are objectified by upper caste/class, consequentially the marginalized caste/class women are "treated available" which is a property of the sub-core category "considering natural".

In the substantive theory, the property "treating available" for the sub-core category "considering natural", which signifies objectification of women due to various cognitive traditions, the analytical comparison among different cognitive traditions narrated by an expert established an association of objectifying image of women with traditions. While discerning different cognitive tradition of different sub cultural groups of the Indian thought community the socially prescribed classification of purity and pollution, sacredness and profanation, moral and immoral is utilized as consequences for reinforcement. The property "treating available" analysed cognitive tradition of the sexually objectifying marginalised caste and class women by the Indian thought community, the tradition is part of normative dimension of memory shared collectively by the group, as Zerubavel claims,

The notion of tradition of remembering (…) underscores the normative dimension of memory, which is by and large ignored by cognitive science. Remembering, after all, is more than just a spontaneous personal act. It is also regulated by unmistakably social rules of

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[174] Swanjali, 8,5-7

remembrance that tell us quite specifically what we should remember and what we can or must forget[175].

Sexual availability of the marginalized caste/class women is due to the rules of remembrance from the history of marriage alliance where upper caste men cannot marry Dalit women but sexual relationships between them are allowed (see introduction chapter of the thesis), the researcher concluded that the society decides which part of history is to be remembered and how it must be remembered. Zerubavel said that history which one remembers, and one forgets is neither logical nor natural, but it is social, normative, conventional (Zerubavel 1997, P 86). The rules of remembrance to which the Indian thought community are socialized consider it natural to exploit lower caste/class women sexually.

The researcher noticed that, the normative dimension of 'remembrance' is not only with historical facts but also applicable to one's own life stories. Such as Yukti in her interview stated that she tolerated child sexual abuse and did not share about the incident to her parents. The perceived negative consequence of confronting with sexual abuse was her 'normative memory'. She perceives her action as an 'ideal' and idealizes her reaction to violence even today. On the basis of this normative memory, she perceived, interpreted and tolerated recent sexual abuse on her. Thus, normative dimension of memory plays crucial role in deciding belief and action of present days.

On the other hand, normative dimension of memory is regarded as relevant by the Indian thought community due to value laden consequences in terms of purity and pollution perceived by the Indian social being which has made the reinforcement of practice possible. As Bandura states, "The reinforcement practices described above essentially involve a process of social contracting. Positive arrangements affirm that if individuals do certain things, they are entitled to specified rewards and privileges". He further added that most social interactions are,

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[175] Zerubavel,1996, P 286

governed by such conditional agreements (1977, P 103). The quotation claimed, to institutionalize the caste system, the social contract established consequences in the form of purity and pollution. Sexual exploitation is "considered natural" as it establishes the power of the elite class on the inferior section of the society. Apart from the fact that sexual exploitation is a form of power exertion, the notion of purity and pollution also plays a pivotal role in reinforcing social rules of remembrance. The perceived consequences of being privileged derived from the purity draw a fine mental line to perceive classification between the sexually available caste/class and consider it as natural. As Zerubavel stated that fine mental lines help one to perceive difference between insider and outsiders. Only in relations to those lines' sentiments evolve. These fine mental lines help one to perceive who is available as sexual partner as in the case of higher class/caste in Indian society. These fine mental lines constitute the basis of sense of one's identity and social relationship. They define our social clusters (Zerubavel 1991, P 14). He analysed how naturally mental discontinuity helps the thought community to perceive differences between whom one can consider for marriage and for sexual relationship.

Sexual exploitation is considered normal and logical whereas alliance between upper caste/class male with lower caste/class female is consider as irrelevant. The cognitive traditions set rules for remembrance and reinforcement to establish the privilege of upper elite caste/class within Hindu society, whereas mnemonic tradition established rules to seek 'other worldly' rewards for women to conform with religious laws such as polygamy in the Muslim community and the Muslim thought community treats women as an object due to their cognitive socialization. The thesis analysed and compared cognitive tradition of Muslim religious community to draw the differences and similarities in women's subjugation. Indian Muslim religious tradition largely governed by Muslim personal law called as 'shariyat'. Explaining the meaning of Shariyat, Imran an expert stated that the Quran is a collection of Paigamber's

message, and an interpretation of message and advice is collected in Hadith. After Paigamber's demise the Shariyat was formed to address the various issues arose after his demise. Thus, Shariyat is not a homogenous law, as Shariyat laws are interpretative and different Muslim nations have different laws. Shariyat law in India is formed by colonial government in 1937. The Muslim thought community is free to maintain their cultural traditions by Islamic jurisprudence in certain specific areas mentioned in Shariyat Act, 1937.

The Muslim thought community is cognitive socialized in the mnemonic tradition laid by Muslim personal law formed in the form of Shariyat law. The thought community is socialized into personal (shariyat) laws, which is nothing but patriarchal, cultural shared social theories. These are binding due to the given pious form of religious laws. Traditions such as polygamy, oral divorce, no family planning, adoption rights and maintenance after divorce are woven for the reinforcement of patriarchy around reinforcing consequences of sacred and profane. As Zerubavel claims:

A mnemonic tradition includes not only what we come to remember as a members of a particular thought community but also how we remember it. After all, much of what we seem to 'remember' is actually filtered (and often inevitably distorted) through a process of subsequent interpretation, which affects not only the actual facts we recall but also the particular 'light' in which we happen to recall them[176].

He highlights interpretative religious laws with which Muslim members are raised. The specific rules of remembrance are filtered to fit in shared social theories make them to ignore the fact that shariyat laws are different in other Muslim religion dominated countries. The religiously arranged consequences such as 'other worldly' rewards, various traditions such as polygamy and oral divorce, are considered natural, impacting women's status in the community.

The cultural importance given to the male heir in the light of economic gain and spiritual enlightenment is interpreted for counting male heir as essential and female as a burden, which

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[176] Zerubavel, 1997, P 87

is next property of the sub-core category "considering natural" for substantive CGT. Apart from positive consequences in 'other worldly reward' associated with male offspring, a male child brings monetary rewards and status to parents.

The thought community remembers and practice in the light of perceived consequences of monetary gains and prestige. On the other hand, socializing women into shared social theories leads parents to accept dowry and as a monetary transaction involved in marriage which makes women to tolerate violence in order to save their marriage. Cognitive socialization makes female the less preferred offspring. Comparing the mnemonic tradition of Hindu community with tribal community, female offspring are celebrated in the community due to reverse dowry system. The monetary gains for a girl's father confer a status to female birth. However, economically deprived female community of the tribal section feels a burden to stay in the marriage due to reverse payment of dowry to husband at the time of divorce and often the lack of economic resources compels them to tolerate violence. Comparing two mnemonic traditions, the perceived positive consequences for patriarchy that the thought community considers relevant are positive consequential action for confirming patriarchy as relevant and ignoring women's subjugation in the light of tradition (Zerubavel 1997).

Analysing the third category of "treating dirty" signifies cultural silence related to sexuality as an outcome of the notion of purity and pollution, the positive consequences perceived around sexual purity creates sociomental connection between the sexual organ and purity notion (Zerubavel 1997). The shared meaning of sexuality for the Indian thought community is associated with the notion of purity, as Chitra[177] said in her interview in regarding her sexual experience in public transport (see in findings section). This implies the purity image associated with women's body parts and as the community members are abided by shared social theories even without explicit communication with members. This normative

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[177] Chitra, written interview, first question.

dimension of memory let Chitra to tolerate violence in marriage. Chitra's concern regarding changing sexual partner after divorce indicates childhood memory regarding sexuality plays role in tolerating violence in present situation.

 Zerubavel's association of signifier and signified depicts connection of mental image of women's sexuality with a purity notion which counts as natural and logical rather conventional for Indian social being, according to Zerubavel, "Most symbolic associations, however, involve shared meanings and, as such, are not just personal. At the same time, they are natural either. In fact, most meanings rest in conventional, sociomental associations of particular signifiers with particular signified" (Zerubavel 1997, P 69). Chitra's perception of the experience comes from the normative dimension of interpretation. The different code of conduct associated with sexuality around notion of sexual purity brings silence on sexual matters, matters of consent and exploitation of women in the society.

The different code of conduct in the society accepted by women due to perceived positive consequences give status, power and privilege to the male community. Consequently, the mnemonic socialization teaches them to consider men as supreme or regard them as 'God' which is a property of "considering natural", tacitly woven action-consequences around shared social theories brought low status to women in the Indian society.

However, the researcher's perspective is that, not all women tolerate violence. When people abide patriarchal values as natural why and how some women confront violence even as perceived consequences is negative for such women? Why and how women seek experts help? These questions are answered in the following section, where the researcher explains impact of 'foreign knowledge' on shared social theories.

2.2 Diffusion of new knowledge

Establishing the social foundation of thought and behaviour pattern in the form of "way of living" and social process of considering the conventional "way of living" as natural, the two related categories "approaching", and "interfering" elucidate the process of diffusion of 'foreign information', extraction of information and thought process to explain changing realities. Working on the rudimentary thought process as a cause of violence to obtain women empowerment, NGO experts engaged different mechanisms which are analysed as "approaching"- the related category for the substantive grounded theory. The mechanisms comprehended by NGO experts provide method and experience working with the thought community under investigation. The related category "approaching" is a comparative analysis of different methods and experts experience working with methods. The comparison provides in depth information on how women have perceived and interpreted 'foreign knowledge'. The perception and interpretation further help to understand 'cognitive shift' better by critically analysing the comparative elements which assist the researcher to comprehend women's extraction of 'foreign knowledge', interpretation and action. The "way of living" core-category of the substantive theory explains rudimentary belief system shared by the Indian thought community. It is a foundation on the basis of which the group of people acquire homogeneity in processing and interpreting an information.

The extracted knowledge further becomes the foundation of thought and action. As Bandura (1986) a cognitive psychologist explained in social cognitive theory, foreign knowledge is transformed into appropriate action by a social being. The rationale for social cognitive theory is to understand how the Indian thought community learns, extracts appropriate knowledge from 'foreign knowledge' and thereafter turns it in to an appropriate action. The thesis applied the social cognitive theory for the investigation of BSP "changing" and to explain how the community gained a cognitive shift (Bandura1999a, 2000c and 2001). Furthermore, it explains how foreign knowledge results in the "victimization of the educated

women" as a result. As it is said put forth by that if enough group members think alike then the group intellective product becomes a function of a group level rather than individual cognitive functioning, the diffusion process helps to analyse group intellective function (Seng et al.2010; Thompson and fine 1999) and new social realities in the form of "victimization of educated women in India".

To expound the diffusion of knowledge in the thought community further to elucidate changing realities in the Indian society, sub-section of the social cognitive theory (1986) 'diffusion of innovation' is employed. Innovation as defined by Bandura is any idea, practice or device that is perceived by people to be new (Bandura 1986, P 142). The innovation is contextual and defined on the basis of a perceptual set of beliefs "way of living". The thesis has used innovation and foreign data intermittently. The contextual definition of an innovation for the thesis signifies social practice and values antithetical and new to existing way of living or shared social theories. The rationale for the working definition is to differentiate rudimentary knowledge and foreign knowledge and how the foreign knowledge is deciphered by the Indian thought community to form new realities. Innovation is diffused through different mediums such as NGO experts "approaching" where experts make an effort to expand the thought community's mental horizon which any way are constricted by cognitive socialization (Zerubavel 1997). Various methods used by experts like "passing empowerment", "reaching roots" and "customizing way" are properties of approaching discussed here with suitable empirical evidences.

Through various mediums such as training, oration, advocacy, counselling and focus group discussions experts inform the thought community about innovation which help the thought community about innovation. The foreign innovation helps experts to expand the mental horizons of the thought community. For example, an expert working for women's empowerment said:

There was a time in 2004-2005, I was training nurses from Pune Municipal Corporation hospitals about the identification of violence, we took a pre-test with questionnaire sample such as 'do they think that they have witnessed an incidence of violence in their lifetime?' and only 13 per cent had said that they have witnessed violence. After the training session of 'what is violence'? when we have asked them same question 81to 83 per cent nurses said that they have witnessed some kind of violence in their life time[178]. मी २००४-२००५ मध्ये पुणे म्युनिसिपल कॉर्पोरेशन हॉस्पिटल मध्ये हिंसा कशी ओळख्याची या वर एक प्रशिक्षण घेत होतो, आम्ही पूर्व अनुमान करण्यात आले त्यांना एक प्रश्नावली देण्यात आली म्हणजे उधाहरण म्हणजे "त्यांना असा वाटत का कि त्यांनी कधी हिंसा सहन केली आहे का किंवा बघितली आहे का?" तेव्हा फक्त १३% लोकांनी कबूल केलं कि त्यांनी हिंसा बघितली आहे. आमचा प्रशिक्षण "हिंसा काय आहे" झाल्या नंतर आम्ही पुन्हा त्यांना तोच प्रश्न विचारला तर ८१ ते ८३ टक्के लोकांनी कबूल केलं कि त्यांनी कुठल्या ना कुठल्या प्रकारचा हिंसा बघितली आहे

This implies two considerable factors, firstly, a constricted mental horizon tends to ignore an act of violence or treat these as normal before diffused information and post diffusion expansion of the mental horizon made subjects to perceive an act as an incident of violence and cognitive socialization as a challenging factor to deal with violence. Assigning registration of violence to this factor is investigated in "passing empowerment" and "reaching roots" methods. Victims or prospective victims register an incident of violence to experts. When asked about this process. Aradhana explained the struggle a woman faces while accepting violence[179]. To this she further added that women who register violence mostly come to an expert with a definite outcome of reconciliation or they take back a complaint after a while.

Understanding the process of registering an incident of violence from Bandura's social cognitive theory, the theorists assess it as a faulty judgment on the basis of compound rules (Bandura 1986). Firstly, faulty judgments as discussed by Bandura are based on perceived consequences from the frame of way of living reference, such as in the case of Indian thought community, where registration of violence is a faulty judgment from shared social theories' frame of reference. The initial registration of violence with experts in "passing empowerment" is based on such faulty judgments and with definite outcomes as reconciliation. Whether the

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[178] Swanand, 24, 1-7
[179] See in the finding section. Aradhana, 16; 1-7.

judgments are faulty or not is decided by the perception of future consequences, discussed in the "getting reward" section. Bandura claims:

As individuals try to figure out which factors are relevant on the basis of their provisional suppositions, they receive feedback as to whether or not their judgments are accurate. At first suppositions, they receive feedback as to whether or not their judgments are accurate. At first, they draw their past knowledge to select certain aspects as the basis of their judgments[180].

He further added that most of their initial judgments might be faulty because they would have hit upon the compound rule instantly (Bandura 1986, P 210). This fits the related category "passing empowerment" as victims registered a case with experts may be an outcome of faulty judgments but following feedback from immediate family members. On the basis of future consequences, the accuracy of the judgments is perceived by the complainant. The arguments well posited with Aradhana's quotation where she analyzed, that in spite of suffering from a violence and counseling done, a victim wants to go back to the same situation[181].

The question of why a victim wants to go back to the same situation can be answered by Bandura's analysis namely that a victim draws past knowledge and feedback received by them plays a crucial role in their decisions (Bandura, 1986). Anchala, an expert counselor said that how family members, especially, a brother of a victim plays a crucial role in victims' decision[182]. The family members of a victim are the immediate surrounding from which they receive feedback on their judgments. Especially the brother of a victim plays an important role in a victim's decision to deal with violence.

As "passing empowerment" method experts work to provide a temporary solution to a problem, such as talking to especially the male members of the family such as brothers or fathers of complainants, provide the impact of the male members in patriarchal shared social theories. Thus, in "passing empowerment" method experts expand the mental tunnel by

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[180] Bandura, 1986, 210
[181] Aradhana, 4; 28-33.
[182] Anchala, 11; 11-16.

working on socially arranged consequences of dealing with violence. Anticipating negative consequences gained from cognitive socialization for separation, women consider reconciliation as the only solution. The experts engaged to "passing empowerment" only to assist victim in finding a temporary solution without providing any foreign information whereas in the next approach "reaching roots" methods experts become a medium for diffusion of innovation by informing to the Indian thought community about innovation such as gender equality and sexual education.

To achieve women's empowerment in society, the thought community gained knowledge about foreign social practices such as gender equality and gender sensitivity, yet the adoption of innovation largely depends upon people's willingness and how affluently consequences are attached to these practices by informers (Bandura 1986). Engaging different forums on gender equality, gender sensitivity, sexual education and sexual harassment at the workplace, the experts provide information on various foreign practices, thus experts are a medium through which knowledge spreads. The acquisition of knowledge also takes place by making the thought community conscious about their shared social theories, Swanand explained, "Samyak (an NGO) takes a position, to talk to that man and to help him to understand his socialization, as a man, his ideas of manhood, how the idea of manhood connects with violence, his ideas of controlling women, his ideas of sexuality, and whether some of these ideas are really leading to an incident of violence against women" (Swanand,9;1-5. Original excerpts in English). The researcher perceived that, helping a complainant understand the way of living and then educating them about foreign practices as narrated by experts in above quotation are necessary courses of actions for women empowerment, yet insufficient condition for women empowerment in society.

The adoption of innovation by the thought community, which is the second stage for women empowerment, depends on how affluently the consequences are attached with this

innovation. Prudent calculation of the consequences is a decisive factor for whether the thought community accepts the innovation and diffusion of such innovation in the society. The prerequisite of change is created by increasing people's awareness of the innovations. People need to be informed about the purpose and advantages of innovations through personal and media presentation. Failure to tailor information about the innovations and its consequences would hamper a diffusion program at the outset. (Bandura 1986; Rogers and Adhikarya 1979). Experts' practice of "reaching roots" increases people's awareness of subjugating practice and new social practice, advantages and purpose of new practices at personal level. The advantages of new practice are conveyed to the group or an individual complainant. Especially women are informed about the social practices which gives them bargaining power however, without social support for the action. As claimed by Bandura that in order to motivate people, they must be provided not only with appropriate guide but also social supports for action (Bandura 1986, P 147).

Experts who follow reaching roots methods analyzed various patriarchal social institutions such as formal education, judiciary, media and religion and other conservative experts who are against foreign social practices as obstacles to women's empowerment. These obstacles are discussed in the following sub sections. While talking about external pressure on an individual and perceived consequences creating impediments for foreign practices, Aradhana said:

I talked about gender equality and gender sensitivity with my kids, I realized that it is not their fault. Internal forces and external forces are responsible whether they will behave accordingly. When my daughter wears sleeveless dress while going out my son asked her to wear shrug or shawl to cover her sleeveless dress. When I asked him why he is saying so despite of learning gender equality then he answered that he has seen how other boys passed sexist remark and obscene comments on girls who wears sleeveless dress then he cannot tolerate such thing with his sister[183]. मी माझ्या मुलांशी लिंग समानता आणि लिंग संवेदनशीलता बद्दल बोलते, मला अस लक्षात आला कि त्यांची चूक नाही. अंतर्गत घटक आणि बाह्य घटक या इतक्याच जवाबदार असतात ज्या प्रमाणे ते वागत असतात. जेव्हा माजी मुलगी सलिवलेस कपडे घालते तेव्हा मजा मुलगा तिला श्रग किंवा शॉल ने तिचा

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[183] Aradhana, 23, 5-9

ड्रेस कव्हर करायला सांगतो. मी जेव्हा त्याला विचारते कि तू इतका लैंगिक समानता बद्दल शिकतो तरी असा का बोलतो. तर त्याचा उत्तर असा होता कि मी बघतो ना दुसरी मुलं अशा ड्रेस वर कसे घाणेरडे आणि अश्लील कंमेंट्स करतात आणि त्याला ते सहन नाही होणार कि कोणी त्याचा बहिणी वर अशी कंमेंट्स केले तर.

This elucidates the socially arranged negative consequences perceived, which acts as an obstacle for adoption of foreign practices. In addition to this institutionalization of consequences through religious preachers and other personal agencies such as experts who practice "customizing way" also acts as a hurdle to adopting foreign practices.

The next property of related category "approaching", "customizing way" signifies empowering women through family institution and traditional gender roles. These experts engage a critical approach against foreign practices and their diffusion, such as Semantini who conducts workshops on sexual education explained, "We do not support pre-marital sex because it is an act of betrayal, in premarital sex women affects adversely, it impacts women physical and psychological health. In Pre-marital sex women suffer more than men" आम्ही लग्ना आधी शाररिक संबंध ठेवण्याचा समर्थन नाही करत. कारण तो मला धोखा वाटतो. लग्नाआधी शाररिक संबंध मध्ये बायका वर विपरीत परिणाम होतो असं जाणवलं आहे. तें बायका चा शाररिक आणि मानसिक आरयोग्य वर घातक परिणाम करत. या अशा संबन्ध मध्ये बायका जास्त नुकसान सोसतात (Semantini, 10; 5-8. Original interview in Marathi). This indicates the experts' preconceived notions related to pre-marital sex which come from the notion of purity associated with sexual organs as discussed in the core category. The "reaching roots" experts who talk about sexual liberation as a dimension of gender equality is criticized by the experts who follow "customizing way" by reaffirming negative consequences with pre-marital sexual act. Bandura claims in social cognitive theory "Innovations that clash with existing values and social structures provide additional impediments to the adoption and diffusion of innovations. Some customs are fortified by beliefs and moral codes that portend hazardous consequences for the new ways". He further says, "The power exerted by belief over behavior derives partly from the social and

moral sanctions applied to conduct that violates strongly held belief systems" (Bandura 1986, P 159). This explained foreign practices like pre-marital sex woven around negative consequences in terms of impurity posed an impediment to gender equality and women liberation. The beliefs and moral code put forth by cognitive socialization are reaffirmed by experts following "customizing way" creates obstacles in foreign diffusion. The mental association of sexual organ with purity is strong among the Indian thought community and also the reason that why woman consider non-commencement of marriage with a sexual partner as cheating. Additionally, the "customizing way" approach reaffirms the perception and creates obstacles to gender equality. The perception, interpretation of foreign practices and their diffusion are discussed while discussing the section of BSP "changing" and "the theory of victimizing educated women".

The next related category of the substantive grounded theory "interfering" and the first property of the related category "bringing vulnerability" which talks about how formal education conveys the foreign practice and innovation is diffused in the thought community. The related category "bringing vulnerability" is an outcome of various experience shared by NGO experts on role of formal education in women empowerment. They analyzed as an external source of diffusion of foreign practices in society. Female education has seen a threefold rise in post-independence Indian society, yet the role of education in women empowerment is uncertain, as discussed by Janaki Rajan in the article 'Strengthening Women's Right: Challenges for Education' (2011). She says that policy makers in India have a narrow goal, the goal and aim for female education has been surrounded by the gender roles. "Despite such nuanced understanding of equality, most public policies are based on narrow assumptions; that educating girls to primary level reduces population, she educates her children. Educate the girl and she will educate the family, educate the girl and she educate the nation" (P 514). The policy maker ignored the role of education in the emancipation of women or women's

empowerment. Adding to this discussion an expert who follows "passing empowerment" method shared her experience, that parents educate their girls for their good marriage prospects and not for self-actualization[184].

Diffusion of female education in Hindu society is due to positive consequences socially arranged around female education such as good marriage and financially stable husband. Keeping this argument in mind, the property "bringing vulnerability" is further argued with cognitive sociology and cognitive psychology, each with suitable empirical evidence. As stated earlier, for the Indian policy maker, the aim of female education is to reaffirm the gender roles especially with the desire to produce good Indian women (all gender stereotypes included), to fulfill this aims, teachers cognitively socialized women in considering subjugating way of living as relevant and assigned such readings. As Zerubavel claims, "What is considered irrelevant, and teachers who determine by the readings they assign as well as by what they include on the examinations they give what their students come to regard as attention-worthy" (1997, P 51). This signifies the relevant factor through educational curriculum by teachers strengthening cognitive socialization further. As teachers, the course-content selection committee of the thought community was cognitively trained to consider some factors as relevant and others irrelevant. As an aim of female education is to produce good Indian women, texts which exhibits such a quality are considered relevant by the educational faculty.

While talking about education curriculum with an NGO expert, Milan analyzed it as:

You see how they teach a female that to sacrifice for your love is such an honor for women. There is a reading in the education curriculum, the reading is about one famous historic personality and the text described him with all masculine characters as powerful, active, efficient and handsome. One girl fell for him and she was told that the personality was not going to accept her love, to which she answered that she was ready to wait, and it was such an honor and she was proud to sacrifice for him[185]. तूच बघ ते कसा शिकवलं जात कि मुलींनी स्वतः चा प्रेमा खातर जी मुलगी त्याग करते ती मुलगी सन्मानीय आहे. एका शैक्षणिक पुस्तक मध्ये एक खूप प्रसिद्ध व्यक्ती बद्दल हा धडा आहे.त्या मध्ये ती व्यक्ती सगळ्या पुरुषी स्वभाव वृत्ती ची दाखवली आहे म्हणजे शक्तिशाली,

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[184] Anchala 21; 19-23. Original excerpt of the interview in Marathi
[185] Milan, 23, 4-8

कार्यक्षम, क्रियाशील आणि देखणा. एक मुलगी तिचा प्रेमात पडते आणि तिला सांगण्यात येते कि हि व्यक्ती तिचा प्रेम चा स्वीकार नाही करणार. त्याला ती उत्तर देते कि ती वाट बघायला तैयार आहे आणि है खूप सन्मान ची गोष्ट आहे. तिला त्याचा अभिमान आहे कि तिनी त्याचा साठी त्याग केला.

This explained how pupils learn about socially arranged positive consequences and the basis of such learned consequences they decide their future action. Formal education reaffirming the cognitive socialization through posing socially arranged consequences set rules for future action. Aradhana while talking about how formal education brings vulnerability, said,

I attended two cases, two women, one was educated and economically independent and another woman was illiterate. They are both victims of domestic violence and their husbands were infected with HIV AIDS. The educated woman who was doing very well at her job, refused to leave her husband and stayed with him. She glorified her sacrifice and tolerance. She was proud that she did not leave her husband. Whereas in the second case, the illiterate woman along with her children left her husband and started taking care of her children independently[186].मी दोन केसेस हॅन्डल केल्या आहेत. दोन बायका, दोन्ही कमावत्या, एक शिकलेली आणि दुसरी बिन शिकलेली.दोन्ही वर घरेलू हिंसा होत होती आणि दोघी चे नवरे HIV एड्स नि ग्रसित होते.जी शिकलेली होती ती तिचा कामाचा ठिकाणी खूप चांगली होती आणि तिनी नवऱ्या ला सोडण्याचा नकार दिला आणि ती त्याचा बरोबर राहिली. ती तिची सहनशक्ती आणि त्याग चा नेहमी कौतुक करत राहत होती. तिला त्याचा अभिमान आहे कि तिनी त्याला सोडल नाही. पण दुसऱ्या case मध्ये तिनी नवऱ्याला सोडल आणि ती स्वतंत्रपने मुलांना वाडव्याला लागली.

The incident discussed with Aradhana manifests implication of formal education makes boundary fix and rigid to shape pupil's perception of non- viable beyond horizon. The above case narrated by the expert shows a fixed and rigid boundary specified by formal education due to which the educated women consider sociomental image as relevant ignoring threat to survival as irrelevant (Zerubavel 1997).

The property of the related category analyzed how the lower education group deals with violence with great strength. The low education group, consisting of the marginalized section of the country, cognitively socialized in a shared patriarchal way of living along with social memory. As mentioned earlier, the social memory of exploitation and history of agitation

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[186] Aradhana, 33, 4-18

against exploitation- with this socialization the perceived consequences of dealing violence tend to be neutral. For women of low educated group, the natural consequences are around survival as quoted by Kshama in the interview:

I strongly felt that these lower class, uneducated women have nothing to lose. They will come to you and express violence on them. Lower class women come out strongly. Upper class women are hesitant to come out, because of the fear what of what society will think of them. Whereas for lower caste and class it is a question of their own survival, their offspring's survival[187]. मला खूप प्रखर पने असा वाटत कि खालचा जातीतली आणि बिनशिकलेली जी बाई आहे त्यांना काही नसतं गमवण्या सारखं. ते येतात आणि त्यांचा वर हिंसा होते असं बिनधास्त सांगतात. आणि उच्च वर्गीय लोक गाभारतात कि लोक काय म्हणतील. ते लवकर बाहेर येत नाही. पण खालचा जातीतली बाई साठी तोच त्याचा जगण्या मरण्याचा प्रश्न आहे , त्यांचा मुलांचा प्रशन आहे.

This suggests a lack of any socially arranged consequences around agitating against violence for lower class and caste. The perceived outcome for lower class women is in the form of natural consequences perceived from inherent cause and effect relationship. The cognitive socialization of higher caste, class and educated group make frames to consider certain norms as relevant with perceived consequences attached to it and on the other hand the social memory set different boundaries for lower education, caste and class. As Zerubavel stated that mental frames make us ignore irrelevant act or objects despite their physical presence in the situation. These experiential discontinuity of relevant and irrelevant also applies to human objects. The social discontinuity teaches us certain situation to consider relevant as they are in social mental frames. (1991, P 13). Zerubavel stats that due to learned and observed rigid frames, the thought community tends to ignore the agitating violence which is considered outside the social situation by members of the thought community.

A second argument for formal education as a cause of the women vulnerability is impact of 'direct tuition' called by Bandura (1999). Pupil learnt through educational institutions regarding oppressive tradition such as dowry tradition. Children are taught in school that dowry tradition is illegal, but the law is only on paper as social acceptance for dowry tradition, "As in

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[187] Kshama, 23, 4-9

the other forms of influence, direct tuition is most effective when it is based on shared values and receives wide social support" (Bandura et al.1999, P 689). It explains patriarchal cognitive socialization posed impediments for the adoption of the foreign practice, Pratibha, a Biographical narrative participant, explained how difficult it is to not to consider dowry as relevant, in spite of being taught in school that dowry is illegal. When asked why, she answered, "That was by elders, and how I can say no"[188] .ते मोठ्याने केला आणि मी नाही कसा म्हणार.

Socializing cognitively sets mental frames for different sets of objectives such as 'dowry is an essential aspect for happy marriage' and social support for dowry practice by the privilege group tends to be the biggest hurdle for diffusion of 'foreign practice'. Another respondent from the higher education group who experienced dowry harassment shared her experience, Chitra said, "Me and my mother were against dowry, we told my in-laws, and they were ok with it. After marriage they started harassing me. They thought we would give them at least some amount of gold and my in laws said that they have bought me for free" मी आणि माजी आई हुंडा चा विरोधात होते. मी माज्या सासू सासऱ्या ना सांगितलं आणि ते बरं म्हणाले. लग्ना नंतर त्यांनी मला त्रास धायला सुरुवात केली. त्यांनी विचार केला आम्ही त्यांना सोनं देऊ. माझे सासू सासरे सगळ्या नातेवाईक ना सांगायचे कि आम्ही तिला फुकटात आणला आहे.   (Chitra. BNI respondent, second oral interview. 17:56).

With formal education, the oppressive gender acquired information regarding foreign practice, yet the adoption of the practice proved to be difficult as there is a lack of social support for foreign practice against Indian social practices.

Even greater obstacles to sociocultural change can be created by privileged groups that benefit from the existing social arrangements and thus have a vested interest in preserving them. They support efforts of change that enhance their wellbeing but actively oppose those that jeopardize their social and economic status[189].

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[188] Pratibha, BNI respondent, second session of oral interview. 22.30
[189] Bandura, 1986, 159

For educated women, adoption of acquired foreign practices which lacks social support or have negative consequences for educated women increase their vulnerability. As successful adoption in the society relies on the support of the privileged section which has a vested interest in preserving patriarchal tradition. On the other hand, the privileged section has created obstacles for the diffusion of foreign practices in the form of new traditions, blending consumer culture to old tradition and associating positive consequences with new traditions (Bandura 1986). In an interview Milan shared his experience, "Dowry has increased, and I am experiencing new forms of dowry. Because marriage is now like a show business in society. (…). Parents perceive that if they marry their daughters in such lavish style their daughter will be happy in marriage but in reality, that is not the case" हुंडा प्रथा वाढल्या आहेत, आणि मी हुंडा चा नवीन प्रकार अनुभवत आहे. आता लग्न है शो चा business झाला आहे. पालकांना वाटत कि जर आपण आपल्या मुलीच लग्न इतक्या आलिशान पद्धतीन केली तर त्यांचा मुली खुश राहतील पण वास्तवात तसं नसतं (Milan 23, 14-18. Original interview in Marathi)

Female education has diffused in Hindu society due to positive consequences in favor of male community unlike in Muslim religious thought community. In Muslim community female education is attached to negative consequences, such as educated Muslim girls ruin the family reputation after education. These are reaffirmed by religious preachers and low acceptance of educated Muslim girl after marriage[190] acts as the biggest obstacle for diffusion of female education among the Muslim thought community.

While comparing the formal education and media's role in diffusing foreign practices, the researcher perceived that, the thought community acquired information without any modeling in formal education whereas electronic media diffused effectively various foreign

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[190] EISAMO23, EIIMMO 15

practices with modeling.

Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action[191].

In case of different methods engaged by NGO experts and formal education, the thought community while acting with foreign practices has to solely rely on the consequences of their own actions unlike media with modeling provides foreign action with associated consequences which further can be used as a guide for consequences. The effective modeling by media is a rationale for investigating the role of the informal education in diffusion of foreign practices.

The second property of the related category "interfering" "creating meaning" signifies blending of foreign practices with pre-existing way of living. Bandura in his social cognitive theory of mass communication, while talking about impact of mass media on social learning stated that huge amount of information about human values and behavior pattern is gained from modeling in the symbolic environment of the mass media (Bandura 2001, P 271). This signifies the media's role in institutionalization of the "way of living" and new pattern of behavior. Styles and patterns are also diffused through modeling with consequences (Bandura 2001). However, foreign practices are diffused by media modeling through blending it with pre-existing shared social theories, as stated by Bandura that new idea is created by refining preexisting innovations and synthesizing them into new procedures and adding novel elements to it (Bandura 2001 and1986; Bolton 1993; Fimrite 1977). Most of the NGO experts shared one or two examples each of media creativeness or different styles of subjugating behavior. Such as Bhumati, an expert working against child sexual abuse shared how different Bollywood movies shows different pattern to woo a girl and in spite of girl's rejection boy

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[191] Bandura 1977, 22

pursue a girl consequentially the pattern established boy's masculinity and boost self-esteem[192].

While analyzing different new patterns of behavior diffused in society, many experts mentioned the institutionalization of patriarchal shared social theories due to media, the direction of "creating meaning" in respect of strengthening patriarchy in a subtle way. The example provided by expert Bhumati working against child sexual abuse asserted how the media boosts patriarchal shared social theories especially the role of pornography in creating patriarchal meaning which is responsible for strengthening objectification of women. She analyzed a film showing women as a mute recipient of a sexual act and they are treated as sexual object which further gets reaffirmed with other traditional values. Pornographic films reinforce a patriarchal way of living for which Bandura claimed that not all cultural values are blended with foreign practices, some cultural values which give high functional values are adopted in the same form (Bandura 2001, P 275). As already verified in the property of the sub-core category "treating dirty" various approaches towards sexuality such as lack of sexual education and sexual consent from women within marriage gives high functional value in women's subjugation. By creating symbolic modeling, visual media improvises existing social practices and conveys rules for generative and innovative behaviors as well (Bandura 2001, P 275). In the case of daily television serials, for example, the female protagonist is economically independent yet confirm to shared social theory with positive consequences in the form of societal acknowledgement as an ideal- women. Due to positive consequences the improvised rules are treated as relevant. The relevant and irrelevant are often byproduct of the information provided by newspaper, radio, and television (Zerubavel 1997, P 51). Visual media improvised the relevant information to suit varying circumstances, to convey generative and innovative rules with positive consequences, now an ideal woman is defined as one with a modern

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[192] Bhumati, 12, 4-8.

appearance but traditional approach. The "changing way of living" section of the substantive grounded theory presents how the thought community interprets the foreign element from a perceptual set of beliefs deriving from past experience and situational requirements affect how they interpret what they see and hear (Bandura 1977, P 25).

The second aspect of "creating meaning" is extracting meaning as per convenience from visual media- modeling, drawing out modeling behavior as a principal vehicle for justification for people's interpretation and action. Television is increasingly used as the principal vehicle of justification. Struggles to legitimize and gain support for one's value and causes and to discredit those of opponent's are now new social tussle and has gained popularity through electronic media (Bandura 1990 & 2001; Bassiouni 1981; Ball-Rokelache 1972). Various NGO experts analyzed the justification gained from visual media with different examples. Such as Kirti in her interview, she blames visual media's role in spreading gender inequality,

Media's role is confusing, media shows both sides of the same coin. The audience likes a convenient ideology they like those things which are suitable to their character. People do not want to take any responsibility for their values, they seek affirmation from the media about what values are. The audience hardly critically analyzes values. It creates confusion and one will follow those values which are convenient for his/her personality, thinking[193]".

This shows that the media is an impediment for NGO experts attempt for women's empowerment. In patriarchal shared social theories where patriarchy is convenient ideology for privileged sections, extracting convenient ideology from improvised social practices further shapes new realities leading to women subjugation. Cerulo claimed that new social realities are informed by mass mediated images and among multiple realities set forth by the modeled images, only a few are supported whereas others are ignored by the thought community as irrelevant (Cerulo 2002, P 183).

The thought community cognitively socialized to naturally consider some facts as relevant with socially arranged consequences (Bandura 1986; Zerubavel 1997). In patriarchal

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[193] Kirti, 15, 4-9

way of living, the convenient patriarchal information is extracted and treated it as a natural course of action. As quoted by Bandura in the article Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication that people imitate other action and held them as responsible for their personal action (Bandura 2001, P 279). Due to cognitive socialization, the thought community ignores certain information and considers certain information relevant, which tends to homogenize their experience, interpretation and action without one person feeling responsible about it (Bandura 2001; Kelman and Hamilton 1989). The masses do not extract information solely from visual media but also famous celebrities, religious preacher acts as a reference of behavior such as NGO expert Sudha in her interview analyzed, "A boy who is under juvenile house for child sexual harassment charges asked my fellow NGO case workers that what he has done by harassing a minor girl, look at that famous preacher he has also done it in the same way" एक मुलगा जो बाल कारागृह मध्ये आहे बाल लैंगिक गुन्हा अंतर्गत शिक्षा भोगत होता. त्यांनी माझ्या एका सहकार्याला विचारलं कि मी काय गुन्हा केला आहे जर मी एका मुलीचा छळ केला तर, तो एवढा मोठा धार्मिक गुरु त्यांनी पण केलाच आहे ना. (Sudha, 23, 9-11. Original expert interview in Marathi/English/Hindi). Bandura in his article explained this phenomenon as, when any action is performed due to personal gain, they recall the possible benefits of the behavior but are less able to remember its harmful effects. (Bandura 2001; Brock and Buss 1962, 1964).

The extracted convenient information diffused are the biggest obstacles for women empowerment. In the patriarchal way of living the privilege group actively supports women subjugation, even though the information is detrimental or inhumane, people actively support it due to personal gain. Bandura's statement supports what Sudha said regarding religious preachers and also depicts the impact of preachers on the society.

The next property of the related category interfering analyzes the religious preachers' impact on the way of living. The researcher analyzed that, the thought community acquired

information through NGO experts and formal education but without any modeling. Therefore, an actor has to rely his/her perception of consequences of an action based on acquired foreign information. Whereas the thought community acquired information given by media is in the form of modeling, where a model blends the pre-existing patriarchal values with foreign values. This blending is provided with a consequence in the form of entertainment. Thus, the thought community is provided an action with its consequences by media modeling. Due to media modeling, the thought community has an accessible cause and effect of any action. Comparing this with religious preachers, the researcher perceives that they refer to various mythological stories for the cause- and- effect relationship. Preachers acts as a model who puts obstacles in diffusion and provides the existent way of living with other worldly positive consequences.

The property of the related category of "interfering", "glorifying" the way of living, the influential modeling reaffirms the way of living with mythological example with positive consequences in the form of sacred and pure and divide the world into mutually exclusive compartments. Different preachers of different religions in India are detrimental to various foreign innovations. For example, Muslim religious preachers act as an obstacle for the diffusion of female education, associating it with negative consequences.

"Customizing way", a property of "approaching" and "glorifying" way of living, a property of "interfering" act as an obstacle for women's empowerment through reinforcing the age-old practice with positive consequences and other properties of "approaching" and "interfering" diffused foreign knowledge in the thought group. Analyzing the polar opposite and ambivalent stock of knowledge on foreign social practice permeates into the thought community. The thought community extracts, interprets and acts with incoming foreign social practices through different external sources, which are subjects of investigation and the next property "changing" is a cause of BSP for the related category "approaching" and "interfering". "Changing way of living" due to the two stages of basic social process verifies the changing

status of women due to diffused foreign knowledge and through interpretation and action leading to victimizing educated women in the society.

2.3 New shared social theories

Foreign practices, which shaped new social realities and further manifested into 'shared social theories' on the basis of which society shapes women's status or empowerment in the future. The next property shows the consequences of foreign diffusion; interpretation and action due to foreign knowledge are investigated. "Foreign practices are rarely adoptable in their entirety. Rather, imported elements are usually synthesized with indigenous patterns into new forms of mixed origins. In many instances, it is functional equivalents rather than exact replicas of foreign ways that are adopted" (Bandura 1986, P 158). This indicates that the Indian thought community interpreted and reshaped borrowed elements. There are some groups in the society which have stronger opposition of diffusion of certain behavior in society (Bandura 1986), the tussle is likely to give shape to new realities. This section discussed the new way of living due to diffused knowledge, interpretation and behavior of the thought community within the framework of cognitive socialization. As stated by Bandura, the knowledge leads to an action, various foreign social practices informed by various sub systems are interpreted with cognitive socialization (Bandura 1986).

"Bounded freedom", the first property for the related category "changing way of living" verifies pretension of freedom in a limited sense, adoption of an acquired information regarding freedom of women perceived from the rudimentary way of living. Interpretation of foreign practices of women freedom from pre-existing rudimentary way of living leads to a new way of living. An adoption of freedom for women is the cumulative impact of female education and economic independence due to the onset of globalization and popping up of consumer culture in the country. First, the adoption of female education was an outcome of positive

consequences linked to it in the form of good prospective for marriage and economic independence of women as economic gain due to the cost- of- living. The freedom came as a cumulative effect for the gain of privilege group. However, the foreign practice freedom attributes are interpreted with a rudimentary way of living by the thought community and has given patriarchal attributes to the concept of freedom. As Zerubavel stated, "we often develop a strong cognitive 'commitment' to such structures, to the point of actually trying to make what we perceive through our senses fit them instead of the other way around. In order to make sense of novel situations, we thus often try to mentally force them into such pre-existing schemas" (1997, P 24).

The category "bounded freedom" is a perception of pre-existing schemas such as in patriarchal shared social theories the thesis perceived new form of gender division of labor which has restricted the gender equality in the society. The shared experience by Sudha, "Young men say that they must have a motorcycle. If asked why, they say attract girls or that girls become friend with boys who have vehicles. A motorcycle makes life easier. So, this is an egocentric notion of a relationship. Consumer culture is making patriarchy stronger. A woman is subsuming her right to say no. Her wishes are fulfilled by a boyfriend who has money and she fall prey to patriarchal culture as she wants a man to fulfill her wish". (Sudha, 10, 6-13. Original expert interview in Marathi/English/Hindi). तरुण मुलं म्हणतात कि त्यांना मोटोरसायकल घ्यावी लागते, जेव्हा त्यांना विचारतात का तर सांगतात कि त्यांना मुलींना पटवायचा असत अथवा त्या मुली त्यांचा आकर्षित होतात ज्यांचा कडे वाहन असत. मोटोरसायकल्स है आयुष्य सोप्पं करत. म्हणजे है अहंकारिक चौकट आहे संबंध ची चौकट आहे. ग्राहक संस्कृती हि पितृसत्ता बळकट करते. बाई स्वतःचा नाही म्हणायचं अधिकार सोडून देते. तिचा सगळ्या इच्छा तिचा मित्र पूर्ण करतो आणि ती त्या पितृसत्ता ला शरण जाते कारण तिला तिचा इच्छा पूर्ण करायचा असतात. She shares a novel situation where the women have

framed the consumer culture with existing schema. Freedom of choice is succumbed to the old shared social theories.

The second aspect of the new social realities as stated by Bandura is that with changing socio-cultural change, consumer culture, people will have to learn to cope with new realities if existence. In this era, there are possibility of adopting activities that can produce harmful consequences but maximize personal rewards. In this situation, these new realities need a conscious consideration and responsibility to promote good in the ways that still preserve the greatest possible individual freedom (Bandura 1977, P 212). Economic structural changes and onset of globalization gave rise to consumerist culture, which has shaped new social realities in favor of collective interest and in favor of patriarchal culture for smooth working of the society. Due to economic structural changes women have become a labor who shares the cost of living with a male member of society. Considering this as a positive consequences limited freedom is conferred by society to women which has shaped new social realities in the form "bounded freedom". Sudha said that in order to save the collective interest or patriarchal shared social theories, women are cognitively socialized to consider freedom of choice but within the framework of patriarchy. Absolute freedom of women is not even taken into consideration by the society. New social realities are interpreted from the rudimentary way of living and created as well as adopted with new positive consequences around the new patriarchal shared social theories. In a rigid society like India, an individual choice or individual freedom is associated with patriarchy.

The cognitive socialization is associated with positive consequences and patriarchal values which gets further reaffirmed through new realities. The second facet of the "bounded freedom" is diffused foreign practice of women as an economic contributor in the family in the realm of increasing cost of living due to structural inequality in the country. New realities created are increasing women's labor participation however, their economic freedom is

bounded by patriarchal shared social theories as financial resources are at the disposal of male members of the society. An economically independent woman is bound to submit their freedom and remuneration to a male member of the family in order to receive positive acknowledgment in the society. "Even greater obstacles to sociocultural change can be created by privileged groups that benefit from the existing social arrangements and thus have a vested interest in preserving them. They support efforts of change that enhance their wellbeing but actively oppose those that jeopardize their social and economic status. They mount counterinfluence by bringing coercive pressure to bear on less advantaged members, who have the most to gain from reforms and are, therefore, more receptive to them". (Bandura 1986, P 159). The quotation represents, the current direction of sociocultural change in India. The society wants to preserve patriarchy and give women economic freedom as it increases their social and economic status. Simultaneously, there is pressure to submit their remuneration to a male who restricts their freedom and increases vulnerability.

In addition to economic independence, an ideal woman is defined as well educated, modern in appearance, yet a woman who upholds a traditional gender division of labor,

What I find that now is that men are confused that they lack clarity about their future partner. Men want educated modern and with whom they can go out and they want to be seen as a modern couple. A modern wife can be a good mother and socialize children and educate children. An educated woman can be a helping hand to combat economic dearness and adjustment to cost of living. So, men want equality as it is the latest trend. Women must share equal responsibility and simultaneously fulfill all domestic responsibilities. Husbands lack clarity about their role in traditional house chores, even if they are clear men don't want to do it. Men don't want to take responsibility, which has raised stress levels[194]. मला काय बघायला मिळत कि लोका ना स्पष्ट माहित नाही कि त्यांना त्यांचा साथी कसा हवा आहे. पुरुषा ना शिक्षित, आधुनिक बायका पाहिजे. ज्यांचा बरोबर ते बाहेर जाऊ शकतात. लोकांनी त्यांचा कडे एक आधुनिक जोडी म्हणून बघावं असा त्यांना वाटत असत. एक आधुनिक बायको हि चांगली आई असते आणि मुलांना चांगला वाढवू शकते, शिक्षण देऊ शकते. एक शिक्षित बाई हि महागाई शी लढ्याला मदत करते आणि घरखर्च ला हातभार लावू शकते. म्हणजे पुरुषाना समानता पाहिजे कारण तो हल्लीचा कल झाला आहे. आता बायका नि सामान जवाबदारी घेतली पाहिजे पण त्या बरोबर तिने सगळ्या घरेलू जवाबदाऱ्या पण पार पडल्या पाहिजे. नवऱ्यां याचा मध्ये

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[194] Anchala, 62, 8-12.

कप्लना चा नसते कि घराचा काम मध्ये त्यांनी काय जवाबदाऱ्या घेतल्या पाहिजे आणि जरी असल्या तरी त्यांना ते करायचा नसतं. त्याचा मुले तणाव हल्ली खूप वाढत आहे.

This verifies the assertion that blending of new information with old traditional perceptual set of beliefs, new social realities are shaped by the Indian thought community, from cognitive discourse where the brain processes the new information on the basis of old representational schemata. According to cognitive scientist, an old concepts and assumption form representational constructs which are foundation for interpreting new information. As Cerulo stats:

> According to cognitive scientists, these processes (sorting and organizing information) are inexorably tied to two distinct characteristics of the brain: the brain's warehouse of representational constructs (including concepts, frames, formats and schemata), and its capacity to integrate new information with such constructs. For cognitive scientists, representational constructs constitute the very fuel of thought; they are critical data banks within the brain's elaborate processing apparatus[195]. (Cerulo 2002, P 113).

The representational constructs, which include patriarchal concepts, frames of the Indian thought community as already discussed in the core category of substantive grounded theory, provide foundation for the thought process. Thus, the diffused innovation, which is interpreted from old schemata considers old patriarchal norms as relevant. To keep pace with outside world, the new information is extracted but within the framework of traditional knowledge, in new form. These new forms of relevant norms are responsible for increasing vulnerabilities of women.

Bandura extends social cognitive theory to gender development and differentiation in which he stated, women's belief about their capabilities and their career aspirations are shaped by undermining social practices within the family, the educational system, peer relationships, mass media, the occupational system and culture at large (Bussey and Bandura 1999; Bandura 1997; Phillips and Zimmerman 1990; Signorielli 1990; Eccles 1989; Jacobs 1989; Betz and Fitzgeald 1987; Gettys and Cann 1981; Hackett and Betz, 1981; McGhee and Frueh 1980;

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[195] Cerulo, 2002, 113.

Dweck Davidson Nelson and Enna 1978). Indian women are cognitively socialized to consider the male as supreme as discussed in the core-category and sub-core category of substantive grounded theory. Indian women's cognitive socialization to consider themselves as inferior, which further get reaffirmed by formal education, media, religious preachers and NGO experts following "customizing way" as already discussed in the related category of the grounded theory. The cumulative effect of various social practices leading to low self- esteem for women undermines their capability and shaping to a new reality called "submitting insecurities". This signifies a new reality molding society, from existing schemata of 'being women'. Women that are cognitively socialized into various social practices commodification or objectification, shaped their capabilities and their career aspirations with low self-esteem.

The excessive burden on women to maintain their job, due to external factors such as the rising cost of living, maintaining employment stability, insecurities posed due to global competition and consumer culture. Thus, to maintain their job in order to become an ideal woman, women granting sexual favors become new realities in current scenario. As discussed by an expert, "Since the beginning, parents have curbed their decision- making power and this limitation becomes a part of their personality, resulting in women's submission. They do not agitate. So many times, I have seen women compromise, and unknowingly present themselves as a commodity" सुरुवाती पासूनच पालक स्वतःचा मुलाला स्वतःचा निर्णय घेण्याची क्षमता वर अंकुश ठेवतात आणि है त्यांचा व्यक्तिमत्व चा एक भाग होतो आणि त्या मुले बायका सुबमिसिव्ह होतात. ते आंदोलन नाही करत. खूप वेळा मी बघते कि बायका तडजोड करतात आणि नकळत स्वतःला एक वस्तू म्हणून पुढे करतात (Nima. 14, 8-12. Original expert interview in English).

Sociocultural changes in India have posed a new challenge for Indian women in the form of increasing cost of living. The burden to survive in their job has made them compromise

or present themselves as a commodity. Another approach of submitting insecurities is shaped realities for marginalized caste/class women's upward mobility.

New social realities for marginalized caste and class women are shaped by privilege caste/class insecurities due to upward mobility seen since the rise in female education and multiple sources of opportunities in the country. Aradhana shared various experiences of upward mobility and their impact on higher caste/class, "Now the marginalized caste/class women get an education, to become economically independent and they want to enjoy their economic freedom. So, when the higher caste/class sexually exploits them and if we ask why then their answer is these women are like that, they are smart, they wear short dresses to attract us. So, the higher caste/class men blame women. The real reason for this is that the upward mobility of the marginalized section makes them more insecure". आता उपेक्षित जाती आणि वर्गाचा बायकाना शिक्षण मिळत, म्हणजे ते आर्थिक द्रीष्टी ने सक्षम आहे आणि त्यांना त्यांचे आर्थिक स्वातंत्र्य उपभोगायचा असत. जेव्हा उच्च शिक्षित जाती आणि वर्गा चे लोक त्यांचा लैंगिक शोषण केलं जात आणि जेव्हा विचारला जात का तर त्यांचा उत्तर असत त्या बायका तशाच असतात. ते हुशार आहेत, ते तोकडे कपडे घालतात आम्हाला लुभावण्या साठीं. म्हणजे उच्च वर्गीय पुरुष बायका ना दोषी ठरवतात. जेवढे ते प्रगती करतात तेवढा उच्च वर्गीय ना त्याचा असुरक्षित वाटत (Aradhana, 42, 6-12. Original expert interview in Marathi)

The modern outlook of the marginalized caste/class women are interpreted by higher caste/class community from a rudimentary knowledge of caste culture as already discussed in the sub core category of the substantive classical grounded theory. Upward mobility of lower caste/class women posed insecurities for the power of upper caste/class people shaping new realities in the form of sexual exploitation and exploitation at the work- place including caste-based priority in promotion. Division of labor at the work- place on the basis of caste are new realities shaping current Indian society. Bandura provides a possible explanation to these

realities as, "Detrimental social practices occur and resist change, even within an open society, when many people benefit from them. To take a prevalent example, inequitable treatment of disadvantaged groups for private gain can enjoy public support without requiring despotic rule." (Bandura 1977, P 212). The caste system was religiously sanctioned on the basis of economic reciprocity (Frietas 2006; Neale 1957).

Reaffirmation of the caste system with motivational inducement of being privileged and possessing purity for the higher caste is detrimental to the upward mobility of the lower caste/class who want to maintain their status and power of being privilege group. The diffusion of innovation among lower caste/class gave them the opportunity for upward mobility, but the privileged caste of the society to maintain hierarchy creates impediments to curb the mobility. The new realities taking shape for this purpose are blaming girls' modern appearance for sexual harassment on them, honor killing – killing a lower caste/class boy or girl who defy alliance customs by marrying outside the religion or caste. Allotting laborious work to lower caste men and intellectual work to upper caste men with the same educational qualifications is a new form of harassment at the work- place.

Another property of the related category "changing way of living" of the substantive theory victimizing educated women is "supporting technology", which signifies new realities shaped and reaffirmed due to technological evolution. Technological evolution, especially interactive communicative applications such as WhatsApp, Facebook and e-mail have a great influence in day-to-day life interactions. Not only communicative technology but various scientific technology is used to institutionalize the patriarchal social norms by the thought community. For example, through technology such as an invention of amniocentesis techniques, a medical procedure for pre- natal genetic studies during pregnancy. Generally, the

test is used to evaluate a baby's health[196]. In India, the technique is used to detect the pre- natal determination of fetal sex. A female offspring in India is not welcomed due to various social reasons discussed in the core category. Due to amniocentesis the vested interests of privileged group are maintained and shape new social reality. Bandura (2001a, P 18) argued that the everyday life of the people is increasingly impacted by technological evolution and people unconsciously use interactive communicative applications in their everyday lives. In his own words, "The very technologies they create to control their life environment paradoxically can become a constraining force that, in turn, controls how they think and behave. The social machinery of society is no less challenging. The beneficiaries of existing sociocultural practice wield their influence to maintain their vested interest" (P 18-19). The privileged section of the society exerts its power and control using technology.

Cognitive sociology teaches the relevant factor that are reaffirmed through the interactive communication technologies, the patriarchal sociocultural practice widely influences through this application. For example, various experts gave examples of sexual abusive remarks through WhatsApp and Facebook. The thought community considers the use of the global technology to established patriarchy as relevant factor. Various technological appliances are used to blackmail women by filming private moments and using Multimedia messages to make these films go viral. Various experts mentioned youth's obsession with pornography, fantasizing and imitating a sexual act of pornography as new social realities. The pornographic images of women as a mute recipient during sexual intercourse are associated with shared social theories of the objectification of women and cultural silence on sexuality in the society. The association leads to a violent sexual act, lack of consent and sexual abuse during an act. One NGO expert working against child sexual abuse mentioned how easy it is

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[196] For more reference, please refer to http://www.fortishealthcare.com/india/key-medical-procedures/amniocentesis-147. Accessed on October 27, 2017.

for children to access porn movies. They interpret these animalistic sexual acts and the interpretation leads them to be violent in sexual relations, making it a new social reality. In this context, when exposed to several male and female models, who all displays high consensus in their behavioral preference, children selectively follow the actions of the same sex models (Bandura 1986; Perry and Bussey 1979). Among the same sex model, boys are more prone to emulate power than are girls. (Bandura 1986, P 207). Boys' tendencies to imitate male models of a porn film with preexisting schema such as the objectification of women and sexual silence in the society, turning a violent sexual act into a normal way of living.

The diffused knowledge on foreign social practices through various sub system posed an enormous influx of foreign information in the society. The foreign information which enters in the thought community is interpreted in such a way as to fit into existing schema. The next property of the related category "changing" is "interpreting knowledge", exhibits the interpretation of knowledge from traditional framework by modern women in the society. The property signifies the extracting and interpreting meaning from foreign data to fit into existing mental schema. An expert working against sex selective abortion shared his experience that doctor gives justification that they are doing social work. Instead of going through all these difficulties and toleration, the doctors prefer to kill female fetus[197]. Information of detrimental social practices are extracted and fit with positive consequences say for example consequences in the form of monetary gain (Bandura 1986), the new information is mixed with origins to gain possible future consequences. Foreign practices are adopted in the form of functional equivalents than exact replicas of it (Bandura 1986, P 158).

Technological innovations are synthesized with old patterns for positive inducement in the form of monetary gains as amniocentesis technology is used for sex selective abortion to gain large amounts of wealth. The interpreting knowledge analyzed how human infers meaning

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[197] Suchit, 15, 7-10

when they come across new information. When the people from the Indian thought community come across foreign information, the contradictory data is blended out of scenario and buried in the deep recesses of the brain. "In retrieving memories, previously stored schemata can shape that which we remember. Schematically linked information is the first and easiest to retrieve. In contrast, non- schematically linked information may fail to be located, thus forcing us to 'fill in the blanks' with data from an active schema" (Cerulo 2002, P 204). The process of blending scientific knowledge with active schemata creates new realities such as the knowledge of menstruation blood, in the words of Suchit, an expert who is undertaking sexual education workshop, "While conducting sexual education workshop some parents talked about how menstrual blood is impure and full of bacteria. The educated middle class knows that isolation during menstruation is a sign of illiteracy, so they do not do that. But they are not allowed to touch idols of God and women are not allowed to perform any rituals for this time. They are somewhat confused about everything[198]". लैंगिक शिक्षण वर जेव्हा आम्ही workshop घेतो तेव्हा खूप पालक आपल्या मुलींना पिरियड च रक्त है अशुद्ध आणि किटाणू युक्त असतात. शिक्षित मध्यमवर्गीय लोकांना माहित आहे कि पिरियड मध्ये बाजूला बसवणं है आढणी लोक करतात. म्हणून आता ते करत नाहीत. पण ते बायकांना देवाचा मूर्तीला ला हात नाही लावू देत किंवा देवपूजा नाही करू देत. ते सगळ्याचा बाबतीत एकंदरीत सगळ्याच बाबतीत गोंधळ आहे. In Indian society menstruation blood is considered impure and dirty and most menstruating girls and women face restrictions in their day to today activities (Garg and Anand 2015). The experience narrated by the experts verify Bandura' statement regarding interpreting knowledge to fit into rudimentary knowledge and creating new social practices. Keeping the cultural taboo regarding menstruation blood intact new knowledge is extracted and fit into a new way of living. "But on a larger scale, those things that one remembers and

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[198] Suchit, 18, 6-12.

forgets, the schemata activated or deactivated in the process of storage and retrieval, are also guided by the social situations, cultural contexts, and thought communities to which one belongs" (Cerulo 2002, P 204). It depicts the new scientific knowledge regarding menstruation blood one remembers from active schemata of menstruation myths embedded in Indian culture.

Various foreign innovations are guided by cultural norms stored in active schemata and retrieval of information is significantly guided by cultural context, the argument fits well to next property of the related category "changing" "dealing ambiguity" which signifies a tussle between modern individuals and traditional society leading to anomic and ambiguous realities. For example, due to economic structural inequality, women are supposed to work which improves the status of and brings money to the privilege Indian community, but cognitive socialization has taught the thought community to consider gender roles with positive consequences which further gets institutionalized by the electronic media. Thus, already established in the thesis that the direction of change in Indian society are in favor of privilege community (Bandura 1986), women share the extra burden in the form of new roles associated with them such as educated, independent, financial supporter at the same time subscribing to all traditional gender roles. Though women are cognitively socialized to consider their traditional roles as relevant. In spite of various channels institutionalized by patriarchal assumption and norms, formal education, media, and other channels of communication Indian women learned about other cultures especially status of women in western society which tend to expand their horizons (Zerubavel 1997, P 51) the horizons expand and diffused innovation and assemble to fit with the rudimentary knowledge (Bandura 1986, P 168). Modern women, one with additional financial responsibility but an established gender role put women under stress and burden. Due to this burden, inability to perform gender roles makes women feel guilty.

Other realities due to diffusion of innovation perceived by experts are due to perceived negative consequences around premarital sex as discussed in the sub-core category of the substantive theory. Many experts note that in contemporary India premarital sex is not being restricted any more due to the inducement of pleasantness, which has given rise to new realities as mentioned by the expert Vishumati, who works with adolescent shared her experience in the interview, she said:

> I have noticed that today's youth does not have any issue with sexuality, they (women) are not afraid. Earlier it was a norm that premarital sex is only with a boy whom you will marry later. Now that's not an issue. Now they (men-women) just see their own pleasure and convenience. And we see lots of cases where women are in love, they all have pink glasses or men take entire responsibility of their girlfriend. Now a days due to technology they stay constantly in touch each other for 24 hours. So, they have deep involvement. After that romantic period is over, they realize that they are not compatible with each other and then women treat that as a fraud, and they blame men as a cheater as they are physically involved. They feel guilty for getting physically involved before marriage. Women embrace premarital sex, but they have guilt[199]. मला एक गोष्ट जाणवते कि आजच्या तरुण मुलांना लैंगिकता बद्दल काही घेणे देणे नसतं. मुली घाबरत नाही. आधी असं असायचं कि ज्याचा बरोबर लग्न करायचा आहे त्याचा बरोबर पूर्व वैवाहिक शारीरिक संबंध ठेवला तर चालत. आता तसं काही राहिला नाही. आता फक्त ते स्वतःचा आनंद आणि सुविधा बघतात. आणि आम्ही अशा खूप केसेस बघतो जेव्हा बायका चा डोळ्या वर गुलाबी चष्मा असतो आणि पुरुष सगळ्या जवाबदाऱ्या घेतो तिच्या. आता टेकनॉलॉजि मुळे ते एकमेकांचा संपर्कात २४ तास राहतात. म्हणून त्यांना एकमेकांचा खूप सवय होते. जसा तो रोमँटिक काळ संपतो तसं त्यांना लक्षात येत कि ते अनुरूप नाही आहेत आणि मग बायका त्याला फसवणूक समजतात कारण ते एकमेकांशी शारिरिक रित्या गुंतलेल्या असतात. त्यांना अपराधीबोध जाणवत कि ते शारिरिक संबंध ठेवले आहे पण त्यांना त्याचा अपराधबोध जाणवतो.

In new realities premarital sex is now interpreted with rudimentary knowledge. Failure in solemnising marriage is perceived as fraud by women as premarital sex is associated with impurity. As Bandura claims, "Each culture contains a vast store house of percepts and rules which are transmitted to its members in codified form by social, educational and legal agencies. After people come to regard, by one way or another, certain cues as reliable predictors of effects, they guide their actions partly by them. They fear and shun things that, in their judgment, portend aversive experiences but like and seek out those that hold promise of pleasantness." (Bandura 1986, P 183). Here schema discussed is sexual purity learned as

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[199] Vishumati, 10, 8-13.

relevant due to cognitive socialization by women and reaffirmed by NGO expert following "customizing way" approach.

Perceived consequences of premarital sex give rise to fear and guilt among women and they perceive the action as cheating. They perceive these actions as men fake romantic relationship in order to enjoy only sexual intimacy with them. Pre-marital sex is not taboo due to the fact that they have pleasure seeking attributes. They are codified and interpreted from the rudimentary shared social theories, the mixed feeling of pleasure and guilt is an outcome of the interpretation from active schemata. The "customizing way" and shared social theories posed a negative outcome for a premarital sex, due to pleasurable attributes. In the absence of a reliable predictor, they restrain their conduct in the form of fraud or cheating. Thus, "customizing way" and "reaching roots" leads to ambiguous result due to shared social theories.

The diffused innovation of live-in relationships is accepted by women as a modern social practice, but notion purity associated with sexual intimacy creates guilt among women giving rise to a new trend of violence in a live-in relationship. The blending of old and new can be seen as a modernity but with a traditional outlook. One expert explained how young generation carries symbolic meaning for revealing clothes due to shared social theories, so in new social realities men don't want their wives to wear traditional wear but are also not fine with revealing clothes. Zerubavel said the meaning of symbols generally interpreted from the way they are semiotically positioned in our minds Vis-a Vis other symbols (Zerubavel 1997, P 72). The meaning associated in the minds of Indian thought community to revealing clothes represents the character of a woman and marked new social realities in the form of modern outlook in a limited sense with traditional set up. The entire modernity is defined from a perceptual set of principles and the interpretation states what actions give positive consequences learnt from a perceptual set to guide our behavior.

Section III: Theory of Victimization: Understanding from a Cognitive Perspective

The thesis investigates the contemporary social status of Indian women and defines education in terms of informal, formal and non- formal education (Coomb and Ahmed, 1974)[200]. The thesis aims at investigating NGO expert's perception on the role of education in the diffusion of foreign knowledge and thus in the process of women empowerment as diffused foreign social norms and practices lead to interpretation and new realities on various gender social practices.

Investigating NGO experts' perception of the status of women's empowerment due to social change in India, shared different experience by the participants lead to a substantive theory, "the theory of victimization of educated women in India". The thesis used cognitive theoretical stance to understand present NGO perception on new realities of women subjugation. The marked rudimentary knowledge is used to verify the new social practices in the society. The thesis manifests relevant and irrelevant information associated with consequences taught by cognitive socialization, the consequences associated with the information made relevant information as natural or inevitable. Relevant information is institutionalized due to external sources and thus the process exerts tacit social pressure on social beings to confirm the societal norms and practices (Zerubavel 1997; Bandura 1986). The core category "way of living" well fit to the concept shared social theories. The way of living considered natural by the Indian thought community, various influential forces such as NGO experts' approach, formal education, media and religious institutions on the core category "way

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[200] Philip Coomb and Manzoor Ahmed, Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press (1974), quoted in Albert, Tuijnman, and Boström, Ann-Kristin. Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning. International Review of Education 48, no. 1 (2002): 93-110.

of living" which has strengthened the patriarchal shared social theories resulting in the victimization of educated women. As discussed earlier, NGO experts communicate with the thought community regarding foreign practices, however without any associated consequences. On the other hand, formal education gives knowledge but with the reinforcement of focusing and ignoring training solidifying cognitive socialization further. Media shows various innovations with consequences that have a great impact on the thought community due to media- models. Investigating the cumulative impact of the external sources on shaping new realities through cognitive discourse, the thesis understands the direction of the multiple realities which are set forth by various institutions, a few supported with blending and others are put aside as irrelevant (Altheide 2002, P 183)[201].

The basic social process to changing realities leads to the subjugation of educated women in the Indian society, as quoted by Zerubavel that people draw meaning out of experience. The special mental lenses one acquires to draw meaning from experience is through socialization (Zerubavel 1991, P 80). The way of living signifies such mental lenses, which the thought community acquire through the process of socialization. As discussed earlier, the "way of living" provides the patriarchal mental lenses through which the Indian thought community perceive and interpret the information regarding foreign innovation. The BSP "changing" analyzes new realities with various properties, each property analyzes how diffusion of knowledge impacts subjugation. The thesis reveals how foreign knowledge leads to "the victimization of educated Indian women". Various properties such as "bounded freedom", "submitting insecurities", "supporting technology", "interpreting knowledge" and "dealing with ambiguity" signify foreign knowledge with patriarchal traditional mental lenses of the thought community. The properties signify diffused knowledge used for women's subjugation

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[201] David Altheide, "Tracking Discourse", in Culture in Mind: Toward a Sociology of Culture and Cognition, ed.Karen Cerulo (New York, Routeledge, 2002), 183.

in contemporary Indian society. Cognitive socialization teaches the social being what to see and what to ignore and how to interpret. With patriarchal cognitive socialization the normal "way of living" is interpreted to fit in patriarchal social norms. The diffused foreign innovation is selective for the benefits of patriarchal shared social theories, and the diffused innovation is blended to fit in traditional way of living, cognitive socialization which exert tacit pressure through positive consequences to confirm way of living.

The selective social practices are diffused by privileged section for which they have vested interest in preserving them. Privileged group supports changes that enhance their wellbeing but actively oppose those that jeopardize or are detrimental to their social and economic status (Bandura 1986, P 159). He alludes to the wellbeing of the privileged group, which can be seen from the diffusion of female education. This gives the privileged group a higher status in the Hindu community and economic independence to women as it positively impacts the privileged community but on the other hand the information regarding dowry as illegal has not diffused as the tradition brings economic rewards for the patriarchal community. Cognitive socialization, which has taught to consider patriarchal shared social theories relevant for the thought community and various foreign social practices fit with a patriarchal way of living with positive consequences, a new way of living is formed which becomes way of living and framework to interpret foreign practice such as the interpreting modernity with traditional perceptual set of beliefs established patriarchy in a stronger way than before. Thus, the theory represents cyclical process of the rudimentary values and new values.

The process of victimization of educated Indian women is due to two reasons firstly as discussed earlier the cognitive sociology gives the thought community a mental horizon to interpret what is relevant and irrelevant, the irrelevant the thought community ignore just as background and focus only on patriarchal relevant facts among all information (Zerubavel 1997), as Zerubavel claims, "Yet delineating our attention also entails some mental

constriction. After all, the fine lines that help us separate that which ought to 'enter' our minds from everything else inevitably also constrict our thinking" (1997, P 37). This addresses the "way of living" or shared social theories is a rudimentary thought process and mental horizon of the thought community. The patriarchal rudimentary thought is a boundary for considering relevant and irrelevant facts which further reaffirmed due to peer groups and neighborhood.

The reaffirmation of the relevant information acting as a guideline for action, which comes with prescribed consequences observed or communicated by the member of the society for smooth interaction in the society. Consequences are reaffirmed by religious preachers, NGO experts following customizing way and to some extent electronic media, the reaffirmation in a way impede foreign social practices which brings women empowerment in the country for the sake of collective interest. The patriarchal shared social theories which constrict the minds of the community and shared homogenous experiences due to cognitive socialization ignore the empowering values such as Muslim community ignore female education as preachers posed impediments by preaching the negative consequences of female education. Thus, the benefits of collectivity are judged in the form of power to privilege community and subjugation to oppressed community. Thus, the process of diffusion is selective and making patriarchy stronger. Such as in figure 4, the vertical line depicts diffused knowledge due to external sources. The knowledge is perceived through old "way of living" which is shown in the figure with a circle. The convenient knowledge gives way to new belief and action which is shown in left horizontal line called as "changing new way of living" or cognitive shift a community undergoes due to diffusion of knowledge.
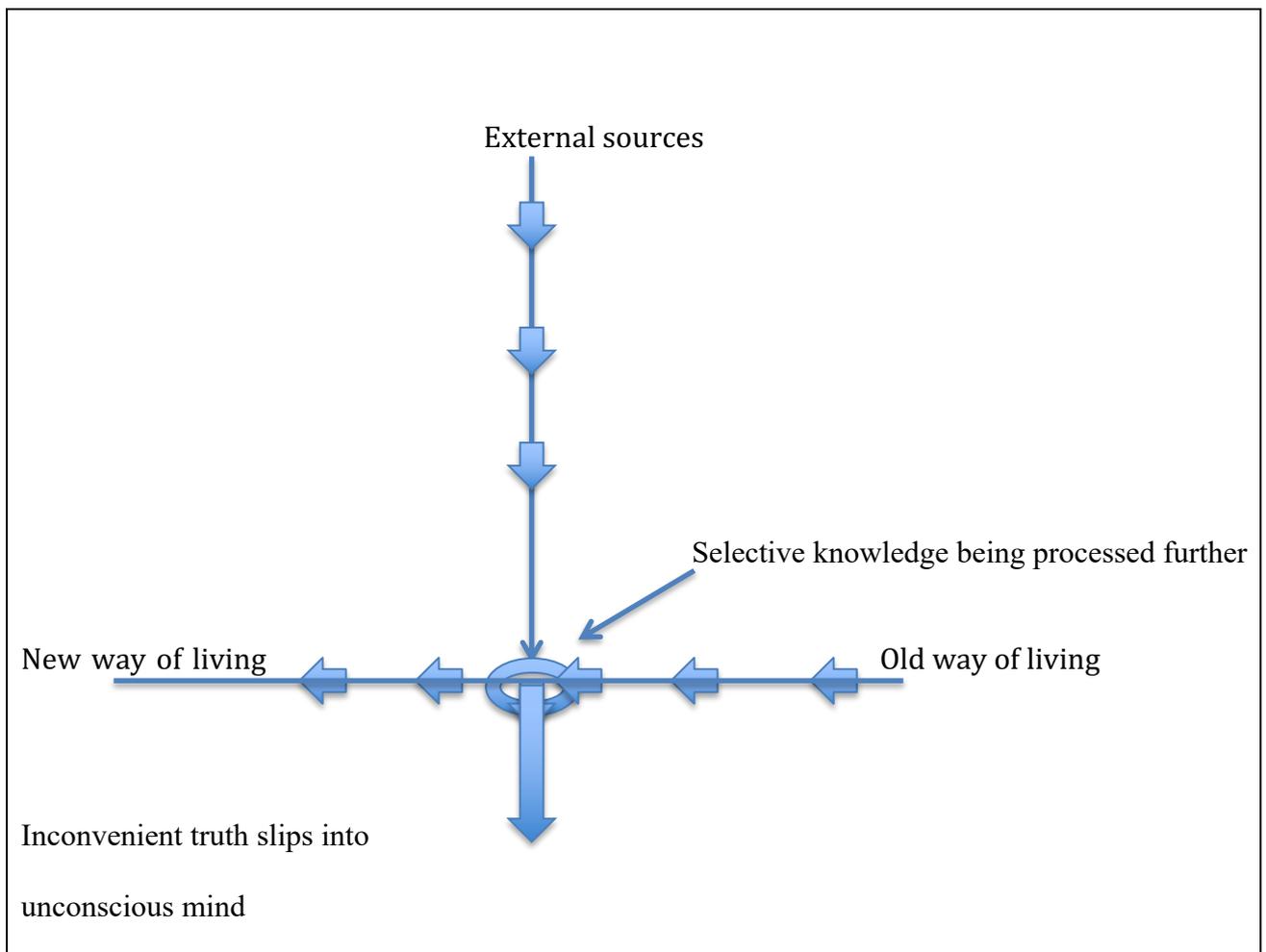
Figure 4 : Process of cognitive shift achieved by the community

The burden of surviving with new foreign innovation and new realities leads to the excessive victimization of women in the country. The foreign diffusion in the society which strengthens patriarchy validates Karl Mannheim's postulation, "It is not men in general who think, or even isolated individuals who do the thinking, but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought …. Strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that a single individual think. Rather it is more correct to insist that he participates in the thinking further what other men have thought before him" (Mannheim 1936, P 3)[202]. The quotation claimed normative dimension of thinking given by socialization and further citizen contributes to the

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[202] Karl Mahnheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Harvest, 1936 [1929], p 3, quoted in Eviatar Zerubavel, Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology (Harvard University press, 1997), p 8.

patriarchal way of thinking. This dictum holds true for future generations with an improvised nature of patriarchy. The thought community participates by providing them a large amount of information and attitudes such as members of the thought community provided with patriarchal shared social theories, the norms and social practice are stored without tags for either source or truth value (DiMaggio 2002; Johnson et al. 1993; Gilbert 1991)[203]. This large amount of information is organized into schemata, schemata consist of pictorial and verbal images, actions or events linking these with stereotypes routine behaviors on the basis of which the thought community confirm smooth interaction (DiMaggio 2002)[204]. The social schemata provide a framework to interpret new information and more likely to perceive information that is consistent with existing schemata (DiMaggio 2002, 1997)[205].

The patriarchal way of thinking is further established in spite of sociocultural and technological evolution in the society. The sociocultural change in the society instigated women freedom and education of women but within the patriarchal realm. The normative dimension of thinking resulting action has brought the victimization of educated women in the country.

However, the researcher noted that in spite of strong collective cognitive socialization, the status of women tends to change in the country. Such as more women coming out in public. Recent public agitation in the case of Delhi gang rape (2012) shows women are confronting with violence. The victimization of women is a part of the process of women being empowered. The process of empowerment has posed threat to privilege group and victimization is repercussion of such threat. The ongoing "me too" movement at global level, where women came out in public shared their stories of sexual harassment is indeed a positive step to nullify negative consequences for women who agitate against gender-based violence. The "me too"

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[203] Paul DiMaggio, "Why Cognitive (And Cultural) Sociology Needs Cognitive Psychology" in Culture in Mind: Toward A Sociology of Culture And Cognition, ed Karen Cerulo (New York, Routeledge,2002),276
[204] ibid., 276
[205] ibid., 276

movement has been affecting at local level. More and more women are coming out to share their ordeal too. Thus, more and more negative consequences are nullified, more and more women will set them free from patriarchal boundaries. Formal education and other external sources too will consider this fact and change their outlook. The researcher concludes that current status of women in India is onset of empowerment process than victimization.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Section I: Limitation and contribution of the Grounded Theory

The current thesis examined experts' views on women's empowerment. All 28 experts (6 from pre-study field work and 22 from main study field work) analysed the impact of formal education, media and religion on women's empowerment. The researcher discovered a grounded theory due to the experts' perception: the "Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India". The grounded theory explains the status of women's empowerment in contemporary times.

The grounded theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India evolved around the main concern of experts' perception of the status of women in the country. The thesis offers an explanation of why and how experts empower women, obstacles experts face to empower women and their perception on status of women. The victimization of Indian educated women as perceived by experts, is an analysis of process and status of women's empowerment in the country. The core-category answered why experts interfere and what is the cause of women's subjugation; namely a belief system or the 'way of living' followed by the majority of members of the society.

The sub-core category "considering natural", answered why people confer to the "way of living" or people consider subjugation as inevitable and normal. To empower women from the subjugated "way of living", NGO experts follow different methods and standpoints. These methods and standpoints are explained in the first related category "approaching". The second related category, "interfering" discusses various external sources such as formal education, informal education, and non-formal education. The second related category also explains content knowledge spread by various sources and their impact on the "way of living". The result of "approaching" and "interfering" on the "way of living" is categorised into BSP

"changing way of living". The grounded theory "Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India" emerged by integrating the core-category, sub-core category, two related categories, and BSP.

Thus, following summary of the emerged grounded "Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India", the researcher evaluates the quality of the grounded theory on the basis of the following criteria.

1.1 Evaluating the credibility of emerged grounded theory

The credibility of the current theory is assessed in terms of criteria set by the classical grounded theory. In the methodology section, the researcher explained the meaning of fit, work, relevance, and modifiability in detail. In this section, the researcher emphasises on trustworthiness of the emerged substantive grounded theory.

1.1.1, Fit

The first criterion is more fundamental to a grounded theory than work, relevance, and modifiability (Giske and Artinian 2007). Fit simply means how closely concepts fit with the incidents that are shared. The main concern "way of living" emerged from the data without any preconceived bias or notion. The researcher analysed the way of living as a cause of gender-based violence. The main concern emerged by comparing experts working with different castes, classes and religions. Due to systematic application of the procedure laid by classical grounded theory, the main concern, "way of living", is discovered without any preconceived idea. The main concern is central for the discovered grounded theory. The procedure is explained in the appendix of the current thesis. The emerged main concern "way of living" is further demonstrated with cognitive literature. In cognitive literature the main concern is explained as "way of living"- rudimentary knowledge, a belief system which is a cause of violence. The "way of living" or rudimentary knowledge—essential to understand the process

of empowerment in the country. Rudimentary knowledge is essential to understand the process of belief- value- action of masses.

1.1.2   Work

Firstly, Work is the ability of theory to explain what happens in the data (Giske and Artinian 2007). The researcher explains the main concern of the experts in the form of the "way of living". Secondly, work is also the ability of a theory to explain what is happening in the area under investigation (Giske and Artinian 2007). The substantive grounded theory explains the "changing forms of violence" as consequences of the impact of education. The BSP - consequences, explain what is happening in contemporary India, with increasing female education and other external factors. Thirdly, Work is also the ability of the theory to predict what will happen (Giske and Artinian 2007). The theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India explains changing forms of violence, which later will replace the way of living, and people will accept it as natural and normal. Thus, the grounded theory satisfies the second criterion for the evaluation.

1.1.3   Relevance

Relevance is the theory's focus on a core-concern in the substantive area and has a good grasp of the emergent theory (Glaser 1978, 1998). As given by Glaser (1978) that the theory is relevant, if it arrests main concern for participants. In the current theory, the main concern emerged due to rigorous application of the grounded theory procedure. Lacking a literature review before the main study and theoretical sampling and constant comparison assist the researcher to understand the main concern of participants. Initially, the researcher was unsure regarding main concern of the theory. But the question is resolved by asking questions such as why? How? at each coding level. Extant literature review provided new data to illustrate the main concern of the participants and to provide a cognitive perspective to the substantive "theory of victimization of educated women in India". The main concern, "way of living", is

the foundation of complex substantive grounded theory and is relevant to understand victimization process as perceived by the participants.

1.1.4   Modifiability

It is the ability of the theory to be modified as new data emerged (Holton 2008). The grounded theory once generated is not intended to be proven as right or wrong, but only modified through constant comparison by generating new data (Glaser 2003). For example, the emerged substantive grounded theory can be modified by comparing new data on intersectionality with emerged concepts and categories of the current studies. The new data will also help to understand "changing way of living" for all castes/classes/religions. Various new data on methods of social work, print media, social networking communication are compared with the "interfering" and "approaching" categories will give a dense, multi-dimensional modified grounded theory. Thus, with comparing new data the substantive grounded theory is modifiable and the integration of extant literature provides a wider perspective to changing the way of living in society.

1.2 Study Limitation

The classical grounded theory of victimizing educated women in India emerged from the knowledge, experience and interpretation shared by experts working on the women's empowerment in the country. The experts' interpretations are further illustrated with data of BNI and previous literature. Emerged grounded theory is derived from knowledge constructed by the experts, the knowledge is constructed as a result of their experiences, perceptions and beliefs which are critically analysed with empirical data collected from considerably small number of respondents of BNI. This method derives its data from upper and lower caste/class women and lacks representation of women from tribal and Muslim religion. Thus, BNI of women from Muslim and tribal sections would have made the theory denser and more all-

inclusive. However, this may not serve as a limitation as the researcher illustrated the tribal and Muslim experts' knowledge with recent existing literature.

While analysing the data with the CGT coding procedure, the researcher tried to follow all steps of analysis to discover the theory except theoretical sampling. CGT procedure stress on theoretical sampling technique. Initially the process starts with selective later turned to theoretical sampling technique in CGT (Draucker et.al 2007), according to which the researcher first starts with selective sampling, then analysis of codes and concepts, to decide what and where to find data in order to discover a grounded theory (Glaser 1978, P 36). In the current study, due to limited allotted time for the fieldwork, the researcher pre- determined the sample size for the main study, which posed as a limitation in emergence of the grounded theory. However, the researcher solved the issue by contacting few respondents before the main study fieldwork and then later decided where to look and what to look for. The researcher achieved theoretical sampling by going through the interview audiotapes after concluding initial interviews. The audiotapes along with field notes helped the researcher to decide where to look for and whom to include next. Thus, the theoretical sampling was solved by analysing audiotapes and writing field notes. In this way, the theoretical ideas started emerging and the researcher selected next respondents on the basis of the theoretical ideas. For example, as theoretical ideas on cause of violence as belief system started emerging. The researcher conceptualized it as 'way of living'. The researcher chose to collect next data from experts working with marginalised sections, tribal section and Muslim experts to understand their belief system. Thus, this may not act necessarily as a limitation, as the researcher's data collection is guided by emerged theoretical ideas from initial interviews.

1.3   Contribution of the theory and future direction

Grounded theory is suitable when the researcher wants to develop a theory, which gives new insights to an old problem, or want to develop a plausible theory where little research is

done (Glaser 1998). The theory emerged in the current study is "Victimization of Educated Women in India" offer new insights on Indian women's subjugation, by investigating changing the way of living or new forms of violence, where extensive research is required. The theory offers not only to give insights in a substantive area of women's studies, but it offers an interdisciplinary analysis of media, religion, and education with reference to gender. The theory offers to fill the gap in cognitive sociology with cognitive psychology. Hence the grounded theory contributes to the following sections:

- Scientific community: The theory of victimization of educated women in India collected data with EI. Experts who are working with different castes, classes, and religions are interviewed. The collected data on intersectionality assisted the researcher to include voices, experiences of women of multiple identities and changing forms of violence on them. The theory will help the scientific community to understand how collective conscience shifts to assess direction of social change for women in the country. The theory will provide a foundation for understanding the influence of education on women empowerment. The theory also posed a need for change from quantitative assessment of female education to a qualitative one to understand the impact of education on women in contemporary times.

- Expert community: The theory will be helpful for experts to understand how polar opposite approaches to empower women, impact masses and bring uncertainty among women. Secondly, most of the experts work around females on gender-based violence. They give less preference on working with males on gender-based violence issues. The theory reveals a gap between the development of men and women over empowerment issues and need to work on men concerning the issue.

- Indian women: Most importantly, the theory will be useful for higher educated women to understand the impact of education while dealing with gender- based violence and

changing forms of violence due to education. The study will also explain about the impact of media and religion along with formal education on the status of women. The cognitive discourse will help them to understand why and how a group will process knowledge and why people choose a certain ideology over another.

Future work will be aimed at addressing some of the shortcomings of the current project and extending the ideas explored here to address the current status of women empowerment and changing forms of violence due to education. As mentioned above, the current research explored the idea with qualitative methods, however the idea can be explored using quantitative methods such as statistical survey or open-ended questions. Quantitative data collected if compared further with existing concepts and categories can modify emerged theory and make it more reliable.

Future work will be aimed at addressing behavioural patterns and shifts in the behavioural pattern of a group using cognitive discourse and concepts used in the current thesis. The behavioural pattern will not only be useful in understanding choices and preferences of the group but also the impact of development on the various sections of society.

The current study investigated the behavioural pattern leading to the subjugation of women in India. The thesis analysed shifts in a group-cognition due to diffusion of knowledge. The antagonistic knowledge diffused among the group creates an illusion among group regarding right and wrong knowledge. Media and religious preachers through various illustration formed tight definitions of right and wrong. Formal education further gives philosophical and scientific underpinning for these already existing dynamics. The researcher analysed the tight dynamics followed by experts working on the empowering process. The experts came from the same society, unconsciously adhere to the belief system and unconsciously make women confirm to the subjugating way of living, especially through the "customizing way" and "passing empowerment" method. External factors support experts in

making the way of living as an ideal yet with some modification. These modifications are due to methods such as "reaching roots" and diffusion of Western knowledge due to formal education and media. The "changing way of living" is interpreted as a process of victimization by experts. According to the, the process of victimization is nothing but a period of anomie for the Indian society and an onset of process of empowerment for women of India.

The "theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India" signifies status of women's empowerment in the contemporary society. The experts perceive current status of women empowerment as "Victimization of educated women"- victimization of women due to formal education, informal education and non- formal education.

As discussed earlier, the researcher perceived that, the current status of women empowerment is the process of 'anomie' due to structural transformation. The researcher agrees that the status of women in current scenario is gloomy as discussed by the participants, but at the same time, the researcher has also concluded that victimization and empowerment is two side of same coin. Indian society has come a long way and achieved significant growth on various fronts of women empowerment indicators. The current research has potentiality for future research with considerable large sample size, not only with women but also with men.

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Appendix: A: Sample Biographical Narrative Interview & written Interview

Interviewer- Bhakti Shah

Respondent- █████████

Age-26 years old

Educational Status- Mphil in German literature, (University of Pune)
Respondent is from third scale of my target group (post Graduation and plus.)

Abbrevation:
 BS- Bhakti Shah
 RES -█████████
 MH- Maharashtra
 PB-Punjab
 RJ- Rajasthan
 LS-Long Silent
 MMB- Max Muller Bhavan, Goethe Institute in India is called as Max Muller Bhavan

BS   Tell me about your family story, life story?
RES AA1, My name is shruti Garg, and I am 26 years old, I am doing my Mphil in German language from the University of Pune and ya…
BS Tell me about your family story, life story right from your childhood, like from beginning till now?
RES Ok... my family,I have a younger brother, my dad woks in Delhi, I am staying in Pune, now with my mother in Pune, my brother is doing masters his in, from US and my childhood, I spent my childhood, like 17 years, we were in Calcutta, me and my brother both of us,we were born and brought up in Calcutta, then 10 years ago we shifted to Pune and then after that, after working in Pune for two-three years, my dad shifted to Delhi because he got better opportunity of job in Delhi, but we couldn't shift with him because we were studying here in Pune and studying in Pune is much more easy and Pune is much more safer city as compared to Delhi but we always thought that we will shift in year or two, in year or two, so it been since seven years, so now we are planning to shift with my dad, to Delhi. (Looked at me... my expression was of surprise)Not sure about it.
BS Bolti rahe (go ahead, talk)
RES kya bolu (What should I say?)
BS Family story, aur bata life story ke bare mein (tell me more about your life story)shuru se leke ab tak, matlab kaha padahi hui, kitini padahi hui, kya kya hui, sab kuch bata (from starting till now, means where you studied, what you studies, what else happened, tell me everything)
RES :Calcutta me mein10th tak thi, (I was in Calcutta till 10th)I gave my class 10th board from calcuta, then I was ya.. So 11 onwards I am in Pune, till now, I mean you want my childhood thing,
BS Not now, later on, but about your family story, like family kaise hai (how is your family)
RES My family is quite open with me, and they have never dominated me in a way that I cannot have male friends or I can not go out late in the night, I cannot wear any clothes, I want to, they have been quite open that you wear what you want, you make friends who are boys, go out with friends,but don't forget that at the end you are a girl and you need to protect your own self

, so come home by 9,by 10, I mean don't make it 12, 1 or 2, so that we get very paranoid, and….ya make good friends make some good quality friends even I make friends, with men, my parents have no problem, infact it is good thing that,if I get along with men,and if they are true friends, I don't find there is any problem, in me being friends with any men, and, as long as clothes are concerned my mother or my dad, never told me that you can not wear sleevless, you cannot wear spaghetti, you cannot wear skirts or short skirts, or frocks till knee length, my dad has no problem, even now, in wearing skirts and all that, my dad ha no problem, my mother has no problem, in fact we all go shopping together, only one thing my mother tells me that you should know konsa kapda kidhar pehana hai (which cloth, you should wear where)don't go, because there is no uniformity in India, so I can wear skirt and I can go anywhere, wo uniformaity yah ape nahi hain, (so here there is no uniformity)yaha pe hume jagaha dekh ke,(we have to see the place) and we have to see the kind of clothes we wear, so like that my parents are quite open and with my carrier, as well, whatever I wanted to do, they always supported me, they never say that you have to become teacher, doctor, they always supported me, Ok, you want to learn foreign language, go ahead, learn a foreign language, then I did my B.A in German, M.A German, they were perfectly fine with it.

BS So you did your BA and MA from F.C College
RES I did my B.A from F.C. College and M.A and Mphil from the university.

BS Why you chose doing Mphil, because after MA you have lot of job opportunities?.
RES Ya, there are lot of job opportunities, but I never wanted to be in corporate job, I never wanted to be job from 9 to 5, I never wanted to be, under any sort of bonding, I mean not a bond, it was, I never wanted to be in 9 to 5 job. I wanted to be in some flexible time, so that I can have time for my self, my family, if I worked in corporate sectors, in a IT sector, in corporate world, then they have lot of shift time, then we have to work according to German timings, and then…… I was like, may be I would worked later, in a corporate world, but, I always saw that I am not person who would do 10 hours job, in a day, so I prefer this teaching line, because we are flexible, we don't need to work for 10 hours a day, like that we can take care of families well, we can be with our kids, with our parents, everyone.
BS Ok, now, Could you tell me more about your parents, whether it is love marriage or arrange marriage, how was your mother side and father side, everything?
RES Parents had an arrange marriage and it was like a common connector and common men between the two families, both the families were invited for the same marriage, but not, my mother did not go to that marriage, and my dad also did not go to that marriage, but my dada, dadi and nana, nani (grandparents from both the side), and apas mein baat karte karte, (they were talking to each other) like do you know somebody,koi ladka ho to baato, (if you know some boy tell me) I have a girl, koi beti ho to baato (If you know some girl) I have boy, achha (ok)just now I heard somebody else,that he is looking for a match, so that's how the families met, then my parents also met, and then it was first meeting that they ever met, and ok, they got along, it clicked and they got married. So my mother comes from a good family, and my mother's nani (grandmother) has lot of political connection, like they also have connection with Rajiv Gandhi (Former prime minister of India)

BS So your mothers nani (Grandmother) and not your nani, (Grandmother)
RES No, my mother's nani (Grandmother)
BS Ok
RES So actually is my nanis (Grandmother) family, her mother, they had some political connection they had connection with Rajiv Gandhi, Indira Gandhi, and they were quite well to do, well off, even my mother's father, nice family, very well known, people know them a lot,

even my dad's family, my mom belongs to Roorkee, my dad belongs to Murdabad, and they are quite very well known families, even my dad's families is quite well known even my mom's family is quite well known, it is just we, who are away from entire family, like my entire extended family like my mama (Maternal uncles), chacha (paternal uncles), everybody is into, business, my dad is the only one who is into service.

BS Ok so they are in Delhi?

RES Some body is in Delhi, somebody is in Muradabad, somebody is in Roorkee, but the majority of family is in Delhi.

BS But how were they socially. Socially and internally, I mean they were very open with all, they have lot of women freedom and everything?

RES My mom, ya. when she got married, I mean, it was initially like my dad was settleleds in Delhi, when they got married, so just after marriage, my dad got job change and got new job in Calcutta, and so they shifted to Calcutta and there my grandparents tried a lot that my mother gets the job or she does something, sitting at home and doing nothing, was routine want grandparents wanted for my mother, so my mother has done her dress desigining, and textile designing and she had also got job in Delhi but since after the marriage but my dad got job change, he came to Calcutta and so my grandparents help, my mother a lot in setting up some factory, but that time Calcutta was not so well advanced that something could be done, ya mother feels a bit sad for herself that she couldn't do anything, but she has no regrets that family didn't help, because my father tried a lot, that she could a get in connection to any fashion designer, my grandparents tried a lot, but it just didn't happen, so my mother does not regret, she does not have this feeling, that my family always never helped me, she doesn't have that feeling, she always little bit sad that she could not make her carrier of her own, but she does not have any other regrets.

BS Ok, Can you recall a situation, when first time your father behaved in very authoritative way?

RES Authoritative way. I mean my father was never an authoritarian like that, we have to sleep at 8, we have to get up early, we have to maintain discipline, yes, discipline was there, but he was never like, a Hitler, that we have to do by hook or crook otherwise, TV bandh, music bandh, khelna bandh, (off the tv, off the music, don't play) he was never like that, he used to be strict with us when we didn't study he used to but never hit us, never ever did he slap us, me or my brother, so ya he was strict like that, disciplined like that that, you come, from school, rest for one hour, do your homework and play as much as you want, just like that, so he was strict like that so we should complete our work in time and we should not let things just wait till the end and do it at the end moment.

BS is it something like that, manie ek bar bol diya toh khatam? (I told you that once, that's means end, no discussion, you should do like that?)

RES No… I don't remember,

BS Or aisa kabhi hua hai jab tumne bola hoga, matlab, ki papa ki baat suuni chaiye, (Is it happened that I m father, you should listen to me), or I am the head of the house, you should listen to me, in that way?

RES Ahh…. I can't remember…… him saying of that sort, (while saying this sentence she was in deep thinking)because agar aisa kuch hota toh my dad, (if it is something like that then)like I went Germany last year for four months, and this was my first trip abroad and plus my dad is not staying with us in Pune, he is in Delhi, so we are in completely different city, so its the faith he has in us, he would have that authoritative, he wouldn't left us alone, I am doing all the house work of my own, I am quite independent like that, electricity bill I am doing,gharka work I m doing (all bills of house), any banks work, I go and do it, because my dad is not here. So any gharka,(household work), grocery shopping everything, I take my mom, so I am quite independent like that and its my dads support is always been there with me, I mean, he sent me

to Germany for four months, he sent my brother to US for higher studies, so aisa (like this) I don't really think, that he said, meine bol diya toh bas boly diya, aisa nahi toh nahi (that I whatever I said is final verdict if it is not than it is not.), no I don't think that he ever said that..

BS So could you tell me more about your childhood… Calcutta mein kaisa tha, (like how was it in Calcutta), uss time pein ghar ki kya situation thi, papa kaha pein the, (what was your situation at home, where was your father), sab kuch (everything), right from your childhood...Jab tum chooti this tab se leke? (When you were child from that time onwards)

SG Childhood, I would say that I didn't have a very happy childhood, it was not that I was sad all the time but I have had a lot bad experiences, when it comes to men, … (she looked at me)

BS Ok...

RES And I was always a very shy person still I am very shy, now I have started to speak out, I have started to becoming bold now, but even now, I take a lot of time to open up, to talk, so as a child time, I was shy I had friends, many friends, I take lot of time to make friends, and do you want to tell me this bad experiences,

BS Yes, yes, completely, you trust me

RES Ya, ya

BS Then sure

RES There was, in Calcutta, when I was 6 or 7 years old, we shifted to a new society, and in that I was in 1st std when shifted to that society, so there was this boy in our society , he is three years elder to me and he was behind me, ten years we stayed in that society and for all those 10 years, he was literally behind me and he went to any limits, he used to make his friends stand up inside the society, when I used to go to school, when I used to come back, he knew my school timings, he knows which school I am going, he knew what times my bus comes to pick me up, in the morning, what time it used to come in afternoon to drop me, so 8 o clock in the morning he and entire his friends used to stand , make one line and used to stand and literally used to look at me like that when I used to go, same thing used to happen at 3.30 in the evening, when I used to come back from school.so that I was very scared of him, I don't know, nobody told me that these men are staring at you, I was hardly seven or eight years old, that time even we don't realize that people are staring at us, or something but I was always scared of these 10-15 boys because they were huge, tall, muscular, strong and I used to be alone, so I used to make bahanas ke (excuses that) muje school nahi jana (that I don't want to go to school), because I used to be scared of the fact that they are standing there and staring at me. To (so) My mom, theek hai one day I made bahana (like ok one day I made excuses) that I don't want to go to school, my mom is like theek hai fine (said ok, fine,)second day I said, sar mein dard ho raha hai,(I have headache), third day I said, pet mein dard ho raha hai (my stomach is paining), then my mom took me to doctor and doctor was likeroj roj sar mein dard pet mein dard (daily you have headache, stomach pain), for 7 or 8 year old girl, is not normal thing, the doctor is like, nothing, it must be teacher ne bola hoga kuch (teacher must have said something), you know teacher ne dat laga di hogi, nahi jana school (teacher must have scolded her), that I don't want to go to school, so that time there was friend of my mom in that society, I mean when while shifting somebody helped us, so they became friends, that men went to my mom and that men told my mom ki (that) when shruti went to school, these 10 boys, are standing there and staring at her, the same thing when she comes back at 4 in the evening. So I am just letting you know, I am not scaring you, I am just letting you know that take care, he came to us as a well wisher that it is happening, this is what I have seen, so may be this is a reason, that shruti doesnot want to school. So next day my dad came to drop me to the bus stop. Seeing my dad everybody got panic, so they started, they ran away so they did not came down for next one week. So from that day onwards my dad used to accompany me to bus stop, and then so my mom used to pick me up at 4 in the evening, so I was quite rest assured,, as long as I am with somebody my mom or dad, these men will not come and do anything, then they

stopped coming, so theek hai (was ok), wo,(they) it went out and I didn't pay that much attention to them, there was our neighbours in Calcutta in that same building, I mean we became friends, the child was as old as my brother, they were in the same school, they were in the same class, so it is but obvious that parents also become friends and they were the neighbours, that uncle, see when we all are children, people hug us, people kiss the children, they…… sort of cuddle, but that has to be in limit but that uncle, once I went, he always used to hug me he never used to leave me, infront of my parents also he used to make me sit on his lap, ki (like)… ale ale (oh…)… you know, nice, cute baby… what a cute girl. He used to make me sit on his lap, so as long as I was sitting on his lap, infront of my parents, he won't do anything, so even my parents didn't mind, ki theek hai khali ghodi mein bethi hai do minute, 5 minute bad uske bad (that it is ok, it is just that he sitting in lap for 5 mts, 10 mts after that), then he used let me go. But he used to make sure that he used to kiss me every time on cheek, whenever we met, once I went to his place, we all were children, khelna hai, Sunday ka din hai (we have to play, its Sunday), nothing to do at home, we went to his house, that uncle came, and he held me, I was…think I think 7 or 8 years old, not more than that, he held me and we were sitting on the bed, we were playing ,Luddo, snake and ladder something, he came and he was on top of me, he held my hand and he started kissing me, he started kissing me all over like, on my cheeks, on lips, on neck ,everywhere and I , see I was 7 or 8, I did not understand, what was happening, but I was realizing, that whatever is happening is not right, its not good, and I did not like him, but because I was completely trapped under him, I was 7, and I didn't like it and I started crying and then suddenly he let me go because, he… aunty would have come over, or whatever suddenly, after 10 minutes, he let me go , I came running to my house, and that particular evening they were supposed to come to our place for dinner, and I came running to my house, my mom asked me what happened to you, why are you crying, I don't know why but I was too scared to tell to my mom that this is what happened , I always have the fear that, muje nahi bolna (I don't want to tell), my mom might scold me, my mom never scolded me, my dad never scolded me, but I always had this fear in my mind that you know, they might nor believe me, I don't know how this fear came into my mind, but I always have this they will not believe me, so I did not tell my mom, I just said ki lag gayi chot (I got injured), I lied, that evening that uncle came to my house and he is staring at me, and I am looking here and there, and I went to the room inside, my mom is like come shruti , have dinner, come and come , I was not ready come out of the house, like I can't face him, I came out, my mom dragged me out, sit, come, have sit, it's bad manners to go inside, we have guest, be good host, so we sat and that uncle said, because he was guilty, on his own he said, that actually she was playing with us, all playing together, her leg slipped and then fell down and she must have got hurt. That's why she was crying in the afternoon. Because he was guilty and he was 100 percent sure that since I went home crying my parents would have asked me that why I am crying so may be said on his own, because he wanted to confirm, what did I say, when I reached home but since I didn't mentioned anything, that he did like that, so my parents also did not know , that he behaved in this manner, theek hai wo baat khatam ho gayi (ok that things ended up), I stopped going to his place all alone, even when they used to invite us for dinner, I used to make sure, that holding my moms hand and sitting, I never used to went to his room, never after that, then… I stopped....I mean... just for the hack of playing, I stopped, I only used to go there with my parents, because I could not tell my parents that I don't want to go there, I did not want to tell him.. tell my parents that this is what happened with me, so theek hai (it is like ok,) that interaction with that uncle, from my end was, theek hai (ok), my parents are still friends, they still talk very rarely once in a year like that, they just wish Diwali and all that, then this things, this boy, he came up again,

BS The previous boy?

RES Yes, shuld I tell you his name,

BS Yes, no no that's ok

RES No because there are many boys

BS Ok then we can make it as ABCD

RES Ok then A, jo neeche khada hoke,(who used to stand at downstairs and used to do that), so this A, he started calling me, I mean, in between three four years passed, and he started calling me, I used to pick up the phone, hello hello, hello, then he used to keep the phone, and like that, aise chalta raha, (this went on), and society mein (in society) he used to tell his friends, to come and approach me, to talk to me, then, his friends used to come and then you should talk to A, he is good men, and I used to be very scared, I always used to be scared, may be that thing with that uncle, and that incident, made me very scared of men, I used to be very scared and till now, I am very scared, some men come and talk to me I am very scared and got very panicking, what should I do, should I run, should I stop, how should I behave, I get very panicking, so in then in that society, his cousin sister used to stay, on floor above us, me and that cousin sister we became friends, so I used to go to her place everyday, she used to come my place everyday, she was as old as I am and then till lot of years, till many years, I didn't come to know that they are brothers and sister, they are cousin sisters, once I was at her place and this A, was there, I was like ok, he is also there, and but then we continued playing he was not doing anything, I mean he never harmed physically, but he harmed me a lot mentally, he used to tell the whole society that I am in love with shruti, and you know, she is not in love with me, please, I want to get to know her and this all happened, once I was in six standard, he wrote my name on his hand with a blade and he was in hospital for a week, this my parents knew, not from me, but that other well wisher uncle, whom my mother befriended, he told…he went to my mom.., the same day he cut his hand, he went to my mom and said that this is what A has done, I don't know if shruti knows about it or not and in don't want you to tell this to shruti because she will be destroyed and as it is I am little shy I don't talk much so that well wisher said that it is better that shruti does not know about it, so u please take care and this is the latest thing what is happened in the society. I came to know about it after 15-20 days and it was so weird, one of my best friend in school and this A used to go to same tuition, I mean, there used to be common tuition people used to take different age group, children of different classes together and they were sitting , and they befriended and ok you are from which school, oh… so you are from particular school so you must be knowing shruti and you are from this class, so she said ya…I know shruti, wo mere baju mein bethti hai (she sits beside me)we sit on the same bench, he said everything, I am in love with shruti, I am crazy after her, and you know, you should tell shruti , that tell her to come and talk to me, she does not even look at me, she avoids me a lot and I want to be friends with her, I want to closer to her, so she used to ask me indirectly, if there is any boy who is after me and I never told her because I totally forgotten about this boy A, so I didn't tell her, then after a week of trying she says, do you know this boy, I said, ya, I know him, why, what about him, then she told me that he is love with you. Then, he is crazy about you, he wants to be with you. And I became very nervous, I did not know what to do. I didn't say anything, next day she comes and told me shruti you wont believe what she did, he wrote your name with blade, and he did that infront of her, just to prove to her that how much he is in love with me and then immediately the tution teacher called up his parents and then he was hospitalized and since that it became police issue because it was suicidal attempt or whatever, so it was it did not became very big issue but a lot of people in the society knew about it, …….see because this things cannot be hidden, he is hospitalized for the week, everybody, would know that he is in the hospital, (my phone rang, was a call from NGO, mean while she looked at me, as if should I continue?)

BS Go on, go on…

RES Ye hua, (This happened), and then (my voice of talking over the phone.. hello, mi are ata interview ghet ahe, 4.30 vajle ahet na, mag ek ardha tas thamb, 5 paryant, mi tula call back karte, ok,)

BS ok, so..

RES Iss episode ke pehle, (before this episode) we used to play to the playground, he used to come and then he came and spoke to me that hi Shruti, are you scared of me?, I said nothing, and he is like you know, I… we can become good friends, I didn't say anything, then I thought you know that time he used stand and stare, may be over reacted or something, may be he is not bad guy. So I didn't start talking with him but I did not run away from that playground, I started play in the same playground. He used to come and he is used just stand in one corner and looked me, watch me playing, he is used to bring this toffies, chocolates, for all of us, since we were many children, so he wanted to give me those chocolates but since were many children he had to get it for everybody,

BS What was his age?

RES He is three years elder to me, so if that I was 10 he must be 13, so whatever I used to eat, he used to collect, the wrappers, if I used to eat the chocolates, and used to through the wrappers, he immediately used to collect my particular wrapper And this friend, she told me after many years, that he has box full of wrapper, because you eat all the choclates, that he used to collect that particular wrappers and he used to collect them, then ye hua (this happened) Then I laughed I mean it is so funny come on who does that, theek hai (that's ok)he did it, then he wrote his name with the blade that was, one thing which blew my mind, from that day, I was like I have to stay away from this man, no matter what happens, no matter, how good this man is, I used to get very nervous and panicking the moment I used to see him, then….. see slowly as he stopped doing all this, my parents also, because my dad was always touring, see till now he is touring, he is into marketing and he is into touring, so he could not accompany everyday, to the bus stop and my brother was also there, so my mother have to be at home, it is not always possible that my mother would accompany me because my brother has to go to school, I had to go to school, then my grandparents was also there at home, so it was not possible for her, that every time, everyday, she is accompanying me to the bus stop, and since A also stop coming, stop behaving in a weird way, so it was like ok, he is ok…melt down a bit but he is used to stand in his balcony, and do the same thing. So he did not stop doing it, but he stop standing on the road, but he used to stand on his balcony and he used to stand on the chhat (terrace) and he used to stare and then after this episode then I didn't go to school for two days, because his friends wanted to tell me, this is what he has done for you, so he has proven how crazy he is for you.

BS So he did it again or that's first time he did it?

RES That was first time he did, it I don't know whether he did it again, I mean, then I lost touch with that friend because it was like if you are friend with that boy I cannot be friends with you. Then I am not in much touch with the school friend of mine. But what he started doing, he started waiting for me at the bus stop at 4'o clock, in the evening... in the afternoon, and once I saw him from inside the bus, that he is standing at the bus stop and I was like I cannot get down on this particular bus stop, and then conductor was not ready to listen to me and I was like nahi uncle (no uncle) I will get down at the second bus stop, he was like no, this is the school responsibility and this is the bus stop, you have to get down at this bus stop and I was like, mein yaha nahi rukungi, meri mummy vaha aayegi,(no I don't want to stop here, my mother will come there) and I am sorry, I forgot to tell you and I started crying, muje yaha nahi utarna (I don't want to get down here), and ok, since I started crying, that bus conductor agreed and I got down at the next bus stop, this boy, A was very surprise to see that I am inside the bus but I didn't get down, so I got down at the next bus stop, so then I went I change my bus stop, my dad gave an application, and I told my dad that I want to change the bus stop, he did

not ask me why may be he knew, that I know the reason, he said fine, I will give an application to the school that your bus stop should be change. Then A used to come and stand at the bus stop everyday, since I was not doing it, I was not coming to that particular bus stop he started coming to the second bus stop, and then I got confused, what should I do now, should I come from bus stop 1 or bus stop 2, so subha (morning) I the I used to go only from one bus stop but in the evening when I used to come I used to check from the window whether he is standing on the first one or not, if he used to stand there, I used to get down on the second bus stop and if he was not there then I used to get down on the first bus stop, so then even he started to understand that even I am avoiding him in anyway possible once he followed me in the evening, it was I think it was in 7th or 8th std,

BS So he was only 13 year old boy?

RES He was three years elder to me, so theses things happened to me during 10 years of my stay in this particular society, so when he cut his wrist he was 15 and I was 12, I was in 7th, 6th or 7th, so he must be 15, then once it so happened, I came down I came from school and I was with friend, it was 4,in the evening, and he followed us from his house because he knew, that he is standing at the bus stop I will not get down at that bus stop and he knew it, and he wanted to talk to me and he was getting…… he was loosing his patience, I was not listening to him, I was not picking up his phone, he was calling my residence, I used to pick up, I used to say hello, the moment I used listen to his voice, I used to cut the line, once from his building, he saw my mother is not there, or it's just me or my friend, he did not bother about my friend he came down and following us. And my entire society….. (CT)

BS You were playing at that time

RES No I was coming from my school. He came down and my entire society knew that this is going on and he is behind me and because he used to make it a big publicity, he used to tell everybody, that I am in love with her, I am in love with her, once he followed us and he shouted shruti shruti from behind and I stopped, I turned back, I saw, its him, I started literally running and I had a long way to go home, I was like oh my god, oh my god, what is he upto, then he said shruti please stopped listen to me, shruti please stopped listen to me I want to talk to you, I did not stop. I was walking as fast as I could and my friend, she was staring at me and she was staring at me because it was very unexpected of what he did.then he suddenly shouts shruti I love you, infront of everyone and whoever present on the roadand he shouted that shruti I love you please stay, don't leave me and go I cant stay without you. Please don't go, I literally ran and came home.my mother saw that I was sweating and panicking, she asked me what happened. i said nothing , I don't know why I was alwyays scared to say anything and I didn't say anything , I just went to my room and I did not go to school for another three days. It became trend for me that I used to stopped going to school because that is the only way I could avoid him because if I will go to school he will meet me and that is 100 percent sure, no other way I can go to school, since my dad was always on the tour so it was not even possible that he drops me to the school and he picks me up from the school and theek hai (ok) this happened, he started, I mean entire society knew about it, so I stopped going down, I stopped going to play in the society. My Mom then, since like she was also getting worried about me, that I am just staying at home not doing anything she used to say come lets go down and lets play, I used to give her all reasons that muje nahi jana (I don't want to go) , this friend is not coming, that friend is not coming. She said don't worry, you and me both will play.so lets go to play ground, lets play, what do you want to play, badminton come , so two days I went with her and third day I stopped going her and then I decide lets stop. I knew she is coming for me and my protection, so I was like khelna hi nahi hai muje, jana hi nahi hai,(I don't want to play, I don't want to go)I don't want to be in his side, because he is not in the playground, he is standing on his balcony and staring at me from his building, so his staring is not stopping, no matter if its directly standing infront of me or building ,so I used to feel very uncomfortable walking

through the streets of the society, because somewhere he used to be there standing and staring. Then he started. I mean his cousin is my friend, he started telling her, she started calling me, when he used to be there at her place that come shruti come lets play that its been long time, he is there, I could have directly come there, but it would have been too obvious, so everybody knew, so it would have make no difference even if I came directly, so I stopped going to her place, then he started telling this tales to other friends of mine, and they started calling me up and they started convincing me that he is good boy, that he should be with him. I was never very keen I stopped talking with everyone, who used to convince me that he is good boy and that he should be with him, there used to be friend of mine, he is a boy, a boyfriend, not as boyfriend, a boy who is friend. He used to tell me, what is this A upto, he befriended with that boy, just to know what's going on in his mind, he….this men A, I mean we used to stay in building which are quiet apart from each other, there was a new building which has to be constructed infront of our building, this boy A convinced his parents that A he buy a new flat infront of our building so that he can have direct connection with his cousins and his flat was directly opposite to my bedroom, I stopped going to my bedroom, I stopped going to balcony, because he used to be there all the time, because I used to go to balcony and he used to be there, so my friend from my building, he befriended A, he started, talking to him, they started hanging out with him and he used to come and tell me that what's going on his mind, even he told me that he has boxes of all this chocolate wrappers, he had lot of photograph of yours, and then my mom said that if you can, please get hold of these photographs, and give it to us or destroy them. Because..

BS But…how come he has your photographs, because at that time mobile was not there?

RES I don't know, we used to have some functions in the society, if he used to click some photo, I don't know if he used to click some photos, ya…the smart phone never used to exist at that time but there used to be some common functions in our building, in our society, I don't know, if he is used to click my photos, but he did have photos of mine. So my mother told this friend that if you can get hold of photos, then it is better just throw them, or give it to us, because I don't want later he misuses this photos and does some thing stupid. Then he has a diary, where he used to write all shrero and shayari for me (poems) for me but he never got the opportunity, he wanted to tell me, but I never listened to him and then after that we shifted from Calcutta to Pune. And now I don't know what he is doing but till that time my last stay in Calcutta, he really tried his hard, he had lot of hope, that one day I will listened to him or one day I will talked to him, I never spoke to him.

BS So did he, now, stalked you on face book?

RES No

BS Your phone number?

RES I used to get lot of blank calls, I don't know whether it was him, or somebody else, because I had lot of problems in Pune as well. There were lot of men in Pune who used to give me blank calls, so I don't know, if it was them, but he never…. I didn't hear of him. After Calcutta my friend from building used to call me and used to tell me that he is very sad that you left him , keeps asking me when is shruti coming to Calcutta. I want to see her, but now I don't know.

BS Ok, shruti can you tell me one thing that, when this happened you stop going to school, at that time why didn't you tell this your parents?

RES I don't know, I don't know, my parents never scolded me or they never said anything in a very harsh way, that would make me afraid of them but I was very scared, I don't know for what reason bit I always thought that I am doing some mistake or they would feel that I am wrong or they would feel that they would not believe me, I don't know why I always have this feeling. I never remember, my parents saying anything to me, which would feel me like that they are not believing me, but I always felt like that I might not be able to convince them I might not be able to say them properly, they would believe me, or not, I don't know,

BS Ok, then so what about till now, till now in Pune also you told that you have lot of problems here as well, so tell me about that?

RES Ok...AA1...my brother, when he joined the school, there is a friend of his, his class mate, my brother is two and half years younger to me and this boy was even younger to my brother, so this boy is around three, three and half years younger to me……. I mean when my brother was in school, he immediately became the head boy, I mean he was very new in school my brother, but he was very outspoken, he was very much into music into sports and so he joined the music club in the school, with that he became head of the music club and there used to be lot of events and we used to go and he became head boy and so the head boy sports competition and every thing, I was very much touch with my brother schools and my brothers friends, then my brother, first time when we went to school and my brother got us introduce his friends to us and this boy, I will call him as B, he was one of the friends, who would, he came and said hi to us, this B used to call my brother everyday and mostly I used to pick up the phone and he used to say hello aunty, may I speak to varun please, I used to say who is this, this is B, he used to say, I like ok but I am not aunty, I am varun's sister and I never realized it, that this can be turned up again some, into trouble, then he started joking, he knew, it used to be me but every time, he used to say hello aunty, can I speak to varun please and every time I used to say ya varun is there but this is not varun's mother but varuns sister, then he started coming to our place, he started visiting us, I started going to my brother's school, for all the functions, parents teachers meeting, everything, whatever used to happened, I used to be there and he used to make it a point that, if I am there in his school, he would accompany me till the end, like he always felt that he is host, if I am going to school he would make us sit comfortably, he would give us sit, chairs, no you have to sit in front, you have to see this performance and he used to be with us, then slowly he started getting attracted to me, may because I used to joke with him that hi I am not aunty, this is shruti, varun's sister, so he started calling me shruti, we started to talking with each other, then one day It was my brother's birthday, he comes to me tells me that would you do me a favour, I said, I mean we had become quiet good friends, so whenever he used to call, he used to talk how are you, how is your studies going on, so I had no problem in talking to him, he asked me could you pretend to be my girlfriend, I said, I didn't understand like what do you mean to say, he said no actually I had challenge with my friends that in a month, I will make girlfriend, and I did not make a girl friend and you are the only person, you are the only girl I know who is not in that group. So if could just pretend to be my girlfriend, for half an hour, I said, I don't know exactly what do you mean in pretend to be girl friend, I said lekin (but) I don't want any sort of closeness or anything, He said no no, just come with me, I will say, hi, this is my girlfriends, that's it, sit with me, have a cup of tea, actually we were in café, it was my brothers birthday, everybody, was ordering something, so he said we would just sit in the different table, my brother didn't bother much because there were lot of people around us, he actually didn't notice me and that boy, I said fine, as long as it is just for fun and its not going to affect me later, said that it is fine, and he is younger to me, it is just like brother to me, he said stop calling me your brother, I said, ok, fine ,ok, that episode came to an end there it self, after that I was in 12th , my brother was in 10th and so this guy was also in 10th, we had 12thka (as) pre boards, it was in Jan, I mean in December he used to come to our place group studies, group studies, group studies, that was just a bahana (excuse), the reason that he used to come to our place was me, and he used to make sure that he is coming to us everyday, my brother used get very irritated that B is coming, he does not study, he does not let me study and I have my exam going on, So he….. my brother used to avoid him, that he is coming to our place, but he used to make sure that he is coming to us everyday to our place, and I had a friend, she also used to come to my place like me and my friend used to study and my brother and B used to study in separate room, somehow they exchanged numbers and my friend and B because we are studying together, we were having lunch together, in the evening

we used to take walk together, ke sara din ghar pe pade hai, (like the whole day we were at home), come lets get out, have some walk in some fresh air, so they exchanged number, so I didn't feel anything odd, anything wrong in that, he started calling her up, B ,my friend and started talking to her, so one day she called me and she is like you know shruti ,what's happening, I said what, this B, calls me everyday, I said …..Oh…really, and she said, he just talk generally about you, so I think he likes you, I said, ok. I don't know anything about it, she is like whatever, I said I am so sorry if he is bothering you and I will tell B that he should not call you, because even you have your boards and all that. So she is like no no I didn't tell you so that you call him and tell him that, but I am just letting you know that he calls everyday and he talks to me about you. You are the subject that we talk, he askes me how are you and about your likes and dislikes, if you have boyfriend and everything about you.one day I called him up and I told him I said listen you talk to my friend, I have no problem but please don't disturb her because her pre boards are going on, your pre boards are going on and I mean all four of us got board exam so I don't want any disturbances, please don't do that, he is like ok, no problem, for one week he did not call, after that he calls her up, he suddenly starts crying that Shruti is not…..what is it call……she is avoiding me and talking to me properly, you please tell her, I really like her and I can't stay away from her, this girl she calls me 12 in the nights and she gives me this news, I said, come on, don't say like this, you must be joking, she is like I am not joking, call him up and ask him, I called him up, and this was all my mother was totally unaware of this things, I call him up there and there and I like what happened, what's wrong, he is like nothing, I said, Astha just told me something, is it true, he is like what would you do if it is true, see I have got noting do with it. If it is true, I have nothing to do with it, but I have just called up to request you please stop bothering my friend, because I don't want her board exam to get spoiled because of me, I don't want to be the reason, so please stop bothering my friend, then he told me I love you, I said, listen I respect, with all respect to your feelings, please don't get into this right now, I want to give my exams, I don't want my brothers to hamper his exam, please I don't want any four of us, failing or getting low marks, just because of this reason, he did not stopped, he used to call her up everyday and he used to eat her brain, she is avoiding me, please give me some reason that, you know she should talk to me, she should do this, she should do that, I like her, I love her, she just doesn't understand, and I was thinking whether should I tell my mom or not, but then I decide not to because my brother, was also, I mean his studies was also at stake because I didn't want my brother to get bad marks, because of me, I kept my mouth shut, because if I would have told my mom, my mom would have scolded him and I did not want him to call up my brother impulsively and tell anything that your sister is like this, your sister is like that, because my brother would have also not concentrated on his studies, so I did not want to get into all these things, just because of me, so I decided to keep shut, not to talk anything, then I used to talk to my friend, so like give me the solution what to do, I don't love him, he is good boy, he is nice boy, he is like my brother to me, he is three and half years younger to me, I can not just go and say I love you for hake of it, then I….. don't know whether what I have done was right or wrong, he called me I said ok fine, I cannot give you, any answer right now, please concentrate on your exam, but till then we can be good friends, if you want to talk, I can talk to you because that was the only solution at that point of time, I thought that would ease him a bit, because he was getting so impulsive and so angry, that he used to call up my friend everyday, he used to call up my brother and talk nonsense with him, he would never say anything about me to my brother, but he would, just talk nonsense to him, that what are you doing, you know this TV serial, that TV serial, my brother used to get irritated, then I started calling him up, but I was like, we can talk if you want to talk, we can be good friends, lekin (but) till the exams get over please don't ask me whether I have these feelings for you or not because, I don't want to go into that direction right now, he was very happy that at least I was not angry with him, I was, but infornt of him I

pretended that I am not angry or anything, so he was very happy that I at least was talking to him,. He told his mother that he likes me and his mother call me once (NS) and she wanted to meet me, I mean he used to tell his mother lot of about me, he doesn't have dad, he dad passed away many many years ago, when he was small child , he has a younger sister as well, so he told me that I told my mother about you and my mother also likes you, you know, I told him that see this is not going nowhere, I agreed to talk to you but all the time, you are just talking about me me , how great, I am, please don't do this, let me study, you also study, and I told you we will talk about this once we are done with our exams, then one day his mother called me when he was in school and I was very scare, I was shocked to hear that it was his mother, the first question she ask me where is your mother, she did not want my mother to know that you know that she has called, I told her innocently that she is having a bath, good , I can talk to you, if she is somewhere around, I would not talk to you, then she said Anant talks very fondly of you, and I started getting very scared ,that now she is going to tell this to my mom and I will be screwed, so she said, Anant talks very fondly of you and I would really like to meet you, I got very scared, like what should I tell to my mom, I didn't want to lie to her, that I am going out with friend of mine, I told my mom that mama his mother called, and she wants to meet me, my mom is like why??, suddenly she is like hello, if somebody mother is calling you to meet what's the reason, and I said I don't know she just told me that anant talks very fondly of me, and that she wants to meet me, my mom was like fine, go but don't go alone, take your friend along with you, I went to meet her, I was very scared, I was like I don't know if she is going to yell at me, that what are you doing with my son, what both of you making and all, some nasty things, I went, she, we shook hands, I have never seen her before and she has never seen me before, we met in coffee house, we shook hands, she hugged me and she started crying, she is like you are my saviour, please help my son, I know what he is doing is not right,but he is very fond of you, he likes you, he loves you, I don't think there is anything wrong if this relationship goes ahead, I said aunty,aap kya baat kar rahe ho, wo bhai ke jaise hai mere, mujse sade teen sal choota hai, (what you are talking, he is just like my brother, he is three and half years younger than me), you know aise mat bolo, (don't talk like that,) I thought that, you know, you would talk some sense, that you would be able to help me out, but aap bhi aisa kar rahe ho toh mein kiske paas jau (if you are also doing like that, whom should I look upon,) kyonki mein meri mummy ko involve nahi karna chahhti, kyonki mere bahi ke boards hai, (because I don't want to involve my mother, because my mother had board exam).I don't want Anant to call up my brother and say any nonsense, to him, toh boli ki nahi actually (so she said, that) actually his father is not there and I struggled a lot, to get into a good school,nahi toh municipality school mein bhi ja sakta tha wo uski choti behan hai, (he can also go into municipality school, he also has one younger sister) I know , I have a daughter, I know how it feels,ki koi aapki beti ko stalk karta hai, (when someone is stalking your daughter)koi aapki beti ko pareshan karta hai, (if someone is bothering your daughter), and I don't want my son to do it you, and so you know I have no problem and if you say yes, or if this relationship blooms ahead, so I was totally confused what to say, because, I was prepared, very much prepared for the negative things, that she will scold me and she will u know yell at me, ki (that) what are you doing, what are you up to my son and all that. And this is what the opposite what had happened, then I got very confused this men, he calls me up in the night, you met my mother right, I said, how do you know, like I know, I know my mother told me that she met you and he really liked you, and so I was like I don't know, what to say, then I stopped talking to him, then I messaged him, see that this is not going anywhere and I promised to you that we would discuss about this once our boards gets over but you are not stopping, your mother is also not stopping now, this is leading to no where so please stop calling me. And he lost his mind and he was out of his mind. He started calling me up and he started threatening me
BS Ok like how?

RES Like say yes, otherwise it is not going to be good, your brother exams will be ruin, I will call up and tell everything to your brother, you know, I will not let him good marks as well, I was very scared and boards aaya boards gaye (finished our board exams)., during all my board exams, I was very ill, because I was very, I had lot of pressure on my mind ,that ███ kuch karna de,(that Anant may harm me), that he should not say anything to my mom, should not say anything to my brother.

BS And why, were you afraid of your parents?

RES I told you bhakti, my parents never scolded me or they never intimidated me in a way that I would but I never gathered the courage to open with them. I don't know, why (cross talk)

BS Now also it is the same?

RES Abhi toh kher itne ladko ka chakkar nahi hai (Now there is nothing regarding boys), but I still …….you know, I don't know,

BS Shruti, I just wanted to ask you, when this first thing happen like A, ka (A's thing) happened, your father knew about all that things, right?

RES I mean, see, I don't know what details my dad knows, I think when he used to stand there and stare, (Shruti's mobile was ringing, I asked is your phone is ringing, she said, ya, she cut the phone)

BS Ya...Ok

RES This well wisher once told my parents, that you know, just take care, so that time my parents used, me and my dad used to accompany me till the bus stop, and then when he got his hand cut with blade, so I think my parents, ya they knew, so then my dad accompany me little, while so then well wisher were there, then he mellowed down, I mean he never, I don't know actually what used to happened.

BS But your father… when you asked for the next bus stop, permission that you want to get out at second bus stop your father never asked you why?, or your father never opposed you that you should not do it, you should face it rather than avoiding it?

RES He didn't ask me may be that he had discussion with my mother that I don't know very much in detail, but he didn't ask me why, may be he probably knew the reason, I don't know but he never ask me why

BS Or he never went to that boy, he never slap, or he never…

RES He went to his parents, I think, he did go to his parents, that what your son is doing, I mean, you are not…. You are harassing us mentally, please she is not going to school, so the parents said, bachhe hai ji kya kare? (They are children, what should we do?) I mean if the parents are only doing like that what could any body else do?

BS Your father did not talk to that boy?

RES My father didn't talk to A directly, my father talk to the parents, but if the parents are only saying that bachhe hai ji kya kare? (They are children what should we do?) agar parents bolte nahi ye galat hai mein A se baat karunga, (If parents would have said, that this is wrong, I will talk to A,) then my, I mean that A had full liberty to do whatever he want because Kyonki uske (because his) parents were supporting him, I means uske (his) parents did not find, ki wo jo kuch bhi kar raha hai wo galat kar raha hai (whatever A is doing is wrong), so then, I, started, I mean, in 9th and 10th, I stopped going to school, by school bus, I used to go by public bus, toh bhi fix time utna nahi tha (there was not fix time), toh wo bhi thoda mellow down ho gaya that (then he slowly did melt down), then he started calling me up,wo mere samne nahi ata tha (he never used to come infront of me), because he knew that I will not talk to me that he comes to me infront of me, he used to call me, he used to make my friends call me, and convinced me that go and meet him, that he is nice boy, indirectly he stared talking to me but, directly wo mere samne nahi ata tha, (he never ever came infront of me), because he knew that I would run,I would not talk to him,

BS Ok this B, he harassed you?

RES Hmmmm…

BS I mean, he harassed you, mentally, he was calling you, I mean he was calling you and was harassing you over the phone, and everything, and at that time, you didn't tell this to your parents,

RES I don't know why, I have no reason, I have no answer, to that but yes,

BS Even not your brother, because your brother is kind of good friend?

RES Ya at that time, I did not tell anything to my brother because 10th ke boards the,(of 10th boards) aur mein nahi chhati thi ki uske boards kharab hoye (I don't want that his boards should get affected), so I avoided telling this things to my brother, and I did not want to him to get into all this things, he was young, so I did not want him face all this violence or anything, so I did not want to disturb him, because he was doing good, in his exams, so I don't want that because of me, you know may be it was not true, I don't know, I always felt that I should not disturb my brother, so when I went to first year, he kept, calling me this boy, and (CT)

BS So at that time he was harassing you?

RES He used to call me, he used to make his friend call me, and talk some cheap crap, that hey slut what are you, how are you, what are you doing, he started harassing me like that,

BS So he harassed you while using character, so he harassed you like that?

RES Yes, then he call me once then I was in college, he is like I know you to F.C. college, and I have lot of friends there, say yes, or else, you don't know what am I going to do with you, and you won't be able to do anything, I was again shit scared, I was always scared, I was always fearful, ki (that)…. but then I didn't tell anything t my mom again, I told my mom much later, I was doing a course in MMB, and there was one of my classmates, he was fond of me and this guy, B he used to, I mean, he knew, where ever I go, may be through Varun, he came to know, so he used to come to MMB, because Varun, my brother, used to pick me up, from MMB, we used to come home together, so this boy used to accompany him till Max Muller Bhavan and there he saw that ok, somebody is looking at me, in nice way, so he befriended him, you know, boyish talk, he is very good at talking, somehow he got hold of his number, and B started harassing much later, I mean after 6-7 months, he started harassing, that boy that I know you like shruti, but she is mine, and you stopped talking to her, other wise its not going to be good, this boy he was such a chicken, he calls me up and he is shouting on me, that I got a call from so and so boy and that he is harassing me what the hell is going on, you know if you don't stop this, I am going to go to police, I don't know what is your, thing going on, I said, hello, you are supposed to be very good friend of mine, aur tumko usko jadna chaiye tha na (and you should shout at him) why did you listen to his shit, there is nothing going on between, me and him, I know him, he is harassing me too, but you shouldn't have listen to his shit, what a men are you? Usne (he) kept the phone, he was very scared, then I told my mom, that this is bla... bla..bla……..is happening and now it is totally going out of my hands, and she, infront of me ,she called him up, she made me call him up, she was like call, put the phone on speaker, I want to listen to the way he talks, I call him up, I was like, what's happening, why did you call that boy, then he said, shut up you bitch, I was like listen, mind your language and why did you call him up talk to me, if you have problem with me, talk to me, don't call other people and harass them, please I told you, you are mine and you will remain mine, if you don't listen to me, what I am going , you cannot even imagine,… what I am going to do you cannot imagine, then my mom lost her temper, then she is like ki,(that)… she started shouting on him, at first of all how dare you called a bitch, he was shocked, but he did not expect my mom to be on speaker phone, as well, and then he was like no aunty, no aunty, actually no aunty, this is misunderstanding, actually there is actually shruti you know, it's a misunderstanding, shruti is cooking up some stories, my mom is like I know what exactly the story is , I know it's since two years, you started coming to my house, I exactly knew that something was cooking, something was happening, , who is cooking what and I don't want you in my house, I don't

want your call in my house, ever again, if you trouble shruti, its not going to be good for you, I m not going to be good for you, he kept the phone, but after, few days he made somebody else calling me, and he is like you say yes to him other wise what's going to happen to you its not going to be good, so I got very scared, I mean, see I was again very fearful, I….this things made me stop going to college

BS Again!!!

RES Again, and there was one incidence in school there was one of my teachers, she is used to talk to me always like that, see I was not very brilliant student may be these all are the factors which are always there in my mind, I was not a… I was average student not a extra ordinary brilliant student, I was an average student, she was like, I will cut out your head throw out of the window like foot ball,

BS And she is female?

RES Ya, she is she,

BS And why is that?

RES She used to talk like that,

BS Only with you?

RES May be I think one or two girls, but it affected me because there was so many things which was affecting me at the same time so it was a cherry on the top, so she used to say, I mean there was one test, and they are what are the two tea producing cities or places of India, I wrote, Assam and Darjeeling, because that time, my dad, used to go to Assam and Darjeeling a lot, and he used to visit these tea garden and he used to tell us that you know I am visiting these tea garden, just for our general knowledge, and in our geography book, I think Assam and Darjeeling were not written, some other places of Assam and Darjeeling were mentioned, but these two places what I wrote were not mentioned, so she gave me wrong, my dad and then we had to get these parents signature done for class taste, my dad saw, that why did she, cross out Assam and Darjeeling, so he wrote, a note he sent to her that ,madam there must have some misunderstanding, but her answers are not wrong, so she scolds me infront of everybody, that what does your dad think of himself to be, you know I will chopped off your head throw out of window like a football, I will just chopped off your head, make it into not so many pieces, and feed them to the dogs,(LG) it was ridiculous, but that played a very bad role on my psychology and from that day I have this phobia of going to school, she was the reason that I still have phobia of going to college, even if you tell me that call up your HOD, and asked her, I cannot, I am too scared, that played a very bad role, on my psychology, this was the thing, so then she met with my dad, my dad had a big argument, then my dad went to principle, that see, this is not the way, a teacher should talk to a student,

BS But you told these things to your dad, that the way she talked to you

RES because my dad asked, me what happened did you give note to your teacher, what did she say, then I told her… I told him, but regarding this man and this boys and their behaviour, I was always too scared to tell my dad about it,

BS So how these Anand things get closed?

RES I mean he used to call me, he used to harass me, and once I saw his friends in my college, may be it was just coincidence, that he came to take admission in the same college, but I always thought ulta (other way round), that he is coming, here to harass me, bother me, I was very scared, I don't know what is he going to do with me, I literally stopped going to college, like Anant and Piyush, that boy A, they were the to main reason, that I stopped, going to school and college, and this teacher was reason that I have, phobia of going to college, but than dheere, dheere (slowly slowly) Anant, he may be started understanding that I am not interested in him at all, his mother also called me twice, thrice tried to convince me, that listen give him a second chance, give it a thought, you know, he is not a bad boy, just that he is impulsive, but then he is just dheere dheere kam hota gaya (it had decreased with time)

BS Ya

RES But now he is messaging me that, Hi, how are you, I wrote who are you, he is like, I am sorry, that time, whatever happened both of us, all of us, we were naïve, and we were children, we were like teenagers, but I am sorry, now he is apologising,

BS You are not still? (CT)

RES I like, I can never be friends with you, because you played very bad role, on my psychology, you are threating me as if what are you going to do to me, I cannot think of it even in my dreams, so what do you think why should I think of me why should I talk to you,

BS Could you tell that situation where your mother, told you that as a girl you have to behave very differently than as a boy?, I mean through all this situation, did she tell you that you are a girl, so you should not behave like this, you should not laugh like this, you should not sit like this, you should not wear this clothes, you should not wear this jeans, you should not wear tight clothes

RES Ya, I mean, as I said, my mother was quite open with me, when it came to clothing, but when she always said one thing that whatever you wear it should be comfortable to you, you should not feel, awkward, like if you are wearing a skirt, don't pull it down all the time, if you were off sleeves top, don't be cautious, like my hands are being showed, if you are not, comfortable, don't wear it, if you are comfortable , wear it, ya I mean, don't sit with your leg open, I mean, you are a girl, I am, ya, and you should always behave, in a way, that you don't provoke other people, to ..

BS Of what do you mean by provoking other people, what do you mean by, that how do you provoke other people?

RES See, because, see if I am wearing a skirt, and if I am sitting like this (sat in a position of legs wide open) it is obviously, a open invitation, she is like, sit always whatever you are wearing, sit properly, don't give others, a chance, to ogle you, so whatever you were wearing, even if it is shortest of clothes, or the fullest of clothes, sit in a such a way, that people, don't stare at you like that, man are man, they will never ceased to be men, but on your side, you should not give them a chance, to provoke, I mean you should, not provoke them to stare at you, in any which way

BS So as girl did she taught you that you should not laugh, loud, or you don't have to eat this things, know, you have a proper behaviour, but I mean you should behave in that way?,

RES She never said that, she just used to say one thing, that if you are alone, be careful, again, she used to say the same thing, that never provoke, this provocation should not come from your side, if anything happens, if somebody, come close to you, it should not happen, that you are inviting them to come close to you, I mean you at your aim, should be …..Clear, don't give them chance to come to your close, if they come, on their own, its different thing, but on your side, I mean…. Ya just be careful, but on your hand, I mean…just be careful…this is what she said,

BS You have a brother, Varun, is varun has different rules than you have?

RES Ya….ya

BS At your place, like he can come at whatever time, or something which is, where varun is different from you, as a boy he has different set of rules than you, you can cook and he cannot, you can wash vessels, and he cannot,

RES No no no, its never like, that I never, heard, that my mother is saying that you are a girl, you should cook, and Varun, a boy, he is a boy, he should not cook, infact he used to make tea and coffee, and Maggie for me, and I never came across, this discrimination that shruti, has to be at home till 8 o clock, varun can come till 10, 11,she used to tell even varun that, it's better, that you be home at 9 '0 clock,jamana aajkal achha nahi hai, tum log (People these days are not good), that time we were young also, and we were travelling with public transport, she was

like, public transport hai 8 baje tak ghar aa jao (public transport, come home till 8 o clock), don't delay,even,she used to tell that even varun that it s better that you are home

BS But then what about carrier?

RES Nahi, (no) I mean, both of us, wanted to choose, whatever we wanted, I chose, German language, varun chose, initially he wanted to be a pilot but now he is doing mechanical enginerring, but he was never under force that you have to become engineer, and it was totally his decision,

BS So as a boy so there was nothing like that as a boy he has to engineer, as a girl you should have this one?

RES No

BS So no gender biased norms not at the house?

RES Not at the house, infact, my dad, courage me to drive, when I turned 18, he is like, now shruti, you should know how to drive, its necessity, so now, I would rather say, that my brother is doesn't drive, because he was never very keen on driving, my dad always encourage me on driving, because I was always keen, like nahi papa gadi chalani hai (I want to drive) that dad I need to practice, more cars, he used to take me, I mean late in the night, early in the morning, he used to take me, for practicing, Varun was never keen, he told varun, that varun now, after, when varun turned 18, you are 18,now you should know, how to drive, you should have licence, ha papa, kar lenge (yes dad, will do),I am not that keen, so ,my dad never said, that nahi (no) shruti you should not drive, or Varun will drive, or something like that aisa kuch nahi (nothing like that).

BS That's it for today.

End of first recording

Diary question

1) Could you write down about your memories about situations, where you learnt about sexuality?

Since my childhood, I was always followed by men, harassed by men physically, mentally and socially as well. I was very young, around 6 or 7 years of age, when I had my very first encounter with a man, who is almost my father's age. There I came to know that there is a difference between a girl and a boy, what the difference was, I didn't know. We were family friends, he has 2 children and I have a younger brother, all 4 of us were playing together, and I was the only girl amongst the 4 of us, he attacked me only and not the other boys. Then I realized, that there is some difference between me and those boys, but I was too young to realize what the difference was. It was a Sunday afternoon, and all of us sitting and playing at his house, we were neighbours. He suddenly came from and grabbed, hugged me tight and made me lie down on the bed, he was lying on top of me, he started kissing me all over, my face, my lips, my neck, wherever he saw my skin, he was kissing, this went on for a couple of minutes, I had no clue what was happening, but I had a feeling that this is not good. I did not like it, it was hurting me, and he was holding my hands very tightly. I started crying, and he suddenly left me, probably with the fear that his wife would come and find out what has happened.

2) Every woman experiences the unwanted touch of a man. Could you write down about this experience of unwanted touch in private or at public places by a relative or by a stranger? (daily such experience)

- Every woman has a god gifted 6th sense, when it comes to unwanted touch by a man. By some miracle, we can come to know whether the touch of a man (any man, maybe a relative or a stranger) is an acceptable touch or not. As I have mentioned in my first answer, this was a very unwelcome feeling of touch that I experienced for the very first time. Even then I was a child, I had this feeling that I am not liking whatever is happening.

- Today, I was in a company, accompanying a german lady for her cross cultural seminars. The audience was a group of 13 men, all young in their late 20s or early 30s. Some were married and some were not. This presentation went for nearly 10 days. There were 3 men who used to constantly look at me. Out of these 3 men , 2 men used to have a very pleasant, soft and acceptable look on their faces, which did not make me feel yuck, or worried about my self, their look did not intimidate me, Ihad a pleasant feeling and I did not feel bad being stared at. But the look of this third man used to intimidate me a lot, he had very intense expressions and used to look at me with his narrow eyes. I felt uncomfortable under his gaze. At the end of the seminar when we were bidding farewell, we shook hands with everyone, when he came to shake hands with me, the mere touch of his thumb on my hand made me to want to retract my hand. But before I could retract, he held my hand tightly, squeezed it and kept on shaking for quite a long time. My immediate reaction was back off, he was stunned to hear this from me, two of his colleagues came to calm him down, and maybe he is known in the company, for this behavior of his. He was married.

3) Could you narrate an incidence/s where your husband/boyfriend got phusically intimate with you without your permission? (daily experiences)

- I am not married nor do I have a boyfriend, but I would like to share another incidence of my childhood. One of my other neighbours used to come and visit us quite often. That time I was around 9 or 10 years old. Normally, when the elders see children that young or even younger, they tend to hug them or kiss them on the cheek. This used to happen with me as well. But this man (older than my father) used to take it to different level whenever I used to be alone with him. He used to hold my hand and make me sit on his lap infront of my parents as well, and he used to caress my back. He never made it very obvious to my parents, otherwise they would have never allowed him to touch me. Whenever I was alone with him, he used to hold me tight and used to sniff me and hug me. He used to kiss my face, everywhere and also my neck. Once he held my head, tilted it to one side and bit me hard on my neck. I was shocked and couldn't speak anything, after that he kept on holding me tight and was continuously kissing my neck and licking it. I used to fight a lot to come out of his grip, but in vain. Once we were going somewhere in a car, he made it a point to sit next to me. The journey took 40-45 minutes, and he was continuously touching me everywhere on my face, hands, stomach, breasts, back, thighs, everywhere, and he was continuously kissing me and my neck.

This incidence has been imprinted so badly in my mind, that it's very difficult for me to tolerate any kind of touch, even by a woman. Its very difficult for me to be touched, even on the shoulder, I cant take it, someone just keeping a casual hand on my shoulder as well.Second round of interview.

As I am not married or not in any relationship so no such experiences.

Second round of interview. First recording of second round,
BS Ok. Start,

RES My name is shruti Garg, I am 26 years old, I came to Pune around 10 years ago, and when I came to Pune,it was a pleasant experience, everything, was nice, it was very difficult for me to adapt, because, I came from very different atmosphere here, from Bengali speaking state and then I came here to Marathi speaking spate, state, so thoda differences tha, (it was little bit difference) when it came to language, people were not that friendly and all that, later on with the time I didn't make it issue that no body is speaking hindi, with me, people are trying to you know sideline …..I was like forget it, phir college gaye, MMB,gaye, MMB mein (then I went college and then MMB, in MMB)when I went I was doing lot of German courses from MMB, and there were a lot of RJ, in MMB lot of RJ they come to Pune because, Pune is quite an open city, when it comes to that matter, so they can do anything possible here, because here is no body to see ki who log kya kar rahe kya nahi kar rahe hai (what they are doing what they are not doing), so they come to Pune, to learn German.

BS Open city in the sense Pune

RES Because see, unki family nahi hai yaha pein and plus yaha pein freedom hai, bahut sare foreigners hai, Germans hai, (they don't have family here, and plus the have freedom, lot of foreigners, germans, are here), open as in, nobody is that much bothered ki kon kya kar raha hai (that who is doing what) and, specially if I am an outsider here, ha yaha pein bhi logo ko kafi wo lagti hain, ki wo kiske sath bag ke gayi, uska beta kisko kiss kiya, kisko pregnanat karke bagga, wo alag hai, (yes, here also people, think, who ran with whom, that boy kissed whom, who is got pregnant, that is different story),lekin (but) when it comes to outsiders, and all that,yaha pein unka koi dekhne wala nahi hai, wo log kya kar rahe hai, kya nahi kar rahe, (here is no one to see, what they are doing, and what not), so they are fucking, around with 10 girls, and they come to Pune with this motive that they have to have fun, they want to screw up with this girl, with that girl, and foreigners ko dekte hai, Europeans ko dekte hai,to (when they see foreigners, Europeans then) then it is free sex for them, wo log do char achhi acchi baatein unke sath karenge and (that people talk very nicely to them), and fifth day the girl will end up with that men in a bed, so like that they were lot of RJ. Lot and lot, and lot of them, so dheere dheere,(slowly slowly), we just came to know, if you see each other everyday,phir (then) after 10- 15 days they starts smiling, I mean, if the person is smiling you would smile back, because there is nothing wrong, but at that time you would not understand, ke uss aadmi ka exact intention kya hai (what is exact intention of that men), what exactly you want, so dheere dheere (slowly, slowly) it was Hi my name is this, my name is that, what is your name, what are you doing, you know I see you everyday, I am doing level two, which level are you doing, and so like that interaction bade, interaction badte badte wo handshake pe aaya (we started developing interaction, more and more interactions, they came to the level of handshake) and he used to shake hands, and he never used to live it and so I literally had to pull out my hands, from his hands, there was another boy he is MH, he used to observe, my action, he used to observe his action, then suddenly, I mean, we had a common friend, toh wo common friend ne muje use introduce karvaya,(so that common friend, introduce me to him), that Hi, meet, my friend, this, she is Shruti, he is my friend, jaan pehchan hui, hi hello hui (we came to know each other, said hi, hello, to each other, then) he started hanging around with us, and he started liking me, he always liked me, he never told me, I somehow had a feeling, because you come to know if somebody is, looking at you but you come to know ke wo log jo hai wo pleasant hai ki unpleasant hai (that people are pleasant or unpleasant), I mean they are two types of stares, I would say one is pleasant stare, soft, jaha pein who ladke ya men expression itne khatarnak nahi hote, toh you feel nice, (where boy and men's expression, are not that bad), you feel nice, that you being looked at, he is looking at you, second type of stare, waisa hota hai ki wo, aasie ghur ghur ke dekhta hai, as if you know bhukha sher, ki abhi aayega, khayega,(is like that he is staring at you, as if he is hungry lion, he will come now and will eat) toh who yak wali feeling aur insecurity wali feeling aati hai (and you are like oh my god, so

that feeling of yak, insecurity kind of feeling comes) there, but with this friend, wo insecurity wali feeling kabhi nahi aayi (there was no feeling like insecurity), it was theek hai dekh raha hai, dekh raha hai,(like ok, just looking at me let him) somehow, I knew at the back of my mind, ki iske dimag mein kuch chhal raha hai but as (that there is something going on in his mind,) but it is ok, as long as he doesn't say anything, why should I unnecessarily go and tell him that you know,ki aap aise kar rahe ho, waise kar rahe ho,(you are doing this, you are doing that), and all that, toh (so) suddenly one fine day he tells me, ki (that) shruti tum use handshake karti ho, (you are doing handshake with that boy), I mean its your decision, lekin (but) I would say, don't do it again, so I was like ok, but why,toh bola ko(so he told that) he is not a good boy, I mean abhi toh wo khali handshake kar raha hai (right now he is doing only handshake), but wo dheere dheere handshake se (slowly slowly, after handshake), he will start taking a step ahead, I mean it is totally your decision Shruti, like if you are like, if you like it, if you are fine with it, doing things to you its ok, lekin (but) if you ask me, I would not like him to that, toh.... Tum dekh lo lekin (so.. u can see but) just be careful, toh agali bar who RJ muje mila,(so next time when that Rajasthani guys met me,) he shook hands, I said 'namaste' (Shruti folded her hands and said Namaste) I folded my hands, and was like Namaste, I do not want to be suddenly rude to him, kyonki who samaj jata ki wo bande ne muje kuch bola hai (because then he would have understand that this boy has said something to me), because this MH guy and that RJ guy, unka chattis ka aankda tha (they were not good together), they could not stand each other at all, and that RJ was watching me and MH, getting along and that MH was watching me and RJ not getting along, but saying hi, hello and all that, dheere dheere (slowly slowly), that RJ started coming close, he started asking me about my personal life, like how many brothers do you have, how many sisters do you have, do you have boyfriends, like this and that,toh jab jab ye RJ mere paas aata tha tab tab ye MH guy bhi (whenever this RJ used to come near to me, at that time this MH boy) used to come and used to stand with me, suddenly, ek din (one day) he kept his hand over my shoulder, wo MH guy(that mah.. guy),wo RJ (and that █,) was taken a back, he was like, ok, and I was also shocked, I like, ke ye kya kar raha hai (what are you doing) so toh meine RJ ke samne kuch nahi bola (I did not speak at all in front of raja..) because I did not want to insult him or I didn't want to give RJ ,I mean another chance to think that ok, she is open for me, so I kept quite the moment he went he took off his hand, and he said sorry, I don't want to offend you but, I felt that if I do this, he will not come close to you again, I didn't say anything it is like ok, as long as, his intention are not that bad, its fine, I like muje bura nahi laga kyonkiuske touch mein bhi (I didn't feel bad, because I did not get weird feeling in his touch also). With touch also sometime we understand ki wo bura hai ki nahi hai (that he is bad, or not) so I like theek hai (ok), fine, I did not mind that, not that I was falling in love with him,per muje itna wo nahi laga ki wo mere kandhe pein hath rakh raha hai,(but, I did not felt like that why he is keeping his hands on my shoulder), oh my god, aisa (that) I didn't feel, then these RJ started talking about me, they started, gossiping about me,

BS And how do you come to know about it? (CT)

RES Because this MH.guy was telling me, and every RJ, he was coming hi, Shruti , how are you, toh wo apne pure job hi 10-12 log, rajasthani logo ka community tha yaha pein (so in that whole, 10 to 12 people community, here,) everybody knew, they all wanted to come and talk to me, hamesha gher lete the, aur kaise ho kya kar rahi ho, aaj badi acchi lag rahi ho, badi pyari lag rahi ho, (I was surrounded always by them, so how are you, what are you doing, today you are looking very good, very cute,) this and that, because see they know, north Indians ka ek advantage ye hai, ke they know how to, to talk, they know the trick ki wo ladki se kaise baat karni hai, uski kaise tariff karni hai, and plus wo aapki baton mein aa jaye (this is advantage of north indians, they know how to talk, they know the trick, how should we talk to girl and how to praise her and she should not feel bad, and plus, she should also trust your words), theyknow

the trick and RJ are quite famous for that,toh aise aise baat karte the (so we used to talk like this,) and this MH guy used to observe, to ek din aake mere ko bola ki (so one da he came to me, and asked me) that Shruti are you comfortable with this man, I said, what do you mean by comfortable with this man matlab kya (what do you mean) what do you mean to ask, he is like ki nahi agar (no, if)see …. See I am no body to interfere in your life,agar tumko nahi achha lagta,ki agar matlab tumko achha lagta hai, wo log tumse baat karte hai toh mein kuch nahi bolunga (but if you like or if you don't like that they are talking to you, I will say nothing), I said, nahi achha lagne ki nahi lagne ki baat nahi hai, mein kahi ja rahi hu, (nothing liking or disliking if I am going somewhere,) I mean inside the campus only, inside theMMB, If I am going from one class to the another class, I meet them on the way, agar char log mere samne khade ha, mein bhaag ke jaugni (if four people are standing infront of me, should I run away), I said, that will make it very obvious to them that I am scared of them,or I don't like talking to them, I said I don't want to give them that hint that I don't like them , kyonki wo log phir jabardasti karte (because then they will force me) then they will start doing jabardasti (forcing me) and all that, I said I don't want to give them that hint,theek hai (that's ok), I don't like them but ok,they are just coming and there are six men and I am alone what do you think I can do, so it is better,mein unse dhang se baat karu aur waha se nikal jau (I will talk to them properly and I will go from there), agar mein bhaag ki jaungi toh I don't know unke dimag mein kya aayega (if I run away from there, then I don't know what they will think in their mind), so he asked, do you mind if I company all the time, I said, I don't mind, you accompany me all the time, but then MMB hai yaha pein baatein bahut banati hain,(this is MMB, people spread words) I don't want people start talking about you and me, toh bolta hai (then asked), what's wrong, if people starts talking about you and me, I said there is nothing wrong in that but it's not right, why should I be hooked with you, calling up with you, when it is not true, toh bolta hai ki (then he said that) ifthat saves you by by being tortured up with these RJ, don't u think that it is better idea, I said lets see,mere ko ekdam se, I did not know ki muje haan bolna chaiye tha kin a bolna chaaiye tha, abhi to lagta hai ki haan bolti toh kya jaata (I did not know, all of sudden I should yes or I should say no but see right now, it is like that I must have said yes, there was no harm) but that time, what a situation was,uss samye kay tha,(what that time was), I was like lets see, we will try out 2 to 4 days,

BS So he just wanted to protect you infront of RJ?

RES He wanted to protect me

BS He was sure that he would not able to protect yourself, infront of them, or you are vulnerable infront of them?

RES I don't exactly know, but he knew, that I was scared of them,

BS Ya, but why you were scared of them, why you were scared of them, because of group, because of the number?

RES Ya, because of the number, of people, and I already had this bad experiencing in my childhood, so I am mostly away form men, and specially agar bahut sare teen char jana, ek sath aate hain, (if three to four people, are cming together) and if I am alone, then I am quite scared.

BS Phir...(Then)?

RES Toh…. Dheere, dheere, (Then slowly slowly), those RJ didnot stop, usme ek tha (one among them) he was quite bold, toh (then) he never bothered, that this MH is with me all the time, ya,, whatever ,toh jabhi wo MH nahi hota tha na (so whenever these maha.. is not there) he is used to come and he used to sit very close, and shruti jee, mein aaj aap ke liye lal gulab laya hu, mein ye laya hun, chaliye hum bike pein, chalet hia, ghumne, (I have brought red rose for you, I brought this, lets go we will have ride on bike,) I was like thank you so much, but I am sorry, I can't take it, so he was like,kyon (why), because I don't accept gifts for no reason, its not my b'day you know,nahi toh mein aapko pyar se koi gift nahi de sakta kya (no why cant I gift you out of love), yes de sakte ho, lekin mein aapki friend nahi hu, toh kyun lu aapka gift

(you can give, but I am not your friend, then why should I accept your gift), aise aise karke, kafi you know he tried (like this he tried) a lot of times, to get me into whatever his intention were, ussi group mein (in that same group), there was one boy, he was PB and he used to observe me a lot, wo kabhi kuch nahi bolta tha,(he never used to say anything), he never said, hi to me, he never said, hello to me, but he used to look at me, all the time and one say suddenly, uss samaye toh orkut ka fashion tha, facebook toh uss samye tha nahi, orkut pein (at that time this orkut, was in fashion, facebook was not there, so on orkut) he sent me a friend request, and I was not sure whether I should accept his friend request or not, so I didn't accept, after two three days, he meets me and said, I sent you a friend request so u did not accept, it, I was like, ya, I know, you send me a friend request but then, I don't know you, he is like hi, my name is Rupendra, and I am from PB, and I watch you everyday and I really like you a lot, seedha (straightly) he said, and he is very younger to me,teen char sal chota hai wo mujse (three to four years younger than me) I was like I was out of words, achanak se he said that (all of sudden he said that) aur muje nahi samaj mein aaya ke muje kya bolna chaiye,tohh…mein chali gayi (I could not understand, what should I say, so…. I went), I said, I am getting late for the class, I have to go bye, then again he send me a request I accept it like lets see, where does this go, toh… (then) he started talking, he started chatting, lekin wo face to face nahi baat karta tha, usko pata nahi dar lagta tha ki kya tha, orkut pein (but never face to face, I don't why may be he was scared on orkut), he used to chat with me,to, then, bataien, karte, karte bolta tha ki aap muje bahut achhi lagti ho (then in between this chats, he told that I like you a lot) ,and you are the only girl,jisko meine aajtak dekha hain, aaj tak meine kisi ladki I taraf aankh utha ke bhi nahi dekha, (whom I saw till now, till now I have never seen a girl) and you are the only, girl, so I was like it's impossible Rupendra, men are not so bhola,bhala (simple) that they never, looked at any girl, I mean agar aapki impression, impress karne ki ye tricks hai, toh (if this is your tricks to impress), then I am sorry I don't accept it, toh bolta hai nahi nahi… aap meri baat mano nahi mano mein (then he said no no, whether you agree me or not), I am totally head over the heels in love with you, and aap believe nahi karoge,but you are the only girl, jisko meine pyar se dekha hai, ache se,(you won't believe but you are the only girl,whom I am seeing out of love and respect), I was like ok, fine, now I didn't login to orkut for one week, because I was still understanding, ki baat karni chayie ki nahi karni chayie,to mein ye observe karti thi MMB mein (that whether I should talk to him or no, then I observe in MMB)that whenever, I used to look at this Rupendra, I always saw him looking at me, not that I was also staring at him but kabhi kabhi jaise najar pad jati hai, ya chali jati hain toh (many a times, casually if I look at this side), he was always staring at me, so I believed him,ki ha ye to sach bol raha hai, (that yes,he is telling truth), he is always looking at me, not anybody else, but then …chalo baa ki baat (this is after that) I will tell you later

BS Lekin aisa ho sakta hai ki tumhare MMB mein koi ladkiyan hi nahi thi,(But is that so in your MMB there is no girl around you

RES Dekho ladkiyan toh bahut thi, ye toh ladko ke upar depend karta hai ki, kise dekhna hai, kise nahi dekhna hai, ladkiyan bahut thi MMB mein, ladkiyon ki kami nahi hai, but, waise yar ladke kitne hai, it depends upon me, mein kise dekhu, kise nahi dekhu, (No there are lot of girls, but this is depend upn boy at whom they want to see or whom they don't want to see, there were lot of girls, in MMB, no scarcity of girls in MMB, but see there now lot of boys, but depends upon me, whom should I see, and whom not), I believed him, because infront of me whenever I used to look at him, ya kabhi bhi najar padti thi, (or whenever causally I look), he always used to stare at me,, so I believed him, I was like I had no reason, not to believe him,then dheere, dheere, (slowly, slowly) aise hi, hi hello, vagira vagira, hoti thi, (just casually I used say hi hello etc etc), one day, he told me, hamara course came to an end (our course came to an end), prize distribution, ceremony tha, (prize distribution, ceremony was there) I went, there, and he told me I will not be there, meri train hai,(I have a train) and I am going back Punjab

for two months, and I will be back from Punjab after two months, for this and that, course, I was like ok,all the best for your journey, have a nice journey.

BS So there was no German course in Punjab or there was no MMB in PB?

 PB mein nahi hoga, (It must not be there in Punjab), I don't know, ki yein log Pune kyon ate hai, kyonki Punjab se delhi jana jyada easy tha, Delhi mein bhi hai MMB (that why these people are coming to Pune, because more easy is you should go to delhi,than pune, there is also MMB in delhi,) may be they didn't get that freedom, ya may be expensive hoga, ya job hi tha yaha pein, koregaon park mein ek society hain popular heights karke, all the RJ (or may be it is more expensive in delhi, whatever it may be,here in koregaon park, there is one society called, popular heights), all theRJ, PB who ever, come they always stay there, because it is five to 10 mts, from MMB, and wo foriginers wala area hai, to they can get, areas is (that area is foreginers residencial area) so that get easy, you know whatever they want, toh usne muje bola ki I am going back, aaj nahi aunga, MMB (so he told me that I am going back, I will not come today inMMB),and this and that, I took my brother for prize distribution, meine mera certificate liya,(I collect my certificate) and I cameback, orkut pein (on orkut) he writes me message me, that you were looking very pretty today, you wearing pink salwar, kameez and with that you were wearing a pink lipsticks, I said, itna observation, (this much observation) pink lipstick! Then bolta hai ha... koi ladki hai, jise mein aajkal thoda thoda observe karne laga hu,(Yes…there is one girl, whom I observing a bit), typical those filmy dialogue, I was like but, aapne toh ye bola tha ki aap, nahi ho, (you said that you will not be here, that you are going back), he said yes, meine bola to tha lekin meri train sham kit hi,mein chupke chupke aapko dekhna chahta tha (I told you but my train was going in the evening I was see you without your knowledge,I don't want to come infront of you.(she laughed) I was like, what difference it would have made,(LG) agar aap mere samne aake mujse baat karte, samne aake dekhte ya chupke chupke dekhte, toh bolta hai mein bata nahi sakta (if you are there infront of me, or observing me without my knowledge, then he said, I can't tell you this), I like, theek hai (ok), mein khod khod ke too pali with him (I don't want to get into too much in depth with that)that he would start, it would be difficult for me to avoid him, aise karte karte, theek hai, do mahine hog aye hai, hamara on and off chatting hota tha, (we were chatting on and off, for two months), then after two months, it was summer course, and he came back and then again, this time he got my phone number I don't know from where, these rajasthani... everybody had my phone number

BS Landline number or mobile number

RES Mobile number

BS Mobile number?

RES Like MMB mein kafi log the jo jum ek doosare ko janate the, numbers aise exchange kar lete the class mein, toh usko kaha se mera number mila, I don't know, tab woRJ, he started giving me missed calls, blank calls, (that they were lot of people in MMB we know each other, we exchange numbers with my classmates, so I don't know from where he got my phone number, then this ▓▓. started giving me missed ,or blank calls)Toh phone karke ulti seddhi bakwas karte rehta tha, I was like kon bol raha hai, (they were calling and talking nonsense, I was like who is talking (Cross talk)

BS What nonsense?

RES Kya kar rahi ho tum, mein dekh raha hu tumko, (like what are you doing, I am watching you), I like, excuse me, who is this, then ha ha ha (laugh), I am ▓▓ MMB wala,(From MMB) I said, ye kya bol rahe the aap,(what are you talking), are you drunk? Please don't call me, when you are drunk , and mera number kaha se mila,(how did you get my number), are number lene mein kya hai, ye, wo (then he said, what is there in getting number, this, that,) bla bla..,chaliye, chodiye,(let it be) and then he used to cut the line,pata nahi (I don't know) then I told this MH friend of mine,ki ye toh aise aise kar raha hai (that he is behaving like this). I

don't know how should I behave, matlab, (means) aur uske paas mera number kaha se aaya,(I don't know from where he got my number), I don't know, mein kuch nahi kar sakti agar, kiske paas mera number hai lekin, ye faltu ki bakwas kya kar raha hai, ki tum, kya kar rahi ho, mein tume dekh raha hu, and bla bla (I can't do anything if someone has my number, but he talking all nonsense, that what ar are you doing, I am watching you,) and bla bla, ye parallely chalta raha, (this was going on parallel) and this Rupendra, he started filling very possesive about me, ki (that) abhisehk this MH guy, who used to talk to me,usko Rupendra ko accha lagta tha (that rupendra did not like that) I am talking to this friend of mine,toh muje bolta tha, ki aap uske sath hangout karte ho muje nahi achha lagta, wo aapke kandhe pe haath rakhta hai, muje nahi achha lagta (then he used to tell me, you are hanging out with him, I do not like that, he is putting his hands on your shoulder, I don't like this),He was talking a lot, one day he wanted to meet me to MMB

BS Lekin wo possessive tha, (But he was possessive)

RES Ya, PB guy was little possessive, ki tum use milti ho, mujse baat nahi karti ho (that you are meeting him, you are not talking with me), I said he is good friend of mine, toh bolta hai mein nahi hu kya? (Then he said, am I not?) I was like, see its different you know, I am more comfortable with him, then he said that I want to meet you, and kal hamara exam khatam ho raha hai,(tomorrow is final day of our exam), and please come to meet me, I told him, I will see and I will let you know, and I was thinking,whether I should go and meet him or not, I was like let me go and meet him, agar koi baat hai toh face to face karke, (if there is anything, will talk face to face), lets clear it off, rather than dimag mein rakhna,(carrying it,) toh he said, uska exam 10 baje khatam hota hoga, and (so he said his exam will get over at 10 am) and I said I will come after that around 10.30,or 11, I will come to meet you, I donot go at 10.30 or 11, kyonki muje mummy ko bolna tha ki mein max muller kyon ja rahi hu,(because I want to tell this to mummy, that why I am going to MMB) because my mom knew I had no course, in mmb , I had nothing to do inneeded an reason to tell my mom that why I am going to mm, not that she would stop me but, ya I always tell her, wherever I go, and I try not to lie to her, because I will feel very guilty, if I am lying to her, so I spoke to another friend, ki chalo melte hai,(that lets meet), but she said, I can only come at 3, 3.30, I told my mom that I have to go and meet this friend, she said theek hai (ok) go, I went to meet my friend at 3.30 but actually I wanted to go and meet him, he was waiting for me in the parking, and I just said hi to him and I went, inside to meet my friend, because I didn't want to be at a place alone with him, sabke sath canteen mein,(I want to be with him with everyone, in canteen)with many more people, it is much more safer there.(CT)

BS So you were feeling unsafe, you were feeling not protected infront of him?

RES I am, not threatened like that but I was like it is better if I am in group of company, agar aas paas log hai, kyonki mein iss bandhe ko itna ache se janate nahi thi, toh... (if there is people surrounded by you), I don't know this person that well, so it is always like prevention is better than cure, faltu mein kyon, (for no reason) why should I provoke him, toh hi, hello karke (so I said, hi, hello to him) I went, I spoke to my friend, two hours I was sitting with her, and this men was waiting for me at the parking, and I told my friend, that ok, now I have to go to the parking, how should I go, she is like come I will accompany you and aur vaha se tu nikal jana, mere ko pata nahi uss din kya hua,(from there you can go ahead, I don't know, what happened to me that day), I didn't talk to him at all ,I just said hi, and I went, parking mein aaya wo khada tha, I said, ok, ███████ (I came in the parking,he was standing), I said, I get to go, bye, and I left, pata nahi meine jo kiya sahi kiya ya nahi, (I don't know, whatever I did was correct or not), but later he said, aaj tum aayi, tumne mujse baat nahi ki, (today you came and you did not at all talk to me) , I said yes, ha muje meri friend se milna tha, (because I wanted to meet my friend)(CT)

BS Orkut pein? (On orkut?)

RES Yes, I said ha, muje meri friend se milna tha,(I wanted to meet my friend) and then I was getting late, to mein nikal gayi, (so I left), toh bolta hai, (so he respond), do you have any clue,ki mein 10 baje se tumahara wait kar raha tha, aur tum 3 baje aai,(that I was waiting for you from 10 am, and you came at 3), I said, ha 3 baje aayi, (yes I came at 3), tumne muje bola tha ki (you told me that you will) come around at 10.30, 11 clock, atleast you should have decency ki tum muje message kar do, cell pein ya orkut pein (to message me, on cell, or orkut) that you will be late, dhup me, mein khada raha 4 ghante tak, ki aab aaongi, tab aangoi, tab aanogi, but (I was standing under the sun, waiting for you that now you will come, then you will come) but you didn't turned up and after four hours you came and you just said, hi and you left, don't you think, that you should have spoken to me, I felt very guilty, ki muje aisa nahi karna chaiye tha, (that I should not have done this). I mean, theek hai, (that's ok) Yes I was confused, ki milu ki nahi milu,(that should I meet or not), I shouldn't have made him wait, if I made him wait, I should have spoken to him, atleast 2-4 senteces aur muje use bolna chaiye tha (I should have talk to him, at least 2-4 sentences) I was like, I didn't say sorry to him, but mereko internally bahut guilty feel ho raha tha,(internally I was feeling very guilty), but I did not say sorry, I was like, theek hai (that's ok), why should I say sorry, theek hai galti hai meri, lekin, (yes I admit that it was my mistake, but) I don't know, nahi laga ki (I didn't feel like) saying sorry, or I should apologise to him, after two days,uske baad I did not speak to him, (than after I did not speak to him), vijay messages me on orkut, that what have you done to rupendra, I said, what I have done, matlab (means), he said, he is crying, crying and crying, we went to a party, he did not came to the party, because he wanted to talk to you on orkut, wo char ghante online betha raha, par tum nahi aayi onlin, (he was online for four hours, but you didn't turned up online) , I said
BS Who is vijay?
RES Vijay is this RJ guy, jo kafi bad bad ke handshake vagira karta tha (the guy who was taking initiative for doing this handshakes, and all)
BS And they are friends with that guy
RES Ya they all are friends, I was like, see mein online aau ya ki nahi aau, (whether I should come online or not) it has nothing to do with rupendra, agar wo mere liye online betha hai, toh mein kya karu, toh bolta hai ki nahi, tum logo ki, everyday chatting hoti hai, I said, ha toh, (if he is sitting there online for me, than what should I do? then he said, no, but everyday you are chatting, I said, yes, then) then don't you think that you should have told him,that you are not coming online, I said, hamara aisa koi rule nahi bana hai, ki everynight we will chatt, mein online hoti hu, wo online hota hai, that doesnot mean ke agar mein nahi aati, (we don't have that rule that every night we will chat, I am online, he is online, that doesnot mean), that I am not coming , that I owe him a justification, ki aaj mein nahi aaungi, that (I am not coming today), toh bolta hai ki ro ro ke, ro ro ke, usne aapna bura haal kar diya hai, and (and then he said, he just pathetically crying), and he wants you, I was like, ki (that) see, please pack off, and aise mat bolo, meine koi commitment nahi di hai Rupendra ko, (don't say like this, I have not given any commitment to rupendra), since he has feeling for me I can't do anything, then I called up this MH guy, and I told him everything, ke dekh aisa aisa ho raha hai, he is like meine tume bola tha,I said toh mein kondsa jake use hi, hello, kar rahi hu, (I said, see this this things is happening, he is like I have told you, I said, then I am not doing it deliberately) he wanted to meet me, I did not even want to meet him, mein gayi thi use milne ke liye, but friend meri bahana tha, but mein khali usko hi, bolke waha se nikali,(I went to meet him, but friend was an excuse for me, I just said hi to him and I went), I didn't sit with him for two hours, than I will give him an another opportunity to do any bakwas about me,(talk any nonsense) about me, so he is like, theek hai, kal milte hai, kal sochte hai kya karna hai (that ok we will meet tomorrow, and will think about it, that what we can do), so then MMB mein mile, wo aaya Rupendra, (we met in MMB, rupendra came), I said hi to him, that how are you? He said, fine,

I said, what happened to you yesterday, toh bolta hai, hum kahi private mein jake baat kare, I said, baat karni hai toh yahi karo,varna its upto you (he said, can we go to some private place, then I said, if he wants to talk, talk here, then other wise, its upto you), toh bolta hai, I was very upset, (then he said, I was very upset,) why you were upset, I mean, I have not given you any answer, ya mein tumko koi justification nahi de rai hu, jo tum upset ho jaoge,(or I am not giving you any justification, so that you will get upset), bolta hai nahi, tum hamesha uske sath, ghumti rehti ho,muje achha nahi lagta hai, (no you are always wandering with him, I don't like it), and you don't talk to me,you talk to him, tum log hand in hand ghumte rehte ho,wo tumhare kande pein hath rakh ke ghumta rehta hai,tumhe koi farak nahi phdta, per mein tumhe, hi bolta hut toh tumhe achha nahi lagta, tum yaha se, nikal jati ho, (you are wandering hand in hand with him, he is keeping his hand on your shoulder, you don't care, but even if I say hi, to you, you don't like it, you just go away from here), and this is not what I expect, I said, see, these are your feeling, you cannot dictate me what I have to do, what not, toh bolta hai, nahi hum atleast hum ache friend, toh banker aha sakte hai na,and hum chalo theek hai, lovers nahi toh friendship hi sahi (then he said no atleast, we can become a good friends, and its ok, if we cannot become lovers but at least friend ship), I said, see as long as you behave, in particular way, its ok,agar aap ye koshish, expect kar rahe ho ki, mein kuch apko jawab du then I am sorry, (but if you are expecting that I should give you an answer, then I am sorry), this is not what I would, I am not in love with you, toh mein apko kya jawab du, ha ya na, its nothing, toh bolta hai chalo theek hai, atleast hum phone pein toh baat kar hi sakte hai, kabhi kabhi, (then what should I give you answer, yes or no, its nothing, then he said, that's ok, atleast we, can talk to each other over the phone sometimes), I said if you remain, in your limits, no problem, so he started calling me up everyday, he used to call me up at 10-11- 12, in the night, aur ghanto tak baatein karta rehta tha, apne family ke bare mein, mein yaha se aaya hu, ab mere papa nahi hai, matlab kuch bhi (was talking for hours and hours, regarding his family, that I am this, I came from this, I don't have father anything) he used to talk to me about himself, mein usko bolti thi ki ok, kal muje college jana hai, please (I used to tell him that, I want to tomorrow to college), please let me sleep, let me sleep, I got to go, hum kal baat karte hain, toh wo raat mein hi, I don't know, why he always call me in the night, may be wo drink karta tha and after that he used to speak, do-teen din meine phone pein baat nahi ki, (we will talk tomorrow, than in the night, I don't know why he alwys usd to call me in the night, maybe he used to drink and after that, he used to sepak, till 2 -3 days, I did not talk to him) ,he went mad, he is like, ki (that) you, just don't understand what my feelings are, for you, tum hamesha mere sath mere games khelti ho, (you always playe game with me), and this and that, I see, I told you very clearly that I don't love you, after that you insisted that we will remain friends, I said theek hai (ok), as long as you stay in your limits, I am talking to you over the phone, that doesn't mean, that,I started falling for you, I am talking to you because of you, kyonki mein tumse baat nahi karungi toh tum pagal ho jaoge, dheere, dheere, (because if I don't talk to you, then you will become mad, then slowly slowly),but this has to come to an end ,because this cannot, carry on for long long time, he started telling everybody, that I am in love with shruti, shruti is playing game, she is bitch, she is this, she is that, I said, ye tum ladko ka bahut achha hai, agar wo ladki hath aa gayi to theek hai, nahi toh tum uski ko kyon gali dena shuru kar dete ho, (this is so nice with you all boy, that if girl falls in your trap, than it is ok, if not than why you will start abusing her, why is that so), I said I am not interested in you, you are younger to me, tum educated bhi nahi ho, mein tumse baat kar rahi hu, (you are not even educated,I am talking to you)you should be thankful to me, atleast I am talking to you, tumne khali 10th pass kiya hai, abhi, tum aise hi German, just like that, karne aa rahe ho, (you have just passed 10th, you are just casually doing your german course), you have come from very different family background and tum char saal chote ho mujse,(you are four years younger than me),
BS So he was from very conservative family?

RES Ha, bahut,(Yes, very much)Punjab ke kisi village se ata hai wo,to I was like, tum bahut chotte ho mujse ███████, (he is from a village, in Punjab, than I like you are too young than me, rupendra,) I thought I can be a good friend to you, lekin tum itna hi possessive ho, possessiveness dikhoge, (but if you are this much poosseive, if you are showing this much poseisveness) than I am sorry, aisa nahi chal sakta,(this will not go like that)

In mean while what happened to that abhishek, a MH guy and RJ guy

RES RJ wahi tha, sabRJ's ko pata tha, wo convince karta tha, nahi rupenra, achha hai, abhishek was also there with me, wo hamesha mere sath ghumta tha, taki koi, akele mein (RJ were there only, all RJ'Swere know, all of them were convinicing, that no ███████ is very nice, ███████, was also there, with me, he was alwys wandering with me, so that no one in the alone, that I am not left alone with anybody) toh abhishek bhi bolta rehta tha, ki kya are phaltu ki bakwas karte rehte ho, kya tum, uss ladki ke piche padi ho, jisko tumhari chinta nahi hai, wo ulta bolta tha, ki uss ladki ke peeche pado na, who cares for you, iske peeche pade ho, she doesn't give a damn about you, she doesn't care about you, she deosn't look at you, uske peeche kyon time waste kar rahe ho, uske peeche itna time invest karo jo, tumhe bhav dengi, nahi nahi (so ███████ was also telling that, what you are talking nonsense, why you are after this girl, she gives damn care about you, he used to talk other way round, that go after that girl who cares for you, you are after this girl, she doesn't give a damn about you, she doesnot care about you, she doesnot look at you, why you are wasting your time, after this, invest your time in some other girl, who will give you respect), no no shruti is my everything, shruti is this, she is that, toh wo phone kar kar ke, I love you, I love you, (so he was calling and expressing I love you, I love you) I said rupendra just stop it, toh bolta hai nahi, mein tab tak tumko I love you, bolunga, jab tak tum I love you, muje nahi bolongi, (then he said, no, I will convey, I love you, till you will not reciprocate I love you to me)., I was like,phir toh mein zindagi bhar nahi bolungi, toh bolta hai nahi ek din,(I will never in my life reciprocate, then he said, no, one day), I am very positive that one day, you will say that to me, I said, keep waiting for the day because, I don't know, wo day ayega ki nahi ayega, aur jis dhang se tum behave kar rahe ho, wo definitely nahi ane wala (whether that day will come or not, and the way you are behaving so definitely, it will not come), so please, don't waste your time, with me I am sure, you will get much better girl than me, roj phone kar kar ke bolta tha, he was daily calling me, and messaging me to say 'I love you', phir ek din wo Punjab gaya toh apne Punjab ke ghar se phone karta tha, ki mein taro ko dekh raha tha, muje tumhari yaad aa gayi all filmy dialogues, 4 baje he will call me, then he one day went to Punjab, (and he used to call me from Punjab, that I am looking at stars and I remembered you, all filmy dialogues, 4'o clock he used to call me clock), I was like, this is not just done rupendra, stop calling me, nahi toh job hi thoda bahut tumse, baat kar rahi hu, even that will come to an end, (other wise, whatever I am talking, even that will come to an end). So once it so happened, I was in MMB, and abhishek, this MH friend, he went out, he is like, ki theek hai abhi dheere dheere,(now everything is ok, slowly slowly)I mean, wo toh sab chal hi raha tha, people were talking, (this was going on), that shruti and this RJ,they were hooking me up with everybody, kal meine shruti ko vijay ke sat hiss movie hall mein dekha, kal meine shruti ko kisi aur RJ ke sath wo shopping mall mein dekha (I saw shruti, with vijay at this movie hall, tomorrow I have seen shruti with some other RJ guy, in this shopping mall,) like that talk, I don't care, mein kis kiska muah bandh karu,(how could I control on what they are talking), but I was very famous in 2008, in MMB, sab koi,(everybody knew) everybody knew shruti and RJ, everybody knew, so I was like, chalo jo ho raha hai,(whatever is happening), this I don't want to stop, I did not want to stop, my studies because of, all these things, but kahi na kahi, (somewhere,) at the back of the mind, I was getting affected, ki kya faltu ki bakwas kar rahe ho tum log (that what this nonsense you people are talking) nahi theek hai, jab tumko pata hai, (if you all know), that I am not interested in you than why, you are

wasting your time with me, kisi aur ko dhundo na, (you can find someone else), once I was just waiting, and vijay, it was 7 in the evening, have you seen MMB?,

BS NO

RES Ok, waha pein koi stairs vagira the, thoda secluded sa tha (there is these stairs, it was little bit secluded), I was sitting there making some notes, I had borrowed books from somebody, vijay came and he sat next to me, and aju baju koi nahi tha,(there was no one in that area)hi hi, kya kar rahi ho, ye kar rahi ho, nahi meine aapko akela dekha toh socha ki apko company de du, I said, nahi mein panch minute bas nikal hi rahi hu,(so he was like, hi, what are you doing, ok, no I saw you alone, I thought , I should give you company, I said, no I am going with in 5 mts), and I have to give these notes back, so you carry on, I don't need company, and then dheere dheere he started coming close,(slowly slowly, he started coming close), I was like, ok,there is no body, here, what should I do, he literally, you know,aise baithe hai na, uth ke thoda aur najdik bheta tha, thoda aur najdik, hum log sidiyon pein, bheti thi neeche, toh yeh bhi nahi ke chair khiska rahe toh just uth ke thoda thoda mein peeche jati thi, woh aage ata tha, (was standing up and sitting close to me, we were sitting up on stair case, so it was not like that we are sitting on the chair, so I was going behind, and he was coming forward), I was like ok, where is this going, what do I do?, I like mein agar abhihek ko call karungi, (if I call abhishek, I don't know how would vijay will react), he might just snatched the phone from me, so I called him up, I mean, theek hai mein kuch notes likha rahi thi, side mein meine phone kiya, abhishek phone nahi utha raha tha, mein bar bar usko call kar rahi thi, ekbar usne phone uthaya (its ok, I was writing down some notes, and I was calling him from side, abhisehk was not picking up the phone, I was calling him continuously, at last he picked up the phone), and I kept the phone on the loudspeaker, so atleast, wo sunega ki vijay, that I am there with him, vijay bol raha thi ki itna andhera hai, aap akeli kya kar rahi ho, aapko yaha nahi, (he will listen, that I am with him,so vijay was telling that there is so much dark here, you are alone, what are you doing), abhishek was listening and he disconnect it, aur wo jaha bhi tha, within 5 minutes, he came, (where ever he was, he came there with in 5mts), he was not very far, within the five mts, he came, and , vijay bat karte karte, he started coming very close,(while talking to me, vijay, he started coming close), I was like, sit properly please, he was like, nahi mein toh ache se baitha hu, mein aapki shayad kuch madat kar du, notes banana mei,(no, I am sitting properly, I was thinking that I might help you for making this notes), so he was trying to come very close to me, and thankfully with in those five mts, Abhishek came, and Vijay was very shocked to see him, an I ran to Abhishek and I literally hugged him , like thank god, you are here, wo aaya Vijay phir vaha se nikal gaya, (he came and Vijay went from there), without anything happening, I picked up my notes,jisko dena tha usko diya,(I gave away those notes), and I just left, so Abhishek was shouting on me, see this is the reason I told you not be alone, I said, muje spna ayega kya, ke wo aise aise kar raha hai, (how do I know, that he will do something like this), and plus I cant expect you to be 24, 7 to be with me, comeon, toh bolta hai no,(than he said, no), but you know what his intentions are , than he told me, about one episode, of this RJvaha pein har sal Max muller mein, do teen Germans ate hai, for internship or practicals or whatever ,(every year, Germans are visiting MMB regularly, for internship or paractical, whatever), one of the German had a boyfriend, and wo boyfriend popular heights mein rehta tha,(these boyfriend was staying in popular heights), may be I don't know he was Indian, or RJ, ya whoever, so this German girl went to meet her boyfriend, aur wo jo boyfriend ka ghar tha, wo in RJ ke ghar se dikhta tha, (the house of this boyfriend can be clearly seen from this raja.. boys), then they were there, they started kissing each other, and these men they made a video,pura video banaya usne, they shot the whole video) I don't know, ke vo kitne hadh taka age bade,(how far they went) the details, but I mean they were they all most tripped, or they were kissing each other, they were makig soft love and all that, they shot the entire video, and every RJ had a video on his cell and this MH guy told me, ██████ told me that you know,

aisa aisa ye log karte hain, (these people are doing like this), so its better that you stay away from them, I don't want to even click pictures of you, kyonki unka koi bharosa nai hai, wo pictures ko kaise modify karke, kuch kuch karke, (because, you cant trust them, they can modify the pictures, and they can do anything) and they will circulate it, so like that, this one was very scary incidents in MMB , because it was evening and aaju baju do char log the, wo banda tha jiske notes the mere paas, (there was only 2 to 4 people around me, that guy whose notes was with me, was there), but he was sitting in the canteen, and the way vijay had cornered me, I was like my god, I don't know what to do, I did not gather the guts to, push him and run away, kyonki muje, samaj mein nahi aa raha tha mein kya karu, (because I did not understand what should I do at that time), so I felt Abhishek was safest thing,if he understands, ki (that) that I am in this situation because I couldnot call him, up like Abhishek where are you,just come, infront of, vijay, because he was sitting and he was leaning over me, so this was one bad thing, and then rupendra, he was going crazy day by day, and phir (after) I literally shouted on him, and I was like listen this is not happening, and tum (you) stop it, I can not even talked to you anymore, he is like shruti ,tum mujpe bharosa karo, mein mummy ko bhi bolke aaya hu, mere ko ek ladki acchi lagati hain, usko mere ghar ki bahu banuga, bla bla..(please trust me, I told my mummy that you know, I liked one girl, she will become daughter in law of this house, bla bla…)and uss samye mere third year ki exam chal rahe the and my all exam were screwed up (that time my third years exam was going on, and my all exams were screwed up) because of Rupendra, wo kabhi 2 baje call karta tha, kabhi 3 baje call karta tha, kabhi 4 baje call karta tha,phir meine phone off karna shuru kar diya, phir wo pagal ho jata tha, tum mujse ye nahi, tum mujse wo nahi, (he used to call me at 2, many a times at 3, sometimes at 4, then started switching off the phone, then he was going crazy, that you are not talking to me, you are not this, you are not that,)

BS Who, Vijay?

RES Rupendra, Vijay toh moke pein choka, (was an opportunist),

BS Vijay never used to call you?

RES He never called me, jabhi bhi MMB mein hote the, (whenever we were in MMB), he always used to come close to me,

BS Ok, so whenever you are alone he used to come closer to you

RES Yes, Rupendra

BS Wo chance mar raha tha? (Was opportunity seeker)

RES Vijay chance mar raha tha (vijay was an opportunist). Rupendra, kabhi samne se, baat nahi kiya, wo hamesha, phone pein ya orkut pein baat karta tha, (never talked to me face to face, he used to talk to me from orkut or phone,)

BS And he is kind of very serious.

RES I, It looked like to me, then I started switching my phone off, toh bolta tha, aise mat karo, tumhi meri, zindgi ho, bla bla, phaltu ki bakwas karta tha, toh mein usko bolti thi ki tumko aise behave karna hai, then I am sorry, meine socha ki, we can be good friends, lekin tum aise, paglo ki taraha behave karoge, toh mein kuch nahi kar sakti, toh kafi usne issues banaye, MMB mein sabke samne bola, Shruti I love you, say yes, shruti I love you, say yes, I like sabse pehle toh tum meri bejjati karna choodo, because infront of everybody, (then he used to tell me,that don't do like this, you are my life, blab la, all nonsense talk, I used to tell him that if you want to behave in this way, then I am sorry, I thought that we can be good friends, but if you are behaving like this, like a mad, then I can't do anything, then he made a lot of issues, he used to tell this infront of everybody, shruti I love you say yes, and I,said, first of all, stop abusing me, infront of everybody) you are proposing to me,don't do that, because its making me look like a fool, tumhe pata hai mera jawab no hai, toh tum faltu mein itna scene create kar rahe ho, yaha pein, toh Vijay aaya aur ha bol do, hame nahi use hi sahi,(you know my answer is no,

then why, you are creating a scene for no reason, theh Vijay came and said, just say yes, if you are not telling yes to us, at least tell him)

BS Shit

RES I was like, what'sup with you guys,toh aise aise karke kafi, I mean, (so like this), so it was not very pleasant experience, with this RJ, theek hai wo episode over hua, (then ok, that episode came to an end), my Maxmuller got over, Rupendra used to keep sending me messages, hi Shruti how are you, I never replied, like this is not, what I want to do, then this MH guy, isse bhi ye bhi chala gaya, London, apne further studies ke liye, (then he also went to London, for furher studies)

BS ████████?

RES ████████ and I lost touch with him, then he got married, then now he started, talking to me, now, after his marriage, he revealed to me that he loved me a lot, and that he wanted to marry me, I said toh aapne bola kyon nahi,(then why did not you tell me before), he was like,mein agar bolta toh tu ha karti kya,(if I would have asked you, you would have said yes to me), I said I don't know, tab situation kya thi, ab 5 saal baad aap mujse pooch rahe ho, mein ha karti kya, ussi samaye poochna tha, (what was situation at that time, that I don't know, after 5 years, if you are asking me, whether I should have said yes, you should have asked at that time only),may be it was yes, may be it was no, I mean I cant say anything, toh bolta hai achha abhi agar mein poonchu, (then he said, ok, if right now, if I am asking you)After marriage

BS After marriage?

RES No, ki imagine agar mein tumko propose karta, (imagine, if I am not married, and if I am proposing you, would you said yes), I said, abhi job hi hoga wo joke hoga, kyonki now I know you are married, (whatever it is, it is a joke, because, I know you are married), then if its yes ha ha (joke), if its no ha ha (joke), like I cannot give you serious answer, toh bolta hai mein kitna gada, pagal, bewakoof tha,(then he said, I was such donkey, mad, fool), I was head over the heels, in love with you, toh bola kyon nahi (then I said, why didn't you tell me)toh bola (then he said)I was scared, I said,scared of me?i said, there is hardly any boy who is scared of me, then he said, I was scared ,toh bolta hai kahi tu mere ko chhata na mar de, agar mein tuje propose karta to (that you will slap me, if I would have propose you), I said, you are a men, marti toh kha lete (if I would have done so, you should tolerate), marti toh kha lete, (that is not a big issue, if I would have slapped you,) what was a big deal and I said,mein aapko chhata kyon marti, (why should I slap you), you were always a good friend, I respect you, because of you, who saved my life from those RJ and I owe you, that doesnot mean I will say yes to you, lekin mein aapko chhata toh nahi marti, (but would not have slap you), even if it is no, it would have been, whatever it would have been, it would have been, I could not slap you, come on, I am not that bad, toh bolta hai yar, mein itna bada gada hu, kyon nahi propose kiya tereko,aisa konsa aadmi hai who would not like to be with you,(then said, I am so donkey, why I did not propose you. There is no men in the world, who would not like to be with you) I said don't say like that, I mean, I am tired of these,

BS Physical?

RES Physical nahi, (not physically), mental torture by men, don't say like that, ki aisa konsa aadmi hai, who doesnot want to be with me, (there is no man in this world who doesnot want to be with me), please don't say like that. Phir theek hai ye baat aayi, gayi, (Then these things end up here), then this guy starts calling me up and aur wo apni wife ki burai karta hai,(started abusing his wife),meri biwi aise hai,(my wife is this)

BS ████████??

RES ████████, my wife is this, my wife is that, there was compromise I had to do with her, she doesnot come from a very good family back ground, she doesnot like me talking to girls, I said, its very wrong, don't talk to me, since you love me and since you like me, and have such deep feelings for me, toh mein nahi chhati ki mere vaja se aap dono ka, relationship kharab ho,

toh bolta hai kuch hota hai toh will you marry me? (So I don't want that your relationship to get spoiled because of me, then he said, if something happens, will you marry me?) I said, see, I don't want to be the reason for your divorce, please this is not, even if you get separated, or whatever you are saying, I will not marry you, bolta hai kyon, just because I am divorced, (then he asked why, just because I am divorced), I said no, because, I don't look at you like that, I respect you,aapne MMB mein meri bahut help ki thi, from those RJ (you helped me a lot in MMB from those RJ) I will never forget you for that, lekin (but) when it comes to love and looking at you as a husband, I am sorry I cant do that, I don't look upon you as a my husband, toh phir, (then after) this men is totally changed, and I am totally surprised, mujje kabhi kabhi aisa lagta hai ki, (many a times I think that) is he the same ███████?

BS Ok, the changes in the sense, what?

RES Ya, again, mere ko kafi phone kar karke,(he used to call me a lot many times), whenever his wife is not there, wo jabhi bhi apni mummy ke ghar jati thi,(whever she usd to go her mothers house), he calls me, and apni wife ki burai karta tha, wo aise karti hai, bilkul you know, bolti hai ki hum log men se kandhe se kandha mila ke chalnge, I said, toh galat kya bolti hai, (used to criticize his wife, my wife is this, my wife is that, you know she is talking that we are equal to men, I said, so what is wrong in that) he said, she wants to work, I said so whats wrong in that,to bolta hai nahi, jaise ladki log bolti hai na, hum ko men se kandha se kandha milake chalna hai, (then he said, no, these girls are saying that we want to be equal with men), so do you think you people are equally, as equal as men?, I said what do you mean we are not equal to men, in which case we are not equal to men, forget the nature, forget the structure of the body, forget it, aap intellect dekho,(look at intellect), mentality dekho,, capacity of working dekho (see the mentality,see the capacity of working), I said, in which respect we are not equal to men, then he said, in every respct, I said, like,tum logo ka nature aisa hai, (you have such a nature) that you have a physical ability to give the birth to a child, so .yes we have that ability to give birth to a child, if I don't give it to you how will you give birth to a child, I said, you are not the only men, I mean you are the not only men, there are so many man,aapse nahi kisi aur se,(if not you, then it would be someone else), what are you debating with me, ███████, like, aapka question (your question)

BS what is it?

RES toh bolta hai ki, tum log bolte ho na, hum logo ko kandhe se kandha milana hai, toh jab tyre puncture hota hai, toh papa kyon phone karte ho, ki tyre badlo, (then he said, no you were telling that, we should be treated as equal, then when you have some problems in car, why you people call your father up, that change the tyre), I said, are you drunk or what? What is this, are you the same abhishek I know five years ago? Toh bolta hai, gadi mein patrol khatam ho jata hai, bhai ko kyon phone karte ho, ki bhai patrol bhare ke aao mera, tum logo ko mamu, pakdta hai, signal jump karte ho, toh kyon bolte ho, aao meri help karo, toh kaise tum log kandhe se kandha mila ke chalet ho, shooping karne jate ho, shopping bags toh tumse uthtti nahi hai (Then he said, if there is no patrol in the car, why you call up your brother, that brother go and fill up the patrol, if catch you because of signal, then why do you call us, that come and save us, then how do you expect us to treat equal, when you go to shopping, you do not have abilityto pick up your shopping bags)

BS That is quiet ridiculous, aisa hota hai, (do something like this happen)

RES I was like, that abhishek, I was like that I don't know, aap apni biwi ki baat kar rahe ho, ya girls in general ki, baat kar rahe ho, but (whether you are talking about your wife, or you are talking about girls in general), but I would like to talk about myself, my dad is in delhi, my brother is in USA,yaha pein hali mein aur meri mummy rehte hai, mera tyre puncture hota hai, mein khud karne ki koshish karti hu, agar nahi hota toh mein mechanic ko phone karke bhulati hu, meri gadi me patrol khatam hota hai, mein khud gadi leke jati hu, patrol pump mein bhrava ke lati hu, shopping bags jaha, shopping ka sawal hain, mein utna hi shopping karti hu jitna

mein utha sakti hu, (me and my mother is staying here, if something happens to my car, I will try to do it myself, or if not then I called up mechanic, if patrol got empty, I will go myself to the patrol pump, if its question of shopping, I will do the shopping according to my capacity), if I know I cannot lift more than 10 kgs, mein pagal toh nahi ki 20 kg ka saman khareed ke lau, (am I mad that I will carry 20 kgs things), kyonki muje pata hai uthana muje hai,(because I know, I have to carry), then I do all the bank ka kam (work) on my own,, electricity bill, water bill, this bill, whatever, job hi ghar ka kam hai, (whatever is house work, I myself do it) toh yaha pein man,woman ka difference kaha se aaya, (then where is the matter of difference between men and women), agar aap mere ko bolonge ki wo 50 kgs, bori, utha ke leke jao, wo mein nahi jar paungi (if you are saying picked up that 50 kgs bags, I will not do that), but I don't know, what are you talking, bolta hai phir ladies bolti hai,(then he said, these ladies, keep of saying), actually he was talking nonsense, I don't know if he was drunk or not, toh bolta hai phir ladies bolti hain, ki hum logo ko monthly issues hota hai, humko periods hote hai, itna pain hum logo ko hota hain, matllab biwi bolti hain,(then he said, ladies keep on saying, that we have monthly issues, we have periods, we have so much pain, means my wife is saying), I said, wo bolti hain wo juth nahi bolti, it's true, (whatever he is saying is not lie, its true) toh bolta hai ki phir tum log kaise, bolte ho ki , (then he said, why do you said)that we are as equal to men, I said, that's what I told you abhishek, that apart from physical structure, forget the difference, the bodily difference, between the men and women, but, ha physically agar bologe ke facory mein ja ke 10-12 ghante kam karo, than that's totally different thing, (if you are saying physically, that go to factory and work for 10 to 12 hours, that's a different totally different thing)but baki kya difference hai, aajkalladkiya becoming MDs,CEOs of company,(but rest what is the difference, these days, girls are becoming MDS and CEOS of the company), look at Angela Merkel, she is running the country of Germany, pratibha patil who is the president of the india, so what is difference between, where is the difference, then he is like, jab dekho wo mahine mein char din chune nahi deti, ye nahi karne deti, wo nahi karne deti, (he is like, everytime, she will not let you touch four days of the month, don't do this, don't do that), she doesnot allow me to touch, so are you talking about sex, that she doesnot allow to have sex for those, five days, when she has periods, yes, then I said, what about what about those 25 days, when she doesnot have periods, tab toh you,(then you) does she allow you to touch or does she not allow you, I said, its very personal question,

BS His masculinity comes in to that?

RES His,yes, his, I was very shocked, ke usne U turn kaha se mara (how is that he took this U turn), I was thanking god, ke thank you, usne mere ko propose nahi kiya,(that thank you, he did not propose me), agar mein iski biwi hoti, aisa hi behaviour ye mere sath karta, mein toh pagal ho jati, (If I would have been his wife, and if he would have behave like this with me, I would have gone mad) toh he is like ke nahi, baa two nahi hai, tum log baat baat pein kyon bolte ho, ki wo ladke ne mera haath pakda, hath mod diya, mere hath mein dard ho raha hai, mein kam naahi kar sakti, (then he is like no.. this is not the thing, why you say everytime, that this boy has touched me, he twisted my hand, my hand is paining, I cannot work,)then I said, agar mera hath pakadke modoge, toh obviously dard nahi hoga,(if you will do the same thing, then obviously it will hurt), I said again abhishek, aap wo khali body structure pein kyon aa jate ho, jaha pein wo khali wo physical strength hai between man and woman, (you only see this body structure, where the only difference is this physical strengeth, between men and women,) if you hold my hand, if you twist my hand, obviously it will pain, toh bolta hai phir tum kaise bolte ho hum kandhe se kandha milayenge,(then he said, no then why you said, that we are equal) mahine mein 5 din periods hote hai, tum log touch nahi karne dete ho,its uncomfortable, its uneasy, (then you have periods, in five days, then you wont allow us to touch, that it is uncomfortable, uneasy), don't sit on the top of me, don't lie on top of me,
 Toh aise karte ho, phir pregnant ho jate ho, (you will do like this and then you get pregnant)

BS So whenever there is periods at that time?

RES Meine usko bola (I told him), ki wo 5 din nikal do, lekin baki ke 20-25 din, toh karte hi ho na, (forget about that five days, what about those, 20-25 days,) you are getting everything you want then, why you are talking about those five days, So it seems that sometimes they both have this relationship, when wife doesnot want it,I don't know, may be, so I asked him, that are you frustrated just because, you are not getting happy sex from her, or what, toh bolta hai nahi, phir tum logo ko babies ho jata hia, phhir bolte hai 9 months don't touch me, (no.. then you got pregnant, then you put restriction that 9 months don't touch me), I said, of course, if I am pregnant, how can I have sex with my husband, I mean just for his satisfaction, I would be so uncomfortable having sex with him, I don't know, if it is, safe to have sey during pregnancy, I have no, clue about it, but that husband should also understand, jo ek dedh saal aapne bahut maja kiya, uske baad if the wife gets pregnant,(that you enjoyed for 1, 1.5 years), after that if the wife get pregnant, its because of you she got pregnant, toh phir after post pregnancy, nahi abhi nahi, mere ko yaha dard ho raha hai, mere ko waha dard jo raha hai, (then after post pregnancy, no you are hurting me here, you are hurting me there), I said, wht is your debate, exactly, bolna kya chate ho,(what you want to talk about), ki tum log hamse kam ho,(that you are subordinate to us), I said, ha hai, khush,(yes we are happy), toh bolta hai, (then he said), no don't give up, I said, I am not understanding, your argument, kya bolna kya chahte ho (what you want to ask), toh bolta hai biwi bolti hai kam karna hai (so he answered my wife has asked me to find work), toh meine bola theek hai, karo tum kam, per mere bank account mein har mahine, 25,000 rupaiye credit hone chaiye (so I said, no problem work but credit 25,000 rupees on my bank account), I said, kyon, toh bolta hai kyon biwi kam karengi, mein ghar sambhlaunga (I asked why? Then he said if wife is working then I will look after home), I need my pocket money, biwi aapki ghar pein behtegi, ghar ko sambhalengi, bacho ko ma bap ko, sab ko, aap har mahne 25,000 rupiye uske bank mein, jama karao, same thing, kyon, I said, toh wo aapke bank mein kyo jama karvayegi, toh bolta hia, mein kya biwi ke samne hath phlaunga (why a wife needs to credit salary in to my account. I will not ask my wife for money), I said jab wo aapke account mein, uske paise dalengi toh paise toh aapki biwi ki hai na tab indirectly hath toh phaila hi rahe ho, theek hai directly, aap use paisa nahi mag rahe ho, but har mahine she is giving you definite sum of money,(that what do you want to talk, then he sid, wife said, I want to work, then I said, ok, you work , but in each and every month, you should deposit 25,000 rs in my bank account, I said why, if she is working, I will b looking after home, I need pocket money, I said, ok, you go and work, wife will sit at home, and will look after, children, parents, everyone, you pay her for that 25, 000 in her bank, same thing, then he asked why, I said, why, then she should credit in your account, then should I beg infront of wife, I said, if she is depositing her money in your account, then that is your wife's money, then indirectly you are begging only, ok, directly you are not asking money from her, but monthly she is giving you definite sum of money, so obviously you are asking her money only), I said, if you want her to deposit that money in your account, why will you not do that the same, no because she is women why does she need the money for, I said what do you need the money for, I said, wo ghar ka sara kam kar rahi hai, sara grocery sambhal rahi hai, apko 25,000 rupiyr mahine ki kya jarrorat hai, (if she working at home, she is looking after grocery, why do you need 25, 000 per month), he is like you are not trying to understand, I said, may be you are not explaining the way, I should understand, I said, aap ek, mere samne, (infront of me,) I being a woman, dosare women ki burai kar rahe ho, (you are critising another women), and for this reason about the physical abilitites that 5 din tum logo ko periods hote hai, jab dekho dard hota rehta hai, I said, toh wo juth nahi bolti, dard hota hai toh, doctor ke paas leke jao na usko, agar apko itna hi, toh bolta hai ki nahi, mein leke gaya na, I said toh kya bola doctor ne, toh bolta hai ki nahi ye natural hai, ye toh hota hi asie, I said toh phir, doctor ki baat bhi aap believe nahi kar rahe ho, abhi agar periods mein crams ate hai, backs mein, thigh mein toh ate hai toh ate hai, we cannot

do anything,(monthly in 5 days, you have periods, you are complaining of pain evertime, I said, she is not lying about pain, I said, take her to the doctor, then he said, no I took her, I said, then what does the doctor said, then he said, this is natural, this will happen, then, you are also not believing doctor. In periods crams do come, back, thighs, legs, we cannot do anything), there is no medicine, which will cure that, I said there is no medicine, hota hai toh haota hai, I said, aap batao na aap logo kya taklif hoti hai, aap logo ko koi monthly issues hote hai, nahi, aap logo ko 9 mths pregnancy bare karna padta hai, nahi, aap logo ko baby ko feed karna padta hai, once baby is borne, so I said, where is your problem, toh bolta hai, ha that's the problem, Shruti, tum log, yahi bolte rehte ho ki pehle humko periods hote hai, phir hum mummy banate hai, phir breast feeding, (if it happens, it happens,I said, what is your issue, do you have monthly issues, no.. do you have to bear 9 months pregnancy, no, do you have to feed the baby, once the baby is born, I said, then where is your problem, he said, yes, that's the problem, shruti, you people keep on talking, that first we have periods, then we become mummy, then breast feeding,) then you also want to sleep with me you also want to have sex with me, mein kaha jau…. where should I go,

BS What????

RES I said ▮▮▮▮, I think , aap jo bol rahe ho, and everything, revolves around sex, (whatever you are arguing, is revolving around sex) you better go to counsellor, and talk, to your wife, infront of the councelor, I think, your problem is only sex, may be this is not what you are getting it, toh bolta hai nahi sometimes, (then he said sometimes), we are just lying naked, we like to play with each other, I said, see I am not interested in your personal life, plase muje mat bolo aap kya karte ho, kya nahi karte ho, (she laughed) (please don't talk these things to me, what you are doing what not), but I seriously need thing that you need some counselling, kyonki agar, (because if) ,I don't know,5 din mahine ke chood do, 25 din toh aapenjoy kar hi rahe ho na,(except five days, 25 days, you are enjoying), with her consent, with out her consent, bhool jao (forget it) no shruti why doesnot she, initialte sex, I said , aap initiate kar rahe ho, usme burai kya hai, aap ko toh mil raha hai na, nahi toh wo kyon nahi mil sakti ki,abhishek come lets do it (you are initialting what is harm in that, you are getting it, then why she doesnot speak, that abhishek come lets do it), I said, kyonki ap bol dete ho hamesha, nahi toh mere pehle wok yon nahi bolti, that means she is not interested wo mere ko aise portray kart rahi hai, as if I am hungry men, (because you are saying her first, no but why cant she ask first then me, which means she is not interested, she is portraying like as if I am hungry men), I was like man are man, and man are always hungry,….(laughs) toh mein man hi man soch rahi thi, ki thank you god, (then I was thinking this into my mind, that thank you god,) that he did not proposed to me, and bhule bhatke agar mein ha kar deti, agale din mein vapas aa jati, ki mein iss admi ke sath nahi raha sakti, ye pagal aadmi hain, (if by any chance, I would have say yes, next day I would have come back, that I cant stay with this men), I said, I really pity on your wife, ki wo kaise nibha rahi hai aapke sath,(that how she is surviving with you),

BS But does he asked that he wants to have an extra marital affair, with you or something like that or does he intend, or his intention was that direction, that he wants to have an extra marital affair?

RES Affair ki baat nahi ki, (He did not say anything about affair), actually before, he was doing all these nonsense, usne mere ko aise hi bola tha ki Shruti, (he told me once that shruti), its been five years, that we did not meet, I said, ha (yes), so whenever we meet, would you, hug me, tabhi usne ye sari phatltu ki bakwas nahi kit thi, (this was before speaking this nonsense to me), I said, yes, you are my friend, no problem will you give me a tight hug, I said, pehle milo toh sahi phir dekhte hai, mein soch rahi thi yeh hug theek hai (first meet then lets see) mein soch rahi thi,ki hug toh theek hai (I was thinking that this hug was ok),then why he was insisting on tight hug, I was like lets see, pehle milte toh sahi,(first we will meet) its been one year, we are chatting and abhi tak hum nahi mile, abhi toh I am not talking to him at all (we did not meet

once also,now I am not talking to him at all), after his stupid revelation,then he once asked me it was 7.30 in the morning what are you doing, I said, I just got up, and I am making chai,(tea), and I am still in bed, he said, I was like ok, toh mein kya karu? Then what should I do? then he said, I was waiting, I thought, you would be in bed, and I thought, I would come there and cuddle you, I said, biwi kaha gayi aapki,majak majak mein meine bola shuru shuru mein, flirt kar raha hai, karo,(where is your wife, this thing I took it in very light way, he was flirting, then do)toh bolta hai,and then he said, just imagine shruti, you are sleeping in bed, you get up, I wake you, cuddling you and you wake up, and then you are going and I am catching you, then I said, excuse me, muje bahar jana hai, muje late ho raha hai, (I want to go out, I am getting late), I don't know where are you going with this, toh bolta hai just imagine shruti, kitna maja aayega,(then he told just imagine shruti, this is so much fun), I said, Biwi kaha hai aapki,biwi ke sath karo na ye……biwi ke sath karo na ye , mere ko subha subha message karke, itna shocking (where is your wife,do this things with your wife, do these things with your wife, why you are wasting with me, in the morning messagin me, shocking) I mean,, what a start of the day, imagine I doing these things with you. Toh 4 din baad bolta hai (After four days, he asked me), shruti do you want to have some hot chat, I said, what do you mean by hot chat, then he bolta hai,(said), imagine, I like ok, started again, I said let me see what is his imaginations are, I said, ha bolo aage,(yes, go ahead), you are ahead and I am following you, mein boli aap ye movie ke dialogue kyon bolte ho, why can't you be original,(why you are following movie dialogue, why don't you come up with some orginal,) toh bolta hai,(then said) I catch hold of you, I push you against the wall, both your hands are in my hands, and I kissed you, passionate hard, I said, full stop, aage kuch nahi (not after this)toh bolta hai, nahi listen,(then he said, no listen, I said no), see, whatever your imagination are, I can't help you, stop your imagination are, aapko jo imagine karna hai karo, mere sath karna hai, jiske sath karna hai karo, but please muje ye baat mat bolo,(whatever you want to imagine, imagine, do it, with me or someone else, please don't say this things to me), because I don't think I will be able to meet you after that, like he is married men and look at the way he is talking to me, I mean, I think I could have spoken to you but I could not think talking to him like that.

BS So what do you think shruti, that after marriage…..

RES Sex plays an important role

BS No, After marriage, men becomes more and more, got hold of his masculinity?, before marriage it was something different, and after marriage it was something different, so by the incidence of abhishek, so before marriage he was very,

RES Ha, (yes) I got a shock, jo meri common friend thi, (our common friend,) the moment he spoke to me about his wife's periods, and that man woman distinguished that we are not, equals and all that , I was like this is ridiculous, I never thought that this men could talk like that and muje nahi samaj mein aa raha tha, ki, ye wahi insan hai ki kya hai, meine toh agale din usko phone kiya, abhishek ko,(I could not understand, is this a same person, or what is it? I called him next day, abhishek) and I asked were you drunk last night? He is like nahi, (no), toh aap kya phaltu ki bakwas kar rahe the, (that what nonsense was that) nahi mein bakeas nahi kar raha tha, mein sach bol raha tha, (no I was not talking nonsense, I was telling truth) I was like I don't know what to say but this was not what I expected,of, from you, I mean I alwys respected you, you helped me in every each way and looked at the way you are talking to me last night, and I like aapko respect hi nahi hai, women ki,(I said you don't have respect of women) toh bolta hai ki yahi toh tum women bolte ho, mein aur kitna respect karu women ko, (this is what you women talked, how much should I resepect you), I was like I don't know, aapka aur aapki biwi ki beech mein kya chal raha hai, (what is going on between you and your wife), but this is not what I would expect from my husband, if the sex is the only criterion or what, I said, I think, you need to go a counsellor, this is what I told him

BS Is that all or is there any incident, more incidence where you come across masculinity where you came across men's hungerness for the sex?

RES I mean, as I was child, tab toh I told you (this I told you), about this two, I think this, Abhsihek wala incidence,(incidence of abhishek), this vijay, and hunger for sex… aise choote mote incidence hote the, (some small incidence were happening), I mean for the handshake also, do you understand once a men shook his hands, with me like that, give me your hand, (she took my hand she middle finger folded) when it was like this, I don't know, how to say, to that, but this means that this reprenst a peanuts,

BS That means middle finger comes down, means peanuts

RES Yes, this is what I heard

BS Ok

RES See shaking hand like that is fine (normal shake hands), shaking hands like this (middle finger down) you will definitely know, kuch gadbad hai,(there is something cooking up), I don't understand, I asked my German friend, I said this men he shook hands with me, he is like he wants you in his bed, I asked how can you say, then said, this is peanuts, right, when we show middle fingers this is peanuts and we shook his hands like that, so he wants sex with you.

BS Is it? (With sigh of surprised)

RES Yes, this is what she told me, I don't know, this was the only experience I had, of that handshake, ok,

BS so then so is that all you want to say or anything else, incidences there in your life, you want to share with me?

RES AA1 major incidence toh yehi the, (This was major incidence), ya, majorly, I don't think of anything else right now, major incidence toh yehi the, but this was major incidence.

BS Ok, now answer, violence , what do you mean by violence when you first heard about violence,The moment I said violence, what comes, in your mind,?

RES The moment you say violence, the first things comes in my mind is men and women, not necessary sex, but vulnerability of women comes to my mind, because this is normally what happened, this dowry, this and that, men beating women, I mean the first thing that comes into my mind is men and women, when you talked about violence, it can also be between parents, between sister and brother, but, wo hamesha, ek men aur women, jaha tak meine dekha hai, wo ata hi hai, (everytime is men and women, as far as I know, I have seen this do come)

BS So men and women who are in relationship with each other, is marriage relationship, or as a boyfriend, girlfriend, between two of them is violence or you want to say in general between men and women?

RES In general, like husband wife, brother sister, kahi na kahi, kuch na kuch to, hota hi hai (somewhere, something is happening),

BS so that is violence?

RES I feel

BS So whatever happened between them, or you want to say? elaborate it in more……

RES See sometimes it happens that elder brothers when they have younger sisters they are over protective about the younger sisters, they will do anything, I mean they will go and screw up with a girl they will have ten girl friends, but the moment the younger sister is going around with a boy they will start, beating, you see in the orthodoy places, they statrt, putting this restrictions on the girls, you will not go out, you will have to at home at 8'o clock, no matter he is going out having an affair, that's fine, but for the women it will be restriction that he will not go out with him, he is not a good guy, so I feel this is also a violence.

BS So do you remember when it is first time that you heard about violence?

RES First time when I heard?

BS Hmm.

RES I don't remember that as such, but, on tv, I used to see this CID and all that, toh tabhi dekha tha, so at that time, but like this there is no discussion, in my family, or nothing,

BS Not even in school time?

RES No,

BS Neighbourhood somehwre or if your maid servant, mar kha rahi hai? (That physically abusing)

SG Yes, I used to hear, ya, my maid servant talking to my mom,, Ki pati ne humko mara, (that my husband slap me,) he wants to drink, so he is beating me because he wants money from me, I don't want to give him money, its for my children's education, for the household, how much are they earning, 2.000-30000-40000 bugs, and that time was even lesser, so that she used to say that my husband, really beats me, because he wants money to drink

BS So that time you first heard about violence?

RES Not the term violence but ya, jaghada ho raha hai (fighting going on)

BS At that time it was not defined as a violence, or you want to say?

SG I don't know I never came across the term violence for a very long time, I mean, this is what the first incidence I heard, was about my maid servant, talking to my mom about, her life and how the husbad beats her,

BS So what was your age during that time

RES 10 -11 something,

BS and when you first heard about term violecnce?

RES I think in TV, I don't really remember,

BS What was your age during that time?

RES May be 14 or 15

BS Ok, So can you recall y situation where your father behaved violently with your mother?

RES ….Violently with my mother….. no… see I don't know, if, personally when they were alone, if my father was violent with my mother, that I don't know, but infornt of me or inforont of my brother, we never saw that my father, was saying that I said, no it menas no, you are not going to do this, you are not doing to do that, we never… anything.

BS Do you ever heard your father say your mother that don't wear this, wear that?

RES No

BS Compulsion, that you should wear this, you should wear that, any compulsion, without your mother's…. or any finaincial thing, that your father told your mother that you don't know anything about finance, in that way?,

RES No,,that way my father nevr had any compulsion because, see my mother is also post graduate, she is also educated, and ,my father, he never said, that don't wear this, don't wear that, it was my mothers decision,that she is wearing salwar kameez or saris , and now kurtis and slacks,so …..I mean, uss samye hota tha, (at that it was like this,) now it is 29 years of there marriage, so that time when they gor married, I mean, see girls, even aunty and grandmothers, they started waring jeans, shirt and all that, but that time my mom herself, were decided that I have to stay with my in laws, it is better that I will be in this traditional clothes, because I don't want any jaghada (argument) in my house just regarding stupid clothes,kahli mein jeans pehne ke aayi ya shirt pehne ke aayi, iss vaja se jaghda ho,(only if I am wearing jeans or shirt, if this going to become point of argument), better that I wear salwar kameez, and all that, so I really don't remember my dad, saying anything, violently to my mom,, or any compulsion, now also regarding food, that ki nahi roj khana, like sabji roti hi banana hai, (no daily, you should prepare sabji and roti,) some times we are tired of eating sabji roti, so we cook soup and bread, we cook pizzas, pasts, we order something from outside, so my dad never said anything like that, that ki aaj bahar se khana kyun aaya hai,ghar pein hi banao (why dinner came from outside, cook this at home) ,I have seen my neighbours doing that but not my dad doing that.

BS Can you recalls a situation where your father slaps your mother or same incidents happen in your family where you have seen that some body slapping a women infront of you
Not, between your father and mother but between your family members but within your neighbour?
RES My neghibour yes, but not with in my family, I never heard anything, anybody raising hand, ya, me and my brother, ya, once I remember, my slapping my brother, It was because my mother lied to my mother, and he went to mahabaleshwar, he said that he is going there with differnet group of friends and he went with the diferent group of friends, I mean it was nothing great, but he said, that I am going with people, ABC, but he went with xyz, so I called up, and I was calling up my brother where are you, did you reach or not, he was not picking up the phone, then I called up this A person, I have his number with me, as like can I talk to my brother please, he is like, I am sorry, I said I want to talk to my brother, and I knew him, he knew me, I said, I am shruti, you know, I am varun's sister, ya, ya I know but I don't understand that why you want to speak to varun, I said hello, you people are gone to Mahabaleshwar, together, and I want to talk to my brother that's it, he is not picking up the phone, he is like well shruti I don't know what to say to you, that dialogue, it really was horrible ,like I was fearing the worst like something happened, accident happened, something is wrong with varun, I was like, please be clear what do you mean, he is like well , I don't want to bit around the bush but he is not with me,and didn't you go to Mahabalesshwar together he is like, we were supposed to go but he went with somebody else, he lied to you, I was out of my mind, abhi toh say it is not great deal, (now it is to say, not a great deal) but that time, when rohit said, what to say to you, Varun is not with me, I don't know where is he, ya he must have gone, to Mahabaleshwar alone or something like that, it really broke me,and then Varun calls us the next day, that ya I went to Mahabaleshwar, but it was not with the group of friends I told, it was with somebody else, then he came home and then my mother slap him, never do that again,
BS Ok, with your neighbours?
RES Neighbour, husband slapping wife, yes I heard,
BS you have heard but you have never seen?
RES I have not seen,
BS Tell me a situation where you experienced, any kind of violence, apart from that all that things like you your self experience, any kind of violence, which you think now is violence?
RES Everything, I mean, job hi mere sath, I mean (whatever happened), I told you so many thing, everything now I feel is a violence, specially that uncle thing, that happened, I was very young 6-7 years, then the second episode, then the second uncle, when I was 10 years old, did I tell you about that, second experience,
BS No
RES Do you want me to tell?
BS Ya ya sure,
RES it was like very good friends of my parents, my neighbours, and he used to come very often they were getting their house renovated, they were to shift, so my, there was nothing in the house, he used to come and sit at our place, and that uncle has two children,
BS Did you write it down, it was same person, and you are talking,
RES Do you have printout? (She took printouts of diary question, she is checking first page and said… Nahi ye alag hai, (No this is different),
BS So Shruti altogether... (Mean while she is reading last page of print outs)Ok so the last question
(I am reading)… That was first time… (still reading and completed)…That was so… so the question was when you got to know that whatever happened to you was violence, ye kab pata chala, because ,(when exactly you come to know about it?)

RES That I realized it much later, that ████ episode was going on in calcuta, and he wrote my name on his hand, that time I just sit and think, think, think, and that time I came to know that this is not happening, this is not right, because I am not able to defend myself, so then I relaize that this is not right, its not justified whats happening,

BS What was your age?

RES When he cut his hand, I think, I was 12 or 13 years old,

BS No, but then about whatever happened, with you during the childhood, what was your age when you understood that whatever happened with you is violence?

RES I think I was 17 or 18, when I was thinking about all this things, then once I was just sitting and thinking, ki kya kya hua tha, Calcutta mein, (that whatever happended in calcuta, when we left Calcutta), when we came to Pune, I was just thinking about everything that happened, then I realized that ya it was violence, then..

BS Can you remember a situation when first time you got to know that dowry is forbidden by law?

RES I did not understand the question

BS can you remember a situation, can you remember, incident when it is first time that you understood that dowry is illegal in india, and it is an offence?,

RES ya, I mean some cousin of mine got married, I was 19 or 20 years old.so parents, were just discussing, that these people have asked this much dowry, that much dowry, but its illegal to give, so but then ya lot of people you know they asked for indirect dowry, you know, they will not ask, that we want this many lakh rupees or this much of gold, but they say that nahi hume kuch nahi chaiye, but I know that you would, get your daughter, married properly, ki aap apne taraf se koi kami nahi, rakokhe,(we don't want anything, but I know you will get your daughter, married properly, that you will fulfil everything) this is what boy side normally say to girls, they will not say that you have to give us this many set of gold, this many sets of diamonds, but they will indirectly say that I know, you kow ki aap ki kami nahi chodoge apni taraf se,(you will fulfil everything for your side)

BS so shruti, your paretns must be looking for you?

RES yes,

BS is some incidents with you also, happened, that when boy has asked some kind of dowry, or when they talking to you, did they asked, whether your father give this much to me? Something like that

RES nahi, (no), actually my parents are looking a boy for me, but I met one boy, I just met him once so this dowry, thing didn't happen, we did not speak about dowry, at all,

BS so how was your experience while meeting with the boy

RES it was very pleasant experience, and he was quite decent well behaved. I was alone with him in a coffee shop, and he did not try to do anything stupid, but I…… liked him , I liked his honesty, he was quite honest to me, in a sense, see now a days, if you, if a girl or a boy is talking they would show off, ki mere paas, (that I have), I ride a BMW, or I wear RayBan,, I wear Gucchi product, I wear Louie witton,(Louis Vuitton) they will show off, they will try to impress a person, and this men I went, I met, he is from,Bombay, meine just usse aise hi pucha, ki aap kaha rahete ho, aapka office kidhar hai, (I just asked him that where do you stay, how much is the distance from your office to your home), and how do you commute, so he is like see I don't have a car, rightnow, I go by local train, and I was shocked to listen to his answer, because, a boy who is meeting a girl for the first time, would not say that, a normal boy would never ever say that, I travel by local train, and that to if its to impress a girl, so what I liked about him was that he was quite honest, nahi toh first impression mein, (then on first meeting), you meet any boy across,he will never say that mein local se ata jata hu, he will never ever say that I am coomuting by public transport, he will say that I go by bike, I go by car, we are three four friend we go together, we come together,

BS So then why it didn't happen?

RES I don't know,why did not it happen, but the boy, said, that he is not prepared to get married, actually he just started working, six moths he did his masters and then this is two years ago, ao that boy has started working newly, so may be he wanted to get settle for little while,

BS Then why you are meeting for marriage, if he is not ready to get married?

RES I mean he accepted to meet, it was not that we forced him, it was so, common alliance, my parent, spoke to his parents and they said ya, ok, let the girl and boy meet.

BS So is that the…. Male… the boy's parents were forcing him to meet, did he tell you that?

RES No we hardly spoke for around 40 mts, just spoke generally, like what do I do in my free time, what does he do in his free time, then what are my future plans, what are his future plans, where would he like to settle, he never mentioned anything, that his parents has forced him, to meet me, but later his parents said, that he is not ready to get marry, may be he did not like me I don't know, but this is what the answer we got from their side, that he is not ready for marriage,

BS So we are talking about dowry,dowry was…. so you were 19 or 20 years old, when you first came across, the word dowry, right, but before that you never heard from any media or from any, from your school or from a text book, or from your teacher, or from your friends?

RES May be I think I must have read something in schools, but I did not realize that what does it actually mean, I think we did have it in, English text that dowry is forbidden, or we should not ask, or something about marriage and dowry, but that was just a theory but to see practically I came to understand it when I was 18 or 19 when my cousin was getting married.

BS So do you remember a text book, where you first heard about dowry, or do you remember when your teacher or text book teaches you anything regarding violence, or how should you deal with it?

RES Regarding violence, actually I cannot recall, any situation in school where we actually spoke, about violence or dowry I don't know, we must have, but I don't remember that at all,

BS Ok dowry you said that you read it in a text book, right? Can you remember in which standard, you were during that time?

RES May be 8 or 9th

BS So no text book, and teacher have also not taught you what is violence? How should you deal with it? Nothing nothing, right,

RES I can't recall a situation, I don't think so,

BS Ok, shruti do you know about domestic violence act 2005?

RES No

BS Do you know definition of violence, now in domestic violence act and what was before domestic vioelcnce act?

RES No

BS Do you know that if physical violene happenes to you, in any case, if something, after marriage, something before marriage, any physical violene what are your rights that you have

RES I am not aware?

BS You are not aware, or do you really know that how you can help someone, if those persons is facing aphysical violence or in that situation what will you do, if your very good friend is undergoing through a violence, or physical violence and you want to help her out, what will you do in that situation?

RES May be I think I will take her to the police station, and I will….and this is what I will do,

BS And you don't know the any rights, any law?

RES I am not much aware

BS you are not much aware of, but do you think that there is necessity that you should be aware, of this?

RES Ya, I should,

BS And school should teach you that what are your right and what are all the legislation, which are there about women's right?

RES I think, yes, may be in 8th 9 th or 10 th std, there should be some portion mentioned in the text, because see, media, is there but media,aaj kal,(these days), I really feel personally is not playing a very good role,because media some times over exageerated stuff, is like anything,this nirbhaya rape case what happened, it was brutal, it is the most terrible that happened, she was brutally tortured, all those things was inserted in her, the way it was happened, it was brutal, but media, theek hai,(was ok), see media has expsoed them, media has to tell us, that these are the things happening, and we must be aware, we must be careful but bidding around the bush is not the solution, I mean these news are debate, all this news what happned in every news channels, wants to gain points, and india just because of rape and corruption was having a very bad name, all over the world, in Germany for all those four months, whoever we came cross has asked us what happned about this rape case,in delhi, and we have no answer, what should we say, kyon ho raha hai, kya ho raha hai, ho raha hai, ho raha hai, I mean,(why happening, what happening, so its happening, happening), I don't know whats the solution, the solution I feel is not, lot of people say a girl should not go and wear a small clothes, that is not the solution, the solution is that, man have to be controlled, that's the mentality of man, man need to be change,

BS Do you know after rape, how many years is the imprisonment for them,or what is the maximum punishment they will get, what is the minimum punishment they will get, or do you know about it, that how, what are your rights after rape, what you should do, and what not?

RES No, I am not aware of law at all.

BS Or you are not aware of procedure at all?

RES Nothing

BS That's it,

RES That's it,

BS Ya

End of second clip.

Appendix B: Sample Interview for Expert Interview (Pre-study interview)

█████████

 BS: Tell me about you, I mean, tumhi ithe kase aalat, ya kshetra kade kase vallat? (Why did you choose this profession?)

RES: Are you ok in recording it in Marathi,

BS: Ya.

RES: Ya kshetra kade kasa alo (How and why did I choose this profession?)

BS: Hmm...Manje... saglacha. Lahanpana pasun, kay shikshan jala (Yes, tell me in details about your childhood, education)

 RES: Basically mi ████████ tun, ████████ mahi ahe na, chota gaon ahe, 4ekdam, manje mi ekdam,

Grameen sheti karnarya, ani naukri karnarya, tya kalat chota gaon, aslelya, Maratha upper caste, kutumba madhe janmala alo, ani saglyat chota asto, family pan sagli joint family. (Basically I come from a village. Very small village where agriculture is main occupation and on small scale service sector. I am born in upper Maratha caste family. I am the youngest of all siblings. I belong to joint family)

BS: Thodasa loud bola (please little bit louder)

RES: Ya may be mi hathat gheun basto (Yes, I will take recorder in my hand)

BS: Ha (ok)

RES: Joint family punha ahe, ani joint family madhe, motha bhau, teen bahni, mag mi saglyat chota mulga, asha saglya vatavarna madhe, (repeated the sentence.). Mi vadlelo ahe gava madhe, majy shikshan gava

(In joint family, I have an elder brother and three sister, and I am the youngest one. I studied in village school.), madhe jala, tyacha nantar mag, gavatlya shikshan chya, opportunity arthat kami astat (There are less opportunity in village after your basic education, right) right, tya mule, mag...Ummm… 10 vi nanatar, mi solapur la shikyala gelo, (uhh...) (So I went to a town for secondary education studies) ani mag 11-12 vi, solapur madhe, mag 12 vi parat ekda kudurwadi madhe, ani asa karun mag mi punya madhe alo, karan mi punyat gana shikyala alo hoto, ahhhh (so after secondary education, I went again to village and then I came to this town, I came to this town to learn singing. But I could not pursue singing for some reason)… ani ahhhhh…arthat te jala nahi, somehow, many reasons, pan mag mi punat alo, shikyala, punya madhe alya nanatar, achanak veglya cultural, dhakka asto na,(I came from a village to town, initially it was a cultural shock for me) chotya gavatun yene, mahnun tumhi sagla hai karta, so I was in hostel, then I started getting into this arts circle (I was staying in hostel and started going to arts club) jyacha madhe khup acceptance navta, bashe mule, grameen aslya mule, disnya mule (as I was from village, I looked like village boy, so there was not much acceptance from the arts circle) mi 90's madhla boltoy, tevha tar khupa cha, tasa pune sanatani hota, ata itka te khula pan navta (I am talking about 1990. Pune was conservative, not it's much liberal) economy pan tashi

khup, kuli navti ithli (I am talking before New economic policy) tyacha mule, spaces pan cultural clearly divided hotya (those days space was clearly divided) tyacha madhe puneri log, puneri, vishita jati tale log, gava kadun allele log, asa, hostel madhe division hote (In our hostel, space was divided into native people place, particular caste, village boys. So college was divided into these groups) college madhe division hoti, ani hya saglya prakarmadhe mi, (rep) mag mi, because... uh... my. My interest was, getting into some cultural... cultural forums, mahnun mi punyat alo hoto, so I started doing finally my graduation in chemistry, pan mi khup sara art related cicrles madhe phirat rahilo, ani te informal circle hote karan, karan formal circle madhe mi, grameen aslya mule koni ghetla cha nahi (so I started mingling up with arts circle in informal way, as there was no acceptance for a village boy in formal arts circle. I started pursuing my graduation degree in chemistry), ya bashe cha ya saglya prakara mule, kiva maji bhasha kadhi punyatali jail nahi (my langauage always remained un polished and unsophisticated), n ate mala kadhi karayachi hoti (and I never wanted to), pan mudda tya saglya hyachya tun mi, parallel stream madhe jat rahilo, mukhya ji dhara aste, kuthlya hi college madhli, tyacha peksha kayam ase, parallel, kayam bandhkhor (So I always chose out of box or revolutionary field), asya.(inaudible) Asa yechat dhakkla gelo, ani tyatana kalal ki, apla astitva, tikun rahata, mahnje asa hota ki hai main stream ahe tar, mahnje mi agadi tya, tya velicha maja behaviour, mahntla tar mala hai nakki kalala ki char shivya ghatlya ki ti loka ghabhartat (so by engaging in such field I understood that if you have to established an identity you need to be aggressive), so I got into,you know, abusing , I got into jya jya lokani, mala tras dila, kala mandalat,yenya sathi, tyana mi khup tras dila (so I started taking revenge), amhi kattyavarti baslo, mi muli na trasdila, mi mula na marla, I got into student politics (so I indulged into student politics) tevha election hot hote,mag student politics madhe alya nanatar, kalal ki aplya hatat satta, asli kiapliyala hya saglya lokana chalta yete (so when I indulged into the politics, I realized that one needs power to win people) , a Kiva aply vacharsav dhakvata yete, tar ha asa sagla ithla punyatla pravas hota, pan he sagala chalu astana, karan mi ya saglya rebellious, as you said, pravahachya viruddhatallya stream (as you rightly said I was swimming against the

main stream. During my journey I met people who are swimming against the stream but at higher level), madhe hoto, tar tya velela majya barobar, varti vaicharik patali varti, pravaha cha viruddha aslele lok pan hote, mahnje je jati vyasahthe cha viruddhat bolat hote, je dalit rights baddla bolat hote, je striyan baddla bolat hote, mag ya sagya lokan shi pan oolakh hot hoti (These people were who were talking about dalit rights, women empowerment and I got acquainted with such ideas) ani eka bajula,ek gundgiri, eka bajula student politics, ani doosrya bajula, khup samajik natak, street plays karana, shabda ras mit cha vachan karna, asa sagla kahi tarichalu hota (so one hand I was into hooliganism and other hand I was reading and participating into various social movement), tya mule te asa, typical young, age madhle complex, ikade ka tikade, asa jo vaicharik gondhal asto, tya gondhala madhe hoto (so I realized that I was baffled and confused about ideals) mi hoto. When I graduated from chemistry, then I decided for to go for mass communication, basically, karan ya saglya, parallel pravaha madhe, samaja sathi kahi, tari kela pahije, lokanchya sathi kahi tari kele pahije, hai sagla kalat hota. (In this process of confusion, I was sure about one thing which was that I must work for my society) mulat natak ani, performing art, ya bajula jasta kal hota, likhan bara hota, tyamule ptrakaritet karyacha tharla hota, journalism, madhe (I was interested in performing arts, so I chose mass communication as stream to pursue my career) pan, that time was exactly the time, when the whole course around mass communication was getting into electronics rather than press, tyamule press cha focus kami jala hota (That was time when electronics media was gaining momentum). Curriculum madhla ani electronics cha focus vadla hota, ani I did not really want to go into electronics not because of, choice but tyveleala itka uncertain hota, electronics madhe jana mahnje, zee che channels hote, I am talking about, 94-95, kahi cha channel ale hote, mag yat aplyala, kamvyala milele ka?, yat nokrya miltil ka, hya saglya saglya gondhal hoto, so I decided ki nakki khatri na mahit hota ki mi ptrakaritet, kahi tari carrier hoin, ani lihilya, pro people lihylal, avdata, mahnun mag hai asa kahi tari prayatna kela,so then I dropped the whole idea,of getting into this mass communication (so I was not interested into going into electronics rather I was interested into writing- something pro people). Karan tevha ek director hote, symbiosis che, tyana mi bhetlo ani tyana mala sanghitla ki, social work nava chi ek degree aste, tithe jaun tu shod tula kahi tari pro people karta yete ka te (So I met Symbiosis director and he informed me about an educational degree in social work). And I ended up in doing my post graduation in karve institute of social work, in pune, MSW. Jyacha madhe development communication navacha ek paper ahe, toh ek paper shiknya sathi, mi, maja post graduation social work madhe kele (In that social work curriculum, there was one subject called as development communication, I did the degree just to learn that one course). Finally, I ended up studying policies, development and communication, khar pahata, tya mule I passed out as a social worker, quote and quote, but I not with the whole idea of social work (though I passed out as a social worker, but I rejected the whole idea of case worker, controlled emotions and involvement). Karan I reject the whole idea of case work and control emotion mean, and involvement, asle kahi tari principle astat. Ani mala, asa vatat ki lokana barobar kam karava lagta, jevha khup jatun kam karava lagta, so that was my post grauation in social work. Finally focus was on development communication, and then, maja blog placement navacha prakar asto, ek mahinya bhar sathi chi internship (there was an internship), so I did that internship, with one of the organisation call abhivyakti, which is in nashik, which is a media and communication, NGO. And then I started working, with one of the health management, institute, jyacha madhe maji responsibility, hoti health communication cha unit chalyvnyachi (where I was incharge of health management institute). So I finally got to do what I wanted to do, health communication cha unit chalvyna madhe, communication chya strategies develop karna, slum madhe ani rural parts, chya sathi communication material develop karna, news letters, posters, pamphlets, audio caseetees, video (so I finally got what I wanted to do such as developing communication strategies and material such as news letters, poster). So, maja toh sagla domain hota, ani tya

saglya kama madhe, this was reproductive and child health programme in 1996, RCH programme, jyachatli bharatachi strategy ji hoti, to work with man (In RCH programme India adopted a strategy to work with men on women's issue) to involve, them into domestic work, assuming that, they might get into, get involved into woman' health. Tya mule strategy anek sanstha ni, ashi keli hoti ki, tumhi ghar kamat sahabhagi kara purushana mahnje te, mag bayko barobarti prathmik aroygya Kendra ta jatil, kiva you know ANC clinic la jatil, garodar pana sahabagi hotil, vagire (So many NGOs develop strategies like to involve into domestic work, so men will participate in to reproductive issues with women). So as communication person, I came up with these, measures where woman are, chooping vegetables, ani purush ghar kamat sahabhagi, ahet ani purush, bhandi ghastayat, ani mulana sambhtayat, ani aslya saglya images, tyaar kelya ahet, jya images purvi, kadhi navtya kadhi navtya (so I started working on men images such as a man chopping vegetables, man taking care of children, which was entirely new at that time). ICPD, madhu ha agenda ala hota, international conference on population and develppment, in 94,Cairo,Cairo madhun, ani tya nantar plan of action madhe man involvement,navacha acceptance pan ala, hota (After ICPD conference in 1994, Cairo, India has accepted plan of action promoting men to participate in house chores). Uhh...So organisation wise I was working with responding to international calls, because funding was coming, finally 5-6 varsha ni majya asa lakshat ala ki purush, ghar kamat sahabhagi hota ahet, pan te sanshay gheyache thamblele nahit, te bai la control karayache thimble nahit, ticha reproduction ana sexuality is still being under control (But after working with them for 5-6 years, I realized that participation in house chores is not the solution. They still control women. Her reproduction and sexuality is still being under control). Tyamule mala lakshat ala ki, yat massive kahi tari wrong ahe, (so I realized that the strategy is massively wrong) in ya strategy madhe because, reproductive health angina, male involvement cha jar vichar kela, tyacha jar power relation, ni analysis nahi kela (because reproductive health, vagina everything have to do with power relations, we do not analyse this relations). Tar we do end up having symbolic changes, rather than real change in power relations ani tya arthana women's health ani woman empowerment ya khup door chya goshti rahatat (we end up having symbolic changes and with this women empowerment is not possible with this strategy).

BS-Symbolic changes in the sense of what

Symbolic changes in the sense, you may find a man who are working in kitchen, but they still will be beating their wife, so symbolically you have changed men, but who might not be really using condom, which has direct impact on the reproductive health. Tyamule ya saglya veglya goshti ahet (so these are different things). Symbolic kitchen madhla kam ani, tya mansa la reproductive drishti ni kay kiva, gender anagana kay, violence cha angina kay, responsible banvana (so these are different things, such as to make men responsible for kitchen work and to make them gender sensitive are two different things) so I quit the job. Then I started working with women's group in pune, and then I started, reading, feminism, and feministic theories about change. I started analysing reproductive and child health from women perspective, womens rights perspective, discourse pan tya kalat badlat chahle hote (feminist discourse was chaning at that time) purushan barobar kam karna suru jala hota (people started working on men) bharata madhe jevha, RCH madhe purushan barobar, kam chala hota tevha, 2000 chya kalat, sexual health madhe pan kamsuru jala (During 2000, organizations started working on sexual health, HIV AIDS. During that period NGOs started workig with men but feminist criticised that the programme ended up in making men wear condoms without even making them conscious about power relations). HIV AIDS programe ne pan khup sara, purushan barobar kam suru kela, ani tyacha ek feminist critique pan suru jala te asa hota ki, finally HIV AIDS, programme, ended up, ended up, making men wear condoms, but we still didn't talk about power relations. Patriarchy, tya mule eka bajula mi convince hot hoto (so on one hand I was convinced that this strategy is not working), ahh...with this women's analysis of, working

with men, and then I worked with in women's organisation, for more than three years, and so, jikade mi pahilyanda, men sathi kahi project lihila, EOAS, there is one dutch funded agency, supported that programme, jycha madhe mi mhntla ki, I am not going to talk about reproductive health with men, if I wanna talk with man or do some project with man. I basically want to talk about violence against women, gender based violence, sexuality, and that project really help me to, do that, ani hai 16 gavan madhe 4 partners barobar hai project hota, jyat kahi qualitative research karnyacha prayatna kela (So I basically prepared a project where I began understanding with notions of manhood, masculinities and her relations with violence) where I started understanding, notions of manhood, mardangi, masulinites, tyacha, violence chi aselela, sambandh, violence against women, shi aselal sambandh. Same time I started getting, connected with many, of these men, many of these feminist men, who would talk about violence against men, and gender based violence, which was very prominent group in uttar Pradesh called MESWA, man's action to stop violence against women, MASVAW, I got connected witht this man, UP madhe tyani khup mothya pramana var mobilisation kele ahe (the group has mobilized people on large scale), ah.. Purushancha, te ajun kahi pramana madhe actively chalu ahe (which is still going on and they have strategies to mobilise men on women's issue), ani jyani mahila sathi purush kahi tari karu shaktat, asa tyacha karyakrama cha swarup hota, campaign hota, veg vegvegle material hote. So I started working with such, groups, I started working with womens groups ani, ah… ya saglyamadhe masculinity, chi charcha karnare group, pan hote (and among such groups, there were some groups which were talking about masculinities), masculinites, started emerging, as one of the discourse, so I started understanding masculinities and its connection with, general violence, and specifically violence against women, and gender based violence. Hya saglya madhe maji swatachi, visibility vadat hoti (I was going more deep into all this while talking with these groups). I started working with international groups, I started working with UN groups, I started working with various donor agencies, I started emerging as a trainer, in the field of gender based violence, violence against women, sexuality, masculinities, hai sagla chalu astana, I quit this womens group, ani I was like searching my roots, and when I was individually growing as a consultant, decided not to, in any….. Intervene individually, but instituitonalised this things, and that's how we initate, Samyak in 2007. So we registered samyak as an organisation, that I head, in 2007, somewhere in October, it was in October, 3rd of October, 2007, and Samyak then become a institute, karan vyakti mahnun motha hot jata tumhi pan budala, jar kahicha nasel tumcha, base la (because when you start growing as an individual you need some base or your own institute), so, what I started doing is my, expertise and my mobility in different spheres, different levels internationally, south Asia, regionally, nationally, started fedding that experience, into developing samyak programme. So we consciously decided not to be funded, initial five years, karan magchi 15 varsha mi, NGO ta, funding politics, madhe kam kele hote, maja swatacha critique asa ahe, ki patriarchy asa teen varsha project madhe kasha sample jar ti 5,000 varsha chi asel tar (my main concern for fund driven working was how do you address patriarchy which is 5,000 years old in just five years), tya mule te funding base, change mahntla, ki tumhi fund, ghetle ki tumhala did divasat dkhavava lagta ki, stree purush badale ahe, don varshata dakhvava lagta ki streeya varti hinsa kami jalai ahe, jyala khar kahi artha nasto, phaltu pana (so when you are invovled into fuding driven programe you are bound to stay in a time limits and need to show that men-women have changed, domestic violence has decreased). So I decided not to get this funding cycle, but actually try and explore, different ways of intervening with communities, and converted this consultancies, individual consultancies, into institutional consultancies, so we became self sustained, tyamule internationally kam kele tar, teen charshe dollar divasa la milayala lagle tar te intervention sathi khup jhale ithe amhala (So I dropped whole idea of fund driven strategies and started to search for different policies. Three to four hundread dollar per day was enough). So we started doing

consultancies, mag tya consultancies, through training and through research programmes. Samyak, mahnun, punyat chalu jalya, Maharashtra chalu jhalya, bharat itar state madhe chalu jalya, south Asia madhe chalu jalya, desha na chya baher suru jalya, veglya region madhe suru jalya, and we started sustaining Samyak (So we started Samyak in Pune, other cities and states). So we will earn through our consultancies, and invest into programming in Samyak, mag karan funded project navte, mahnun mag te programme, cha scale chota ahe, 5 vastya punyatlya, 15 gava, kudurwadi cha aas paas (so Samyak is a small scale ogranization like 5 slum areas from Pune, 15 villages from a village). Basically we talk about womens health, and violence against women, no measurement of change, indicators, nothing, nothing but, explore karana ki navin paddat kay asu shakte, and we came up with this, newer methodologies to intervene (we explored new methods to empower women). For instance with adolescence girls, we do something je dance, for gender equality, karan adolescenes are tired of routine methodologies like meeting, and meleva, shibira, so we started using dance (for instance, with adolescence girls we do dance, gender equality because adolescence girls are tired of routine methodologies like meeting, conference, workshops). Karan dance, madhe amhala lakshat ala ki, muli khup khule pana na shariracha vapar kartat (so we realized that in performing arts girls use their body freely). So we started talking about politics of body, the way bodies have been control in gender system, so mag mulina dance kartana, dance jalya nantar, they would talk about ki apan kiti maja keli (so after performance girls enjoyed dance) pan ervi aplya la sharira la itki halchal nahi karta yet (normally girls do not use their body that freely).

BS:Pan mala asa ek mahnyahca hota ki jar body ani, mind cha difference yeto, tevha it obviously, that mind controlover the body, mahnje jevha dance hoto, tevha dance is, isn't it, dance is for typical time movement, and the later on the mind

AP. There are many references that shows that dance has been used, as empowerment truly, in women, Indian references. I could, pass on few to you, this was the reference and background research of women studies center in Pune University. Ani anek thikani asa lakshat ala ki dance, cha upyog na, ha, I mean theoretically, it helps to you know, to develop certain abilities, ani te result pan drushya swarupat disylala lagle (we also see the positive results of this method). So there is certainly, so mind, body, connection ahe, so there is mind body connection also, as you start, understanding politics of control, jo mana varti parinam karnara ahe (so there is a mind body connection, which impacts one's mindset). Ani a young women, a young girl understanding her bodies has been controlled, certainly it makes aware about whole system, of gender ani tyachat, te agadi tokache nasle tari she gets, start reflecting, on her position in society as a gendered girl, you know, ase kahi innovative programmes suru jale (we have started such as innovative programe). Ha ek jala, tasacha youth barobarchi suru kele ki tarun mulgyani (such innovative method we started with youth to address anemia). Anemia la respond karnya sathi, cooking madhe, iron receipes karyala shikana (so to respond anemia we started cooking other iron receipes). So you are dealing with a man, young men, tumhi tyanchi gender notion badlatay, at the same time tyacha center la women ahe (so you are chaning their gender notion but at the same time you are working as women centric). So Samyak decided to work, we classically describe our work as a women center male focused, so finally it has to be centered around women's right, women's empowerment, ani te karnya sathi mahnun madhyam, mahnun tumhi purushan barobar kam karta (we worked on women centric issue but medium is man), I completely reject the idea of working only with men, unless it is linked with relational aspect of women's empowerement, or patriarchy or gender equality, tya mule, purushanchi purushtavachi dharna, badla, ani tyacha fayada jar purusha na, honar asel tar I reject, the idea, it has to be finally, seem in the empowerment (so we changed the notion of masculinity) of women, reduction of violence against women, better acceptance to different sexualities, you know, homophobia, kami hona (to work on LGBT), hai honar asel tar, purusha na barobar kam kele pahije (we need to work on men), kiva yach deishane purushana barobar kam kele pahije,

and one of the way that Samyak, worked is to release, reported violence against women, ani te karnya sathi mahnun tumhala purushana barobar kam kele pahije (so to make people gender sensitive one need to work on men) , so that's the whole idea, so far, and that's what we are doing.

BS: Tell me Samyak cha full form ani,

AP: Samyak cha full form nahi ahe (Samyak does not have a full form), samyak is a word, which comes from Pali, which is used in Buddhist philosophy, though the organisation is not, Buddhist, has nothing to do with any kind of religious ideologies, Samyak means, achieving a kind of state where you can not, separate knowledge from truth, there are many interpretation of Samyak, but one of the classic, explanation that one of the Buddhist scholar gives me is that, when you cannot separate knowledge from truth, for instances, if there is this, red ccolor wall, and someone asked me what is the colour of the wall, and when I say red, that's the Samyak state, because the truth is red, and your knowledge is red, but when I said, brown, the problem is with knowledge and not with the truth, so you always have to get into understanding, ah… achieving kind of state, je kam tumhi karta, te, je khnyan tumhi milvata, te, satya var adherlela pahije (the knowledge you seek should based on truth and truth is based on justice), ani truth which is based on justice. You know, so that kind of interpretation, will find Buddhist philosophy, will find the similar kind of interpretation, in Jain philosophy too, and non violent philosophies ahet, we…. We, we find ourselves, in the close with this non violent, philosophies of Samyak, and the that's the term samyak, which also, means, acheieving that state of balance, and we believe that, there is noting called absolute masculinity, there is nothing called absolute feminity, you know.. You do... actually you balance, as a person, you know, you are masculine, you are feminine,

BS: So how samyak works, so do you work with victim of violence, or how

RES: Samyak, samyak, one of the, work, (three times repeation) that samyak doing, is with the survivors of violence, ahh… the cases are refered, either by community, or self references, or through organisations, samyak is, in a way expertise in dealing with cases which are, more complex, when it comes to dealing with men or sexualities, ani tya cases madhe refer kele jatat, samyak kade, for instances, if there is case of domestic violence, jikade sexuality cha issue ahe (where ther is a issue of sexuality), they will refered to us, so samyak, basically intervene as a reference center, so initial intervention is providing, psycho-social support, and idenitification of immediate needs of the survivor of violence, assessing the risk to life, ani mag tyacha nusar putting the person in contact with the relevant, organisation or relevant individuals, because samyak is not legal, firm, samyak certainly,but in case if the survivor of violence want, us to talk to the men, then we make those intitiative, we talk to the men, we try and explain, why we want to talk to him, not as the , criminal, but to explore the possibilities of helping him to understand, his ideas of manhood, and how it must be affecting the relationship, so getting into that kind of I wont say classical counselling, settings, but dialog settings, in a classical councilling settings, would be you know not taking, position, but certainly samyak, certainly would take position, to talk to that men and help him to understand, his socialisation, as men, his ideas of menhood, connected with violence, his ideas of controlling women, his ideas of sexuality, and whether some of this, ideas are really leading to violence against women, in his relationship, tya mule purushana barobar, jevha asa sexuality chaya, anga na masculinity chaya angna, intervene karayacha asel, tar samyak directly intervene (so Samyak directly intervenes in men, when there is a problem of masculinity) sexuality, ma otherwise samyak,refer it to either health service or legal service, or to lawyer, or to any other, help.

BS: Can we make, can I make this statement that samyak is very unique, because I have not come across, any NGO which are working for sexuality,

(Nodded saying yes)

BS So can I make this statement

RES not unique but I would say, I would say, which is, if I could use a very theoretical, word of intersectionalities, samyak works, the core of samyak works is intersectionalities, so you just do not bring in gender, but you see the connection caste, sexuality, class, masculinities, ahh… region, you belong to, rural, urban, ani ya saglya tun je class, cha analysis nirman hota, masculinities cha, tya angane, women's right, chya drushti kona tun, intervenve karna (so we see connection of rural urban with masculinity and women's right). So I am not interested, in transforming man, for the sake of men, and I am very clear of that, I am, our politics is women center, to talk to men, hai kahi khasiyat ahe (this is our speciality), and we do talk about sexuality, we do talk about, ahh… without naming, ah.. I could just, I share the case, where this gay men, was forced to marry a women, and he tried avoiding, relationship with this women, is a very classic case of men is forced to marry a women, and he chose to marry a women, to show to his relatives and his society that he is a man enough to marry a women, and he finally continued with his, gay relationship, so from social networking sites varti, bayko la tyachabaddla thoda, sa andaz ala (so from social networking the wife assumed that he is interested in men), he avoided sex with her for couple of months (he avoided sex with her couple of months), javal javal char mahine (so nearly four months), his behaviour was different, and mag typically jasa purush kartat na (so he behaved in a typical way), slowly he started shifting, the blame on her, saying that, I am not interested in you, because you are not doing your domestic duties well, tu khup interesting nahi ahes (you are not at all interesting). Tu mala nit response det nahi ahes (you do not reciprocate), you are a lesser women, you are not hot, you are not. Whatever, and at the same time social networking site varti, tila disat hota ki, tyachi jasta purush mitra ahet, tyacha jasta (from social networking site the wife found about his nature), hai ahe, the case was then, was with a psychologist, and the psychologist refered it to us, and then I started intervening with this, communicating with this men, obviously we helped him to, understand, one we did not really, forced him to accept, sexuality, which just helped him understanding, that your sexuality, is your sexuality, you have had, choice not to marry, you could not face, your realities, your society, your family, and that's how you actually married a women, jyacha, … jaycha tila tras ahe, finally you have to come, in terms with you sexuality, ani ya saglya madhe mag, mulicha bajuna, purna vel hai chalela hota, ki one we want to divorce him. So we absolutely accept the idea of divorce the woman, whatever the woman, decide after this, consultation ke tyana kay karayacha ahe, she wanted to get into the process of divorce, but at the same time, this girls family, wanted to quote and quote expose, this men, publicly saying that, he is a gay, and now it comes, to the point where you have to really, see the balance, where you are actually also understand, the vulnerability of this men, and you give him a choice, to work on that man, now tya mule, hi sagli case, mulicha kutumbala, samjavun sangnyat khup, hai gela ki (so we took efforts to counsel woman and her family). What does it mean, to be a gay men, what kind of vulnerability, vulnerabilities, that men, must be having, and plus at the same time, saying that he, certainly made a choice, he had to pay for that, tya mule divorce chi prakriya, hi quote madhe context karun, tyancha mahnana hota ki, what if, we shows that he don't get erection (so just to get divorce the wife's family argued that he doesnot get erection). Then amhala hai samjavun sagyala lagla, ki physiologically, jyala erection yete nahi asa nahi, they get erection with men (we explained them that physiologically they get erection), (laughs). Tya mule hai sagngun upyog nahi, ki tyala erection hot nahi (so the argument that he does not get erection does not make any sense). Its not true, its not true, ani asa karun, expose karun tumhala kay milnar ahe (it doesnot make sense to expose them but main concern was to protecting her rights), basically because your, you, ata mul mudda ahe, protecting her rights, toh lets get into, a mutual dialogue, with him and his family, and make him accept, that he is sexuality and compensate for whatever he has done, there was no child, involved, there was no emotional involvement, between two. Tya mule hi sagli prakriya mutual divorce kade geli (so they finally got ready for mutual divorce), ani we made sure, that you

know, court, madhe janyacha adhi, we ensure that, the whatever the, women think that, he is enough compensation for her, is done, so you basically ended up, having done justice in two sense, other wise kay jala asta, court ji order dein tyala, justice mahnav lagta, (laughs)

Which might not be a justice, court nikal deta, it delivers decision, not justice,not justice (court delivers verdict and not justice). Tya mule we generally make sure that womens right are protected, before going to the court. Because, we feel that, judicial system ikade, is also patriarchal ji kahi tari, 5-700, 1500 alumini, dete bai la, ani ti milvnya sathi pan tila dhad padh karayala lagte (we feel that judicial system is not doing justice, whatever alumni they give like 5-700 rupees and have to struggle go get that money). Ani nantar support system kahi ja rahat nahi, na NGO, na vakil rahto, na kuthli institute rahate (after court decision no other institutes help them to get that alumni). So we always would, prefer, we always would try, always would try and see that women's rights and due kind of claims, are protected, before it goes to the court. Tyamule mutual divorce ghenya madhe, ani tyacha madhe purushana badlyana madhe pan amcha jasti focus rahilelea ahe (so we focused more on mutual divorce or to change men). There are few such cases, which you know, jyacha madhe amhi purushana barobar, intervene kele, ani jyacha focus, women hota (there are few such cases, where you know we work with men but on gender based violence).

BS: pan mag ata paryantacha overall experience sanga, ke kay?

RES: See ek tar ahe ki, violence chya cases chya babtit, you are saying, ah…well see,

BS: Overall experience? Is it rising, or the registeration is rising? I mean what is your experience?

RES: Mag experience peksha mi reflection sangin (I would like to discuss my reflection on cases of gender based violence). Karan I see, ki see growing incidence je ahet na specially of sexual violence (now people started talking about sexual offence due to growing incidence of sexual violence in India) in India, ne vatavaran thodasa, taiyar jala ahe ki, lok, atana sexuality baddla bolyala lagle ahet, lok violence, baddla bolyala lagle ahet. Tya mule ata lokana, nichieet pane mahit ahe ki violence baddla bolala pahije (so people now started talking about sexual violence), 20-30 varsha purvi, women's started saying, that break the culture of silence, tea ta nicheet pane disatay, ki you know (20-30 years before what we used to say that break the culture of silence, is now happening). ahh… that women are breaking ,that silence and they are coming out, tyamule reporting nicheet pane vadlele ahe, pan jevdha pan ata reporting ahe, which I think is the tip of the ice berg (women are breaking that silence, reporting has increased but yet it is an tip of the ice berg).

BS: Ok

RES: You know, karan khup sara reporting, hotacha nahi (but still lot of incidences go unreported). Ek tar violence chi vyakhya cha multacah physical violence chya bhovati lokancha (as there is lot of confusion about definition of violence among public. Meaning of violence for people is physical violence), chya notion madhe ahe. Until recent when, protection of women from domestic violence, act was passed in 2005, which expanded the whole idea of violence from physical to emotional to psychological to economic to sexual violence (Due to domestic violence act, 2005, the definition of violence was expanded to physical to emotional to Psychological to economic and sexual violence). Pan tari pan lokana ajun pan nichit pane, mahit nahi, there was time when 2004-05, when I was training nurses, in pune muncipial corporation hospitals (but still people are unknown about the definition of violence), about identification of violence. Mag pre test madhe amhi veg vegle, forms dhyache, dille hote, training pretest madhi, te ase ki (so we took a pre-test and have given different forms, such as do you thik that you have face any kind of violence?) do you think ki you face any kind of violence? And then nurses would say, only 13% said , the sample was 263, 13 % woman said that they face some or other kind of violence, this was not very formal rsearch this was pre test and post test training, ani training jalynanatr chi postage dili geli streeyana, tyacha madhe javal

javal 83%, 81% women accepted that, yes they go through, some kind of violence (post training 81-83% of women have accepted that they are victim of violence), so it is also about, the understanding of the person who is reporting violence, tyamule even if, NFHS, National Family Health survey, 3 tells that, some where between 37%-40% of violence, it is just a reported cases of violence, I mean, it is just tip of ice berg, there are many many, women report violence, who do not know, that this is violence, you know the state of subjugation is that, ki we believe that this is not violence, maja navra marto tyat kay chuki ahe (whats wrong if my husband beats me).

BS: But then what is your experience, overall experience, about working with this women now,

RES: Experience in what sense,

BS: Experience in the sense of cases, cases, the trend of cases, the trend has changed, they were talking more about previously about physical violence, now, they are talking about mental violene, they are talking about psychological violence?

RES: No, mala khup thos pane mandata yet nahi (I don't know how to argue this), pan yes, psychological violence baddla, torture baddla bolala jat ahe (but yes people nowa days do talk about torture and violence), kind of phone calls that I am coming, receiving is also from different class, for instance, now there is a, case again without, naming, there is a case who is, a middle level manager, who called up few days back and started saying that you know, her husband has, actually left them, back and flew abroad and that's quiet, a torture, not providing to our family. So people have started accepting this as a new, people have started, people are getting aware of this ideas of mental torture as a violence and they can report it.

BS: Bar ata ha assume kela ka trend, if we assume that, this trend, changing, and so do you agree, when I say that physical violence is coming from a lower class more.

RES: No, I don't see this, physical violence, ha jasta visible ahe, so called lower class madhe (physical violence is more visible among lower class people). Karan te rastya varti ahe na, dakhvayla kahich nahi ahe (because it open, its in public). I know that ki, labour ahe, construction labour te rastya var, cha ahet, tar te dogha hi ekmekala martana distil (I know that they belong to labour class, they fight on road, we can see them fighting on road). But physical violene in upper caste and upper class is, invisible, and unreported. There are no evidences, which says that physical violence is more in poor classes.

BS: Ok. But what is overall view, I mean, why some, kind of violence woman face, if I say that, every woman say some kind of violence, in her life span, do you agree with this statement

RES: Absolutely,

BS: So but why, what is your view, about, why, this is happening, what are the reason behind this

RES: Well reason are quite structured, if I bring, in this understanding, my understanding about, a reason of violence, it has lot to do with patriarchy, and male privileges, who think that you know, she has to be under my control, now patriarchy as a system that privileges, men and overpower, the men, women ahh.. provides control to men, they control, her labour, they control her, mobility, they control her, sexuality, they control her reproduction, they control her mobility, and if she assert her mobility, if she assert her right, to her property, if she assert her right to sexuality, or say her her.. Her... her... space, if she assert her, assert her... assert her... denial to post labour, what she receives in response is violence, so though reported causes of violence says that, there is something to do with cooking and there is something to do with the drinking of her husband and there is something to do with, the domestic cores and there is something to do with adjustment, with in laws, these are just the visible causes, the root causes, are understanding of the man, man being aware,about one, the perceived idea of, being empower, and knowing consciously that where that power works, where it doesnot work, But these things remain same, when we were talking about 94-95, now also, nothing has changed. (Still same)

Absolutely, because there is patriarchy, is a system of over 5,000 years, the reason was violence are embedded in patriarchal notions,

And education hasn't change anything. Education haven't challenge patriarchy, Haven't challenge patriarchy So is not going to change, the forms are change, you know, for instances, the form of control has certainly change, I do lot of workshops, with this different class and different age groups, for instances now, so young women would, or a learned educated women would, report, that now he do not beat me but he scan through the inbox of mobile phone, forms of control have changed, Forms of control have changed, but things have remain the same,Control is still there, ah… women would report that oh he is absolutely fine with everything, but the moment I used a low necked top, he really gets crazy, saying that you should not be wearing that kind of cloth, or top, you know, so you have, changed the idea of control now,what he don't force you to wear a saree, but he is not ok with, wearing the low waist jeans, (laughs) so the forms of control have changes, now men do not snatched away the money, from salaries, but they use her credit cards and debit cards, to withdraw money, so the forms have changed, by education, you might, it has .. it has empowered women, but at the same time it has brought the vulnerability also, because women are getting empowered, men are not taught to, live with women who are empowered, their ideas of manhood are same, their ideas of control are same,they may have learned the politically correct language, they talk about equality, they talk about society, they are not happy with empowered women, they scared, they anxious about, ah… in their relationships, and I see this in generations, learned, educated, people, you know. So education has really not changed, the notion of power, so more empower women, more the reporting of control possibly, or lower the reporting of violence.

BS: if I want to say that this patriarchy, is still there in, this young generation, through the mothers or socialisation, ah... is it correct statement, according to you,

RES: No, I won't say mothers, through socialisation, yes fine, but this is not just mothers, mothers are made to pass on this patriarchal values to them, and they get, reward as a good mother, so mother is not the reason, the patriarchy is the reason,Patriarchy. The system that, make women to transfer this patriarchal values to the children, are then getting reward of becoming good women, so it is not women, not the mothers, it is patriarchy, it's the male dominated ideas, culture, tradition, media, state, families, who want to hold, who want to keep, the hold on male priviliedgs. Um... So I wont see, I certainly wont say that women are made to pass on this patriarchal values, wonen are made pass on this patriarchal values,women are not the reason for that, reason lies somewhere else, that's the male,privilege, you know, that's the father supremacy, in a family, Fathers authoritarian.Father would pass on his authority, by one by his act, two by forcing women in family to, teach to their children, that , look father is the supreme here, not you, vandachla ka nahi ekat ahes (listen to your father), kalat nahi ka (understand him), asa nako karu tyana vaite vatel (don't behave like this he will fell bad), neat vag, nahi tar tyana kasa vatel. So everything goes, you know center around this men in family, is not mothers, I have seen that with different educational level, violence, do change, like the.. even NFHS also tells us, 0-10 educational level, more physical violence then compare to the graduation or the post graduation level,

BS: So do you also agree with the statement

RES: See mala na, mala somehow, majya kama madhe, asa nahi vatat (see somehow my work experience does not tell me this). My experience, does not say that, I have had, a case where this wife of deputy commissioner of police of city, reported physical violence, she was learned, lawyer, who quit her practice in delhi high court, married to this came to pune, possibly je kami shikalele ahet na, tyana physical violence report karyala, manhani pan kami vatate (those who are less educated do not mind reporting physical violence). , Ha ok, Bai pan sangte, lai ho marto, sarkha marto bagha (less educated women easily express that she is victim of physical violence), shikaleli bai sangte ka marto mahnun (does educated girl accept that she is victim of

physcial violence), shikaleli bai sangat nahi marto mahnun, mala asa vatate ki hi, sagli akadevari aplyala, sangte ki there is still, culture of silence about (I think educated women do not express. The stastical data shows us that there is a culture of silence). Physical violence in a learned class, educated class, Pan, also can we make and I also see that, NFHS madhe jya padditit na data gola asnar ahe, tithe relationship between the investigator and the women (I can also see that the way NFHS has collected the data, the relationship between invesitgator and respondent),because my relationship, my understanding, my rapport with women, is good, there are educated women reporting violence, physical violence, my friends, my women friends, my postgraduate friends, my friends who are done their doctorates, do report physical violence, so it is also about the team of research and rapport between the women, I see, I do not see very clear environment, of research or rather very objective environment, of research when it comes to reporting of violence,

BS: So when we make this statement, that education has not at all, ahh taught the women to face the violence, have taught women, still to tolerate violence, is it correct,

RES:No I don't think, I will say, actually you know at this, statement, I will give the opinion, from both the side, I will say, education certainly have taught women to talk about violence, it certialy help them, understand what violence, is but the ultimate system of society which is patriarchal and family,stops them from, retaliating or you know, reverting back to, responding to the violence, you know, so they are aware, the now situation is more miserable with education, what I guess, now, ata byakana kalayla lagla barka ki aplya varti hinsa hot ahe (now women have started understanding that they are victim of violence), paristithi ashi ahe ki tyatna baher nahi padta yet (but due to social situation women cannot come out of the violence), karan baher padlelya bai la sanman nahi ahe (because divorcee women is not respected), baher padlelya bai la samaj accept karat nahi (society do not accpet such women), kutumb accept karat nahi (family does not accpet such women), ticha character varti yet ahe (they assassinate their character), tyamule adhi kalat navta tar bara tari hota (so earlier it was bearable as they were unconscious about it), ata bombalaya kalayala lagla (now due to education we became conscious that this is called as violence), shikshana na, ki yala hinsa mahntat, ani baher tar padta yet nahi (they are conscious that this is called as violence and they cannot come out of it). Jasta gochi jaleli ahe, jasta manasik tanva kadachit, ahe, kadachit jasta, manasik ajarachi, manasik arogya che prashana streeyan madhe ahet (due to this there are more mental stress and mental health issues among women). That's what I feel, Pan again coming, I am intervening now, the post graduation

Ha shevtacha prashana gheuyat,

Ho,

Mag pudhe continue karu. I mean, graduation, post graduation field madhe, and we talk about, this legislative education, what is DV act, and do you know dowry is illegal and everything, but I have seen that most of those random samples, do think that they have not come across, any violence, are unaware of this, unknown of this, or they, don't want to get into that, so education has surely not given this legislative education, No certainly not, So do you think that this kind of lacuna in educational system, No.. No education, I don't see, it is lacuna, because if a person is graduating history, you know unless it is part of teaching, how a, ahh... legislative history of India, asla kahi curriculum mahde cha nasel tar, te legislation shiktil kashala, pan mala tyacha ani reporting cha smabandh nahi vatat, Acha Reporting of violence, mala asa nahi vatat, those whoa are aware of legislation are more likely to report violence, asa nahi vatat mala (I don't think so), mala ya don purna goshti (these two are different things) veglya vatat, mala asa vatat ki violence, cha reporting kiva violene Kabul karna, hai khup tya vyakti chya paristhiti var avlambun ahe (I think to register violence is more depend on the situation of that person), mahnje 15, 15 varsha sahan kelya nanatar, bai report karte violence, to paryant bolat suddha nahi (after 15 years of suffering she reports but till that she doesnot express), jevha ti report

karte violence, tevha tila kayade, kalaele astat asa ajibat nahi (at the time of reporting violence it is not like that she is aware of laws), tila tevha hi kayada kaelala nasto (she is completely unaware of the laws), na kuni sangitla nasto(no one has ever told them). Tyamule mala asa don vegli goshta vatat (these two are different things), ani mala asa hi vatat, ki, teen ek hajara chya varti, kayade ahet ya deshat (we have more than three thousand laws in our country), tyatil stree yana chaya sandhrabh tyala kayada baddla, cha vegla education karnya sathi tumcya education padhdtiti amulagra kahi tari badal pahije (in such situation, you need to change the entire education system in order to make women literate about the laws), toh asnychi shakyata nahi (that's not possible), jithe bhar hach basically, basic education madhe, ani nanatar, chya professional education (the main concern is basic education and professional education), madhe tumhala professional skills ani tyatla theories, shikvnya madhe ahe (the main emphasise is on professional skills and related theroies). Jithe nagari shikshan cha hot nahi mulat (where civil education is not possible), mulancha, mansacha ya deshamadhe, tithe kayada cha shikshan, hona keval avghad ahe (in this country it is impossible to have legal education in curriculum), te avghad cha ahe (it is very difficult), mahnje te kuthlyacha, ani chemistry shiknray manasani ka domestic violence shikavtil asa hi prashana (why a chemistry graduate man needs an education on domestic violence).

BS: Pan mag asa nahi ka jithe gender sensitivity, navacha asa ek bhagh shikshane dhyava, asa nahi ka vatat (yes but don't you think that we need a curriculum on gender sensitivity).

RES: Ha te, ahe, gender sensitivity badla bolala pahije (yes we need to teach them about gender sensitivity), basic course asle pahije (at least a basic course is necessary), ith paryant mi samju shakto (I can understand that's its important), pan kyada baddla chi mahiti je ahe na, te pratyek shikshana madhe, dili geli pahije asa, apekshit karna thoda, unrelalistic ahe (but it is unrealistic to expect that we need to teach them legal education), ideal jaga madhe mi mahnene ki ho, ho, agadi violence baddla kalala pahije, karan toh majya priority chya, majya politics chya priority chya, bagh ahe (in ideal world, I can say that yes we need to give them legal education as it is part of my job), pan tyat tatstha pane vichar karta (this is not practical). I think, a person who is like ah…. Learning, in organic chemistry, how do you bring in, I mean, as a system of education.Pan ha basic education chya ek bahg asava (but this should be a part of basic education), Toh nicchet pane aslyla pahije, toh prathmik patali varti asayla pahije, toh atishay, basic patatli varti asayla pahije (but this must be on very primary level, basic level). Mahnje agadi lahan pana pasun, chya, kinder garden, pasun tyanchi mulya shikavali jana, ani sagla education system var, dhaklana pan gadbadicha ahe (this should be done from basic, kinder garten level, and not entire education but society should ne responsible for this as 8-16 hours kids are at home, with family, with society, on road, cinema hall, infront of TV, video game), 8-16 tasa, por gharat astat, kuntumb, astat, samajat astat, rastya var astat, cinema hall madhe astat, tv samor astat, video game samor astat, tyamule hya saglya structure, classicaly, ideally, theoretical uttar kaya he maja, mahnun ki vyakti transform hotat na tyacha barobar institution transform vyvya lagtat (in these structure, so when people transform institution needs to transform), you need transform institution also, your institution also has to be gender senstitive, gender responsive, gender transformative, not just gender responsive, ho na

BS: Pan mahnje ekadarit asa mahnta yeil na, ki jo formal education ahe, non formal education ani informal education, ya tinhi education chya level madhe, gender senstivization hot nahi.

RES: Nahi hot, certainly nahi hot (no, not happening), formal madhe tar nahicha ahe (not at forma, non formal and informal level), non formal, khupacha dur ahe, inforamal tar ajibatacha nahi, karan informal shikshana sathi tmchi system gender sensitive pahije (for informal education system needs to be gender sensitive), na, tya mansala, tya mulala disla pahije, ki apla baap aplya aai barobar, samanatena vagto (he needs to see that our father is treating mother with equality), shejari tya kaka , kakai barobar samnate na vagtat (neighbour is not treating aunty well), informal education hai asa jar nirikshantun hot asel, aju baju chya paristhitih tun

hot asel, tar ajubaju chi paristhithi bhyankar patriarchal ahe (informal education comes from observation and the surrounding is so patriarchal how can a child will learn gender sensitive from informal education). Kuthun informal educated hotil, loka

BS: Bar mala ankhin ek mahnyacha asta, jo media cha impact asto, je serial dakhvata, veglya veglya serials, balika vadhu vagire, hai eka side la, doosrya side la, female foeticide, vati, advertisement yete, kiva, ya saglya, kiva incredible india vart advertisement yete, tar hai goshta contradictory nahi ahe ka, je media ni aplya samaja la dileli ahe

RES: Well I will just talk about media, some time later, mala te khup bolyala avdel tyachavar, ata apan thambu yat ka, ho chalele,

BS: Ok, thank you.

Anand pawar, part 2

RES: Aaj kay tarikh ahe, Feb 1st, 2014, so jara tu prashna baddla bolshil,

BS:Media ani tyacha contradictory role, jo media play karat ahe, sadhya, mate, as a informal educational programme, jo media dakhvtoy, ani at the same time je media cha, serials apan baghto, that is institutionalising patriarchy in a society, so do you think that this, things are playing a great influence on public,

RES: See ata thodasa, vishleshan, karayacha mahtla na, khup, khup, kay mahnuyat, very blunt analysis, meaning taiyar karnarya anek, sites astat (very blunt analysis is these programme are structured at various level by different people). For instances, giving, meaning to men - women relationships, and power relationship, asa meaning, artha taiyar karnarya , other sides if we see, then we see that in a given situation, where institutions are patriarchal, every institutional, every institution has got this great potentials of creating gender hierarchial meanings, or the gender power relations, meanings, for instances, ya deshamadhe jevha (at that time when country), electronic media cha jasta jor navta, so some other institution was creating the meaning of men women relationship, and gender discrimination, ah… for instances, judiciary was creating, that kind of meaning, mahnje jyani bhawari devi la, hai sangitla ki dalit bai cha (during bhawari devi when court has given a verdict that upper caste cannot rape lower caste women), balaltkar karun cha shakat nahi savarniya, astana, or judiciary rape cases would, give direction to the one who committed rape, saying that if you are going to marry this girl, we gone a leave you, so judiciary becomes the institution, that create meaning about the men women relationship, that given society, media ek institution chi bhar padte, it suppose electronic media, cha 84, 85, cha bharatat,prasta pasaravala, ani after 90's and mid 90's, specially, jar electronic media, jasta, capitalist mode ne kam karayla lagla, TRP mode ne kam karayala lagla, jasti paisa, jasti jahirati, tar tya saglya madhe viknya madhe, they also started contributing, so media solely cannot be responsible for creating, meanings, of patriarchy, media solely, cannot be responsible, yes it is, one of the institution that has grater influence on people, because people very closely involved in that institution, for instances they are not closely involved in judicial statement, rather case laws, judges kay mahnlae te, pan lokancha agadi samor (but television is such institution which is infront of people 24 hrs), 10 by 10 chya gharat, jari rahar astil tari, in four feets, you know they are engaged with that media, tyacha mule tyacha prabhav jasti ahe (so the impact is more), bit that is not sole institution, ki leading those patriarchal, ideas, it, reinforces some of the patriarchal ideas, tya mule tyacha hinse shi direct, sambahndh, asna asa distana dista (they have direct relationship with violence), karan media hai institution khup jasta patkan ahe (because media is very near to normal people), but it say religion, hi, institution itki bemalum pane, uplabdha, bhinlelei ahe pratyekacha, ayushya madhe (even religion too but religion is unconsciously invovled in day to day life), we do not analyse, because this invisible abstract, day to day practice, madhun te yeta (religion is invovled in day to day practice), day to day practice is very close, linked with violence, for instances, if she is coming, out of the menstrual cycle, jar tine anghol nahi keli , ahe, ani tine shiva shiv keli ahe, mahnun tila mar padto (for

example if she does not stay in isolation then she is criticized), tar hi tar concept ji ahe, na vyahara chi, mahnje kasa vagal pahije (these manners and rituals of day to day behaviour is part of religion), hi khup abstract, norm banlela ahe na toh (these norms are made by religion), so there are this religious norms, and cultural norms, and traditional norms, je abstract ahet, je disat nahi (these are abstract, invisible), which are not written anywhere, but which operation in day to day lives, so these institution actually play more than media, you know, when it comes to actually, commiting violence,against women karan, I mean it is the breach of those customary laws, breach of those customary tradition, traditional norms or customary norms or religious norms, jyacha arthana (it means), for instances, ah.. mala patkan jevyala nahi vadela, mahnn marla (he beats her because she is not fast at house work), ata media has nothing to do with this, because, asha padditti chya cases madhe te media ta khup kami dakhvat astil (now this type of cases are not shown in media), pan the sense of privilege in the mind of this men, that I am, entitled the food, I am entitled to act to her bodies, exists and entitled to sex, I am entitled to making decisions, you know, is this male supremacy, which is embedded into rather religious, traditional customary, social, norms, tar te distana, disat nahi na (that not we see), mala asa dista ki violence cha, muddlya media contribute karata (I think that media contributes to violence), contribute karata mahnya peksha, sagle traditional, religious, customary, social, norms je ahet na, te norms te reinforce karata (I would not say contribute but I would rather correctly say that it reinforce religious, customary, social norms), ani pakka karata (and reinstitutionalized it), but in itself is not the reason for the violene against women, reason for violence against women, are the patriarchal system, patriarchal control over women's body, womens work and labour, womens sexuality, womens reproduction, their property, tyamule mul te vishleshan sodun nahi chalnar (so we can not ignore the analysis), media contribute to that, media reinforces some of this norms, to the kind of daily soaps we see, this one was like waiting for her husband, till midnight to just, serving some warm food, is not the character, is not the plot of the story, in that , daily soap, the plot itself, the expression of this kind of women and a men is itself, is result of patriarchal institution, to mag kombadi aadhi ki aanda adhi (so the question whether media draws this from society or vice-a versa), as ate, media chay charche madhe hot rahata (this we will see in media), asa te aplya lakshat yalaya pahije, ki patriarchy, ya institution madhe, media pan highly patriarchal ahe (we need to understand that in this discussion media too is highly patriarchal). So media patriarchy che value, reinforce karto, tyiar nahi karat patriarchy (so media reinforces patriarchy not creates it), toh nav Naveen artha deto (it creates meaning for it), toh phakata reinforce karto te norms (it only reinforces it).

BS: But in 21st century, when we are globalised, when we have opportunity, jevha apan asa vichar karto ki, bayka ni ani purushani, ektra kam karayala hava, tar je generation tumhi maghe baghitli, like, 40's and 60's generation, ani atachi, 20's early 18, tar, tyacha madhe kahi change disto ka (this is 21st century, when we say that men and women should work together, and do you see any difference between these two generation, in their behaviour, outlook)

RES: tyancha vagnuki madhe kiva, ekadaritacha, tyancha outlook madhe (their behaviour and outlook have definitely changed), manhje specially purushana baddla (especially about men), jevha apla bolala jata tevha, Purushan chya disnyat nichhet pane pharak ahe ata (yes, there is a lot of difference), mahnje jar disnyacha mudda asel tar (if we talk about outlook), we see ki 20 vya shataka chya madhya madhe (we see that in 20th century), you know, jikade khup community culture hota (there was a community culture), ah.. khup loga ektra rahat hote (people were staying together), tashi samajachi ekandarit rachana hoti (that's how society works those days), vyastha pan tashi cha hoti (social structure was communal), ani saglyat mahtavaha mahnje samaja cha (more importantly society was like that), artha karan ek mekan varti avlambun hota (many extend barter system was working), adharit hota, tyamule, ek gavaki jar ghetli, tar tya gavaki madhe, gavatli sagli lok saglyana oolkht hoti (if you take a village then all people in that village know each other) sagle purush sadharan pane, ek sarkhe disat astil,

kapdyachya paddatina, asel, vagnyachya paddhitina asel, tynche cultural face ek sarkhi astil, sadharan pane, co existence cha culture hota (all of them were staying and there was not much class difference. There was a culture of coexistence) Jikade veg veglya jati samudyane, vividh samuday kadachit tyacha madhe, ektra rahat hote (so different caste, community and tribal people were staying together but with counted problems), with counted problems ani tyana he tar asyacha vachsva chi identity (their identity was their community), asa sagla, jyala mahnto apan ki globlaised jag, jala ki ekvish vya shatka madhe. Tar ekvisave shataka, asa mahnatana, what is that we want to say, we want to say that they techonological jhala, te technology cha access vadhvnara tharla, te ekvis ava shataka cha, ankhi khasiyat (In 21st century technological world), varnana keli tar apan mahnu, yat ki ah…. Individualistic approach. Ho vyakti veglya hota gelya te khup nanatar (yes, people started isloating themselves), mi mhanen, mi asa mahnene ki, aplya bhaga madhe visheshtaha, ha... tantrakhanya var adharit arthkaran cha pravas suru jhala (I mean economy started rising from technological evolution), ah... mahnje bharata sarkhya deshat baghitla tar mid, 19th century, 20th century madhe,industrialisation ne sanshodhanchi vadh jail (If you talk about India, then we see increase in industralization due to research), rural, pasun migration khup vegla jala, ektra kutumb padditine, vibhakta kutumb nirman kelya (migration has increased, joint family system broken and rise into nuclear system) , tyacha madhe veg veglya, social support system je ahe, te kahi dissolve, jalya, kahi navyane suru jalya (various social support system dissolved and various new social support system developed), tyamule ekun ya saglya, badlan mule kahi (so due to this change), cultural halchal nakki aplya bhagat hotana diste (so culture has drastically change), tyacha prateksha upyog kutumb ani kutumbtale natesambandh yacha varti hotana disel (and the cumulative effect can be seen on family institutions), tyamule nuclear family, kade jana, ani nuclear family la kutumbatlya nate sambandhtlya tan tanava, hi vegli asna (so now family problems are different at this level), ya paryant apan sadharan 70 chya dashkatla, tar ata 90 paryant vagire baghitla, 90 chya, economic khulya padhtit, ke jevha pasun arthakaran khula jala, tevha pasun arthat jagnyas, jagna hai arthakarana ptun nirbhar jala ahe,kiva social support varti nahi, social system varti nahi, ani tujya majyat udharit ahe, ani ti 4 mahinyane mi purna karto, tasa te gavati cha rahilela nahi (people in small villages work on mutual understanding and co-operation), te kadachit chotya sheharanche hi rahilele nahi (we do not see it in urban areas), tyacha mule thithe jasti individualistic, individual property, vyaktigat, kahjagi sampati, kahajgi sampati cha sanchay, maja vyaktigat kutumba cha balance vadat jana (we do not see it where the culture of individualistic property, where the concern is only to earn materialisitc things), shilkit kahi tari panda, investment, tyacha tun yenare returns, hi sagli bhasha ji ahe na, jagyanachi, ti ashi arthakaranshi sambadit jail, yane te khulya arthakarana cha, apyla dista, khulya arthakarana tla, theoretically apan kay mahnto, bhandvala cha (the way we live is called as capital culture), flow vadla, mag bhandhvala cha nusta flow nahi vadla, tar tya bhadvala chya adhara varti, tumchya naukrya nirman jalya (capitalism increased which impacts on economy and employment generation started rising), tya bhadvala chya adhara varti, tumche vyaktigat fayade nirman hotat (individualisitc approach started rising), toh anlela fayada te bhadvla parat kadun pan ghetto (the consumer culture makes you spend the money) ,mahnun te consumerist padhatine, toh paisa jato, mahnje 10,000 kamvato mi ani 8,000 ghalvatoy, 2000 shilkit paddtaat, ani tyacha tun chalna, vadat gela (money flow is distributed by consumeristic culture), chalana cha bajaratla circulation vadlea (money circulation has increased), paise ata phiryala lagla, phiryala lagla ki GDP growth diste (so GDP has increased), hai sagla tyatla suru jhala, yacha artha asa jala ki, relationship madhe,kuthlya hi, kautumbik natya madhe, nusta kutumb asun chalet nahi, pan kutumba tlya lokan sathi, ani atachya global, vyavasthe na kamvun anla (that means even in relaitonships we see capitalistic culture), tya global vyasthne na, kamvn anyasathi mahnun, dhadpad karna, karan te jasta competitive ahe, ata, ani tya dhadpaditun honari, manasik tan tanav, bhavnik natya madhe tan tanav (so market is more

competitive, and to earn more, the relationship suffers. So we suffer more stress, metnal health issues). So obviously reflection hai, mag nate sambandha varti padat gela (so reflection is, the culture impacts all relationships), so you will find families, who are going out working, you know getting into, all kind of troubles, getting into all kind of pressures, and performances anxieties, bringing home similar, kind of anxieties, trying to manage there, expenses and savings, etc, where as the culture of the family also, spending now,so now it's not earning, but it is also spending, yacha tun arthik tan tanvana, sambadh bhar nakki padleli ahe (economic stress impacts relationships), so you will have a husband and wife, working together, both earning, but then patriarchy, would entitled, quote and quote, entitled, this men to control her incomes too, you know, tyamule Naveen arthkarana madhe, streeya baher padtana distat (so in new economic policy women go out and work), kama madhe, toh keval, tya doghana madhla emotional tanav cha nahi ahe, tar tyacha madhe tine kamvun aneleya paise varti niyatrana ahe (not only emotional disturbances but control over money), ani ya niyantranala nakar tar dila pahije, tar te hinsa che ghatna aplya la distat (ani we see violence due to power tussle), so ha triangle aplyala purna karta yeto, Naveen economy, neo liberal life style, yacha madhe tumhi kamvata ani spend karta (so in neo liberal economy you earn and spend), where as kamvanya sathi, kutumbachya dogha baher padtat (for earning both husband and wife have to go out), pan yenara jo paisa ahe, sampati, ti punha patriarchal system madhe, purushan chya tabyat jasta rahate (but the money earned is so patriarchal) so, ek bajula we have this empowered, women involved into economic, you know income, where as they themselves, experiencing powerlessness, when it comes to the family domain, ani yacha tun dwanda vadat ahe (this is the reason of tussle), yacha tun dwanda vadat ahe, mahnje kitye ka da (I have heard so many cases), cases aikelya milatat, je divorce chya,vishitha shikshit vargatlya, jithe stree ya mahntat ahe ki mala ata hinsa sahan karaychi nahi (where educated women tolerates violence and after a while they just decide to move on), I just want to move out of this relation, which is obvious, karan ti swatantra (because they are independent), economically swatantra (economically independent), hoti, ti kasha sathi niyanran sahan karel (why would rather he tolerates violence), where as pusrush nahi badale (where as the males have not changed), tya mule eka bajula asa disel ki stree, hi ashaya arthik drishtiya empower hot rahatil (so we see the picture that women get empowered economically, conscious of patriarchy) and on the other hand , aware hot rahatil jaga baddla, tyanchi mobility, nicheet pane, vadnar ahe (time has changed and mobility will increase), pan ya asa baddlelya streeyan varti, empower jalelya streeyan varti, shikshit jalelya streeyan varti (but in this time when they are educated, empower men hardly know how to behave with women) , rahayacha kasa, sahajeevan mahnje kay, yacha jar shikshan purushana jala nahi, jar purushnchi savedanshilta, jail nahi, tar hai marital discordning, violence chya, cases vadat cha jatil (men need to teach gender sensitivity otherwise marital discordance, violence cases will increase), not because women are being empowered, its because,men are not sensitive, men are not senstitised that, they are not taught, to, tyamule media cha Naveen arthakaran cha ha sagla, gondhal, aplyala (that is the reason media impacts most), asya ardha kachya metro seharat nakki disto, mahnje jithe traditionally, puneri value pan ahet, kutumb vyvastah pan jagli pahije (this we see in such half modern half traditional city like Pune), where as atachya piditli lok,mag baher pan padtaet (this generation women are going out and working out), muli kamvyala pan laglya ahet (women are economically independent), mag tyancha koni tari boy friends pan ahet, kiva, te plural ahet, ani na, they are trying to share with their family (and they have a boy friend or boy friends they try to share this with their families), mag hai sagla jalyanantar, lagnyachya, yacha madhe alya nantar (afte this stage, a stages comes where parents seriously starts talking about their marriage), punha hai sagle gondhal ahe (this is again a big chaos), transparently, share karayche, value, ahet (expected to be transparent and socialized to have that values), people are sharing out their relationships and breaking out, I

mean there are like, ata barya paiki chaotic paristhiti ahe (the situation is chaotic), when it comes to relationship and violence.

BS:Mala ek khup asa ashryakarak asa disla (surprsingly I have observed certain things) ki lagnacha adhi, je muli cha ayusha asta, that is altogether very different (before marriage, what an Indian girl goes through is very different), je lagnacha nanatar, je lagnachya adhi cha (what they are before marriage is not what they are after marriage) jitkya modern astat, titkya lagna nantar hi, lagna nanatr te traditional ani tya patriarchy madhe, rahaycha prayatna karit astat (they are modern before the marriage and after it they are more traditional, try to adjust in patriarchy), mag ya jya don stages ahet, tya, parspar virodhi asha distat (these two are totally polar opposite stages), tar mag ya madhna, asha cases tumhala distat ka (then do you see any sucha cases)

RES: Distat mahnje, majya kade direct ashya, cases nahit (yes though I don't have direct cases but I also felt so), pan maja je kahi nirikshan ahe na (this is also my observation), maja kahi nirikshan ahe tyacha madhe (I have observed something like this), mala asa dista ki (what I see that) which is right, you know, see basically aplya kade lagna, ha jo kahi prakar ahe na, toh, kahi khup asa samjun, umjun asa doghani, nirnay gheun, tuje maje, goshti negotiatie karun, arthik, samajik, sanskrutik, negotiation, tya don partya madhe hotacha nahi (basically in our society marriage, when a girl marries she never marries just because of two person like each other) , aplya kade lagna, ajun hi families cha vyavahar manla jato (but they marriage in our society is more of a family institutions), tyacha mule hi sagli instrumental ahet (rest all things are insturmental), ek mulga ani ek mulgi, thoda phar baddlela asta, chitra vicharla jata (things have slightly changed), ki tumhi, adhi behta bola vagire (like now they ask a couple to meet and talk before marriage), pan tyachat negotiation nahi ahe (but they don't negotiate), tyat khup kami velela negotioation ahe ki tu, mahnje udaharan artha, the word used you, the word that you used, is mode, you know, ata, tyachi thodi, phod jari keli apan, try to interpret that, generally how, is this term used, the term is used, whether she is, independent, tichi vesh bhusha kay ahe, ani ti rojchya jagnyat kay vyavahar karte, te kiti vyavhar karte, ticha.. ti baher padte ka, ti cinema la jate ka, independent ahe ka, ti party la jate ka, tila mitra maitrin ahet ka, (generally we see that how independent she is, how she is dreesed up, how modern she is, whether she goes to movie, party or social circle). we do not love but we set our priorities, we tyacha mode ha jo prakar ahe na, jo apan vaparto, toh rude arthana, tyachi sadharan ashi kahi, set of term vaprun apan, vykha karto, ata pan lagna, hi paddhat mulat, doghncha, vyasay nahi ahe, dogancha vyavhar nahi ahe, jyacha madhe choice nahi ahe, khupda choice nahi ahe, te ajun hi traditional artha cha, jyala atha cha traditional ahe, man woman coming together, by the consent of their families, you know,for reproductive sex, which is sanctioned by society, ani mag, tyachant prem- phim, hota, tyanchat, kay arthik sambandhm hotat, tyatla,bahutek sagla arthik sambandh, emotion cha taba purushan kade rahato, this is what very patriarchal, stream of lagna, apan tich sagli follow karto, asa tyamule, ti badlya nachi kay phar shakyta nahi ahe (Marriage is still an institution where we follow sanctioned rule by society. Then later love happens). Asa kadhi jala astas ki lagna vyasthe madhe dogana choice ahe, ha jo dharma ani jati chya palikade ahe, ah jyacha baddla kahi, ah... kay mahnu, jyala samaj manyata ahe, you know, when you start respecting individual choices, asa kahi disat nahi (we don't see individual choice here), individual choice cha kahi mamla nahi, tyamule lagna, distana, asa disel ki lagna, ya vyavsthet enter karnya chya adhi vykati individual choice, jagti ahe (when we see our marriage institution we interpret it as an individual choice), ani lagna ya karya madhe jithe individual choice cha prashana nahi ahe (in marriage individual choice doesnot matter), she has to be, especially she, has to give up her individual choices (woman has to give up her individual choise) ani quote and quote surrender to the whole system of marriage, the new system of marriage to, you know her freedom, her economy, her mobility, her sexuality, her uterus has been surrendered to a system, called marriage,

BS: Mag ata asa dista ki…. Mahnun je hai, mode asnycha ani lagnavyasthe hya don veglya goshti ahet, mag ata asa dista ki consumerism madhe vadlya mule, je kahi economic, goshti vadhtat ahet, short money kiva, khup easily paisa milvana, yacha sathi cha human trafficking hot ahe, kiva, women her self surrender to sex working things, tar mag ashya veles patriarchy kuthe madhe yete,jevha tich apla, swatacha dehacha vypar karyala baghte, for the short money tevha ithe patriarchy kuthe yete, mahnje ithe she herself is using her sexuality (what about sex workers, how they see patriarchy in their situations)

RES: Mag hya case madhe cha nahi, pan overall, sex baddla chi bhumike baddla bolala pahije (not only this, but in the case of overall sex as subject is being neglected), you know tyache don veg vegle, tyatle je tanva che mudde ahet, sex work la work mahnyacha ka (the main question is whether sex work is actually a work?) , ani asa, ek vichar tyatle asa mahntoy ki, pitrusatak, vyvasthe madhe purush stree yanchi laingkata vikat gheu shktat (one interpretation is that in patriarchal system men buy women's sexuality), laignik uplabhdata, vikat gheu shaktat (they are sexually available), itself is a patriarchal idea, hich pitru satak idea ahe ki, (this is patriarchal idea) purush paise deun (men can buy it), stree cha sharir (Women's body is used as sexual object), hai laingik upyogite sathi vpartat (this can be used for sexuality), te vastu garaje chi ahe (that's necessity), ti patriarchal idea ahe, this itself is patriarchal idea, mag te ekhyadha shiklelya shikshit bai la (then in patriarchy any educated woman, any college going girl for easy money if she is offering her body men will buy it), college madhe shiknrya mulila, easy money mahnun, if she is offering her work, asa, yachi gallat apan (we have to interpret two different situation, one is when a woman just wants more money and other is when a woman has no choice then to just sell off her body), je paristhiti ne dhakklya gela ahet, sex work madhe (those who are there just due to circumstances), ani, jyana jagnya sathi doosre marg thevale gelele nahit (those who are with left no options), kiva disat nahi upplabdh (or they don't find any other resources), ani jya janun bujun tharvun, angikarlya ahet, you know sex work (or they just accept it consciously), madhe allele ahet, tar tyanche muddhe,tyancha jagnyacha prashna, tyanchi jat background, purna veglya ahet (than their background is different), tyamule mi jevha asa mahnin ki easy money sathi jar streeya swatacha sharir uplabhdh karun det astil (if it is true that for easy money if women are ready to sell their body), tar naitekte chya drushti na mala tyala kahi prashana nahi vicharyacha (I don't want to question their morality), economy chya arthana mi asa mahnin ki toh jo kamvalela paisa ahe, toh kitpat, ticha tabyat rahto (from economic point of view I would rather say that at what extent she is owner of that money) tyacha varti ticha niyantran asata ka (is she in controlled that money?), toh kamvalelya paisacha (that money owned by her), ticha niyantran asta ka ticha boy friend cha ka bajaracha niyantran asta (she is not owner of that money but either her boy friend or marker owns the money), asa, ani tine kamvalyala paisa varti bajaracha bovati niyantran dista (but what I find is that women have less control over their money than market), mahnun toh easy money aplyala kuthe na kuthe tari tya market madhe jatana disto (so easy money she spends in market), so I sale my sex, and I spent that money in market, te neo liberal jagnyacha (this neo liberal life is ruled by market), bajar tharvato, ki mi kasa style keli pahije (market decides how one should style), kasha style shi match jala pahije (her matching style), ani te match honya sathi mahnun mi, if I am selling sex, there are possiblilites of exploitation, these are exploitation, these are lot of exploitation, that market is bringing to me, barobar, tar toh mi asha anagna baghto, ani te mala asa patriarchal chi link diste (we see patriarchal link with this), because you know, patriarchical kasa decided karte (patriarchy decides it), basically see, if we see the, if I see, one of the medical college student (but then I see if a medical doctor, if she selling her body for easy money), you know, selling sex for easy money, how do I see the connection, what happens to the money that comes to her, does it really spend on education, or daily leavings, or is it spend in market, if it is spend in market, the very clear link in patriarchy, that market chi patriarchal ahe decides the value (patriarchal market decides the value of the

human body), of the human body, mag ti kasha disli pahije, ti kashi sunder asli pahije, ti kiti slim asli pahije, tine kay products vapirle pahije, tine kay kele pahije (the market decides about her look, products, body type etc), hai, patriarchy chi apeksha ahe, bai kadun (this is what patriarchy expects from women), najuk bai kadun, hi typical patriarchy chi basha ahe (this is langauage of patriarchy), ji hushari na bajara kadun vadvali jate (this is what market institutionalize), jahirati madhun, amuk padhti chi sharir rachana, tamuk padhtiti chi brands, barobar na (and advertisment rooted it such as typical body type, typical brands in fashion), so when we see an neo liberal, jeevan paddti la jar hi mulgi bali padleli asel, tar tyacha direct sampark, sambandh ha patriarchy ne nirman kelelya pratimene, nishi ahe (women is bound to stay in patriarchal relations the situation is also interpreted in the same way), ji pratima patriarchy market chya kadun aplya anga varti marat aste and that the linkage with patriarchy, you know, but when it comes to sex worker, vishitihy dalit, garib bhagatlya ahe ani jayna jagnachi dossari kahi soy cha thevali nahi jagat (most of the sex workers are poor, marginalized caste and class), and they pushed into some kind of work, te khup willingly karat asel asa nahi (I don't say that they are willingly doing it), ata suru kela ahe and now they are, there, tar tya thikani mala ha sagla jo mudda ahe na , toh keval patriarchy asa vatat nahi, toh mala vatat ki jya paddhtit cha arthik shoshan karnari vyavastha ahe (so my observation is not only patriarchy but economic deprivation along with patriarchy invovles in it) arthik dorana, ji ani patriarchy ahe, gav gharatli, je tyana sanmanae nahi jagu det, mag they are pushed out of the system and they are forced to get into sex work (these two things forced them to involve in sex work), so they are getting forced into sex work is the result of caste hierarchy, economic opportunity, pasun, ani kadachit, bapane ani mamane, anun vikali (and the means are their kith and kin), you know, if you see, tar tyala khup veglya padhhtina, baghav lagel (so we see this from different lenses), I see sex work and patriarchy, connection pan doghchicha, context khup vegla ahe, and if we see, easy money then you say, difficult situation which push them, into earning some money.

BS: Rape on sexual wokere ha, arrest hoto ka

RES: Well I haven't heard, but postion wise, any rape is rape (well,I havent heard of such things but any rape is rape), you know, be to sex worker, be to call girl, be to hotel girl, be to street person, be it a same sex person selling his sex, tyamule rape hi sankalpana (rape is concept which is very broad), mala kaydachya, pustakana peksha, vyapak arthana, mhtantla ki yes, mi maja prateyaksha kam nahi ahe na, sex workers barobar varti, tyamule I don't know (I don't work directly with sex workers)

BS: Tumcha kam barya paiki, sexual violence at work place varti ahe, ka? (Are you working on sexual violence at work place?)

RES: Sexual violence at work place varti samyak being a resource center (we are resource centre at sexual violence at work place), te bolna ani tya baddla chi mandani karna, asha paddti cha ata paryant rahile ahe (we talk about it and campaign on laws of sexual harassment at work place)

BS: Mag ata, je boltalte, te trend kasa ahe (whats the trend), te arrest hota ka (is it possible to arrest it), kiva te boltat ka (do women talk about it), ya bhitine ki apli naukari jail, kiva…

RES: Nahi bolali jat, kiva basically aikeli jat nahi (rather I would say people are not yet ready to listen to them), see ata kay jala ahe, December madhe sexual harassment, at work place cha act passed jala (the government has passed sexual harassment at work place law in decemeber), bharata madhe, tyacha adhi phakta supreme court chya guideline hotya (earlier only we have suprme court's guideline), ani supreme court, ata act alyananatar (after SC has passed the act), vegveglya tikani sexual harassment, committee chya viruddha madhe committee sthanpan hoti, te pratiyek, santshta madhe, pratyek institution madhe hona apekshit ahe (it is mandatory to form committeess at various institutions), pan, tya sthanpan kartana pan tyacha kade ektar kay mahunuyat, it is like, ek arthana te thodasa casual, patali varti chalu ahe (but in reality it is at

very casual level), ha casually te kele jata, mahnje tyachat shikshe chi tartud nahi ahe (the punishment issues is not tackled in law), antrgat, antargat chaukashi chi tartud ahe (only laws regarding investigation is issued), ani tya kayadacha ekun kay honar, yacha baddla ajun thodshi vobble chi paritsthiti ahe (people are still confused regarding this law), pan typical hai jasa ghara madhe jasa chultyane, sexual harassment keli tar muli sangat nahit, ani sangitla tar aai baap aikat nahit (this is just typical like if any of close relatives sexually harass a child and father of that child doesnot take is seriously), ved lagla ahe ka asa mahntat, tech tar culture instituite madhe (same culture we see in institute), pan asta khupda, je bai sangte, amhala jya, cases vachyala milatat, te lakshat yete ki bai sangte, te ticha chariyavarti yete (but I heard lot many cases and when a woman talks about it, other people starts assassinating her character), tine asa kahi tari kele asel asa sangitla jata (people blames her), victim blame kela jatat, khupda tar asha system kelya jatat, ki tyatna purusha la thodi pal vat milele (many times victims are blamed and men take advantage of this), you know, khup khup mi nahi mahnat ki khup efficiently, ek tar vishakha guideline amalbajavani jail (I don't think that Vishakha guidelines are sincerely followed) ani ata December madhe kayada ala ahe tar tyachi ajun, amalbajavani hoil, sthanikana tar kayada chi tartud hi mahit nahi ahet (the new law which has come in december is altogether new), so long way to go in that direction, long long way to go, a rather decade also,

BS: Ah... je supeme court cha verdict ala, homo sexuality hayacha varti, tar tyache je cases je astat, je, samajasathi, jar gay asel tar tyani bai shi lagna kela ani mag tya bai var honara violence, tar hya asha hyacha mule, hya cases vadhtil, asa nahi ka vatat, tumhala (SC in recent verdict banned homo sexuality, what you think on that?)

RES: Nahi, kalal mala, cases vadtil mahnje , asa 377 la, te criminalise kelya mule,asa (as SC has criminalize 377, that doesnot mean that a gay person will marry with a girl), well ha khup motha assumption ahe (this is a very big assumption), asa nahi honar, asa nahi honar. Pan Ek samaja sathi, mahnje mi gay ahe pan mala samjasathi bayko havi ahe, bayko dhakvaychi ahe, mahnun mi, lagna kela (but I agree that a gay person just for social pressure marries to a girl)

It's a different one, mala tyacha supreme courta chya nikala shi nahi sambandh disat kahi (this is there but I don't see the link with SC verdict), tasa hi te chalu asta (this is anyway there), see, supreme court ne article 377 madhe, samlainhkata ha gunha, ahe ani tyala janma thep hoin (yes, SC criminalizes homosexuality and has order life imprisonment for it), ashi order dilyana, gay loka, baya chi lagna, karat suttil h shyakta ahe, asa nahi ahe (so this does not mean that they will marry women), you know, asa te mala nahi vatat ahe, no no…. asa nahi honar (no.. that's not even possible), asia nahi hoga, asa kasa hoil te, you know because, gay rights sathi mahnun je ubhe rahtil, te gay rights sathi ubhe rahtil, they won't go and start marrying, of women now,

No they won't, but they will not accept it, now publicly (they will not publicly accept it), or now they will not, accept it (now they will not take a stand for their rights)

Te tasa chalucha asta, tar basically those who are, jyana avghad ahe, samaj rachne madhe, kutumba madhe, relatives madhe, hai disclose karna, hai open hona, ki ha gay ahe (they will not disclose it or open it that he is gay or homosexual), I am homosexual man, you know, not even gay, gay is the word, mehnje je khar janeev purvak apan, aply hakka sathi ubhe rahatat, they will be called as gay, pan mi samalaighnik purursh ahe, kiva ubhaylingi ahe, bisexual, purush ahe, hai madnyachi kshamta, kuvat kutumbat naste (but Indian family never accept that a man is gay), samjat naste, mag asha veli kityekda, kitekyda mahnto mi, bahutek vela mahnan avghad hoin (society never accpets it, their life becomes difficult after it), kiti cases astil mahit nahi, amchya kade ashi ek, case jhali ahe (I already discussed such case with you), pratekyshat, jikade mulaga, samalangik ahe ani apan purush ahot, hai quote and quote apan purush ahot, hai, purush ahe toh, pan tyala samalangik avad aslela purush ahe, tyamule tyala, hai lapvata na alyana, apli laingkta surakshti rahavi, aplya laingik expression la koni prashan vicharu naye,

mahnun tyane lagna kela, mag typical hya case madhe kay hota ki toh, talat rahila sambandh, karne talat rahila, tayla ticha barobar khup excitement cha yet navti, ani mag tyana tyachai shift badlun ghetli, toh ratri kamala jayala lagla, as if sex happens only in night, ani mag ti tyacha barobar, tyacha mage lagli,mulana sathi, ani mag tyane tila blame karyala suruvat keli, tu gharchayna apeksha purna nahi karat ahes, tuashicha ahes, tula kalat nahi ahe, tu layak acha nahi ahe, ani then she tya madhlya kala madhe tine tyache facebook che photographs pahile, khup mulgyan barobar, hote, tyacha madhle, bhasha ji hoti ti, khup prem vyakta karnari hoti, kalaji vyakt karnari hoti, mag tine amyhya eka psychologist ahet tyan cha kade ti geli hoti, mag jyana jyana asa lakshat ala ki ti kadachit, samalaignik kiva, bisexual purush ahe, asnyachi case ahe, ani mag hai sagla jalya nanatar, ani ticha bhavane shodh ghetla, facebook varti, ticha bhavane tyacha, ek partner shodun kadla, toh Kabul jala mahntla ho tyacha barobar maje laingik sambandh ahe, vagire, ani mag te kuntumb nighala ki apan saglae tyala udhvasta karu, tyala courta madhe tyala ughda, naghda karu, tyala sangu ki ha samalangik ahe, asa mahnun apan divorce magu, mag hi itki sensitive case ahe, jikade, ek sama langik purusha chi pan khup adchan jaleli aste, ani bai var hamkhas, hinsa jaleli ahe, tar hai kasa karaycha mag ti case amchya kade ali, ani prefer kele ki ha dialog hava, samlaingkta mahnje kay hai, hya saglya maherchya lokana kalava, ani tya mulaala hi kalava ki tula choice hota lagna na karanyacha, pan tu choice ghetla lagna karnyacha, tar tyacha tula compensate karva lagel, you have to, divorce tar tasa hi hoil, karan, courta amhi mahntla ki jo, nikal detat, toh, tyala apan nyaya, manto, toh phakta nikal asto, toh bai cha, bajuna hoil cha asa nahi, mahnun tyana amhi suchavlaa hota ki, tumhi baher negotiate kara, tumcha lagna jo kharcha jala ahe toh, ani jyacha tun, tumhala asa vatat ki sanmanene, vegle pan ahe, tar te negotiate kara, tar ya prakriya madhe tya mulala, tycha laingikte cha sweekar karyala madat karta ali sanstha mahnun, ani tyana mothya pramanat compensate pa kela mulila, tyancha madhe bhavanik nata navta, ani mul vagire navta, mulicha mahnana ahe ki langik sambandh ale cha nahit toh siddha karnyasathi anekda, ki amhi ekda prayatna kela hota, kit oh jala nahi, asa, tyamule bhavanik kahi nate sambndh navta, tyamule mulgi, kiva tyacha, tichi manasaki, bhavanik gunta gunt, na hota ya natya tun baher padu shakle, whereas tya mulala hai kalyala madat jail ki asa chalnar nahi, ata muli hai accept nahi karnar ahet, ki mi purush ahe mi lagna kela ani, mi tila kasa hi vagvin, karan tyala toh anubhav milala hota, ithe, tar asha cases nichhet pan ahet, pan yacha 377, shi direct kahi sambandh disat nahi, tasa hi ti purushi vruti, ahe (repeat the case which he already discussed on page 12)

Accept na karnyachi

Ha, accept na karyachi, ani, tyana accept na karnyachi pan samajchi pan vruti ahe, Samajachi Ata toh ka nahi sangnar, tyala jar, surakshit jaga milali asti, ani kutumb jar tyala mahnala asta ki, mala kahi problem nahi, are va very good,that you are gay, asa, mahnara kuntumb nahi ahe na tyacha, otherwise toh kashala karel,asa ahe, tyamule te donhi bajuna te baghyla lagel, mahnje purush mahunu, janmala ala, tyacha sense of privilege (when we interpret we need to understand that a gay man is prviledged in a patriarchal society and at the same time he is vulnerable as gay man), at the same time,this victimization because of being homosexual person, asa donhi agnaga te baghyala lagel (he is victimized due to homosexual man).

BS:Je samajat ekandarit cha, asa diste, ki basic concept, gay ani homosexuality chya tya, ani je samaj je khup educated ahe,agadi foreign return samaj, jyacha paddhti ne ya lokana kade baghata, ki ya lokanchya, specially lesbian, che cases ase yetat ka baher, mahnje asa gay jari tumhala milala, tari lesbian cha praman ahe ka (what about lesbians?)

RES:Well ata jyala foreign return apan asa tyala manto, jar apan foregin return bhartiya (those who are foreign return Indian then their patriarchal thinking remains same), asa mahnla na, tar tyache tech patriarchal, religious, casteist, racist, ashi ja astat, te baher geli kay ani ali tari kay, tyacha mule tyancha mul dhancha jo ahe na, toh patriarchal rahato (their patriarchal, religious, casteist, racist all thoughts remain the same), Tyane tithe baghitla asata ani eka daritcha samaj

kiti (agree that they have seen a very different society). Ulat maja mahna asa ahe ki je baher jaun allele ahet, tyani nemaka aplya mula, muli na kay karu naye, hai shikun ale ahet (rather I see that foreign return people are very clear on their ideas of what their chidlren should do and what not), ani tyncha itkade yeun niyantran vadta (they become more dominant), in a way, jaruri nahi, ki te baher deshan madhe khup rahile an jag baghitla

Mala asa vatat ki, broad hotat (they are not broad people), ani mahnun te assumption la jasti viruddh karto ke shikshit asel na tar tumhi jasti veg vegle manipulation shikta,(So I again say that more educated you are, more manipulative you become) niyantrana chya jasti veg veglya padhati shikata yeil (you know different ways of control and dominance), you exactly know what is it mean, tyamule mahnun tar aplya la asa disel ki, ithleya peksha jasti bhartiya pan celebrate karava lagta baher (so we see that we celebrate Indian festivals out side India), karan toh itka identity cha mudda banto (as become more identity issues), baher, mahnu na ithlya peksha jasti Diwali karavi lagte (we celebrate more lavishly), ithlya peksha jasti san karave lagta, mahnje maje kityek maitrini jya navrya barobar pardeshat gelya ani frustrate jayla ani je mahntat ki tithe mi bari hoti (so I see more women are frustrated when they go abroad), ata ithe mala satat saree madhe rahayala lagta (now they wear sarees more often), satat mala padar ghyava lagto, karan mag apan bharatiya, ahot, tasa disyala pahije, tya mule he idea je aste na, identity je aste na, jasa jasa apan sankhyena kami hou tasa tasa (so its more issue of traditional identity), te identity che symbols pakke hot jatat (abroad we institutionalize identity symbols), mahnje atishay hindu baghun, ah.. gava madhe jar muslimana rahyacha asel tar te symbol angavar chadvave lagtat (just to show that they are Hindus they have to use symbols as identity), muslim bahusankhaya gavan madhe jar hindu ghar astil tar tyana te, jasti symbols lavave lagat, photo, tar hai identity cha politics ahe, hai asa chalta, well mudda asa ahe ki khup, khule panama langikte baddla, bolat astil cha asa nahi, khup kami loka mala asa distat, karan mi jasa mahntla ki tyacha mul sanskrutik dhancha jo ahe na (their cultural roots are same), toh ithlacha rahto (they always remained indian), ata baher mahnje pan kay asa, tyat pan thodi phod keli pahije, mahnje te long term ahe (if they are outside they make some temporary adjustment for long term), tat purata ahe,eka course sathi ahe, ka permanenetly migrate jale ahet, yacha var pan kadachit pharak padat asava, jar 6 mahine jaun ala ahe ani, pharsa pharak nahi padnar, kadachi magchi vees varsha baher kadli ahet, tyacha mule, culturally, thoda pharak jalela asu shakto, asi shyakta, mala distat, tyamule baher jaun allele mahnje kon, yacha thoda sa vichar karyala lagel, ata rahta rahto mudda, khule pana na samor yenacha,

Kiva samalangikte kade baghnyacha

samalangikte kade baghnyacha, samalangik purushan chya babtit madhe, tulnatmak drishtya streeyan peksha, jasti bolala janyacha praman ahe, jasti bolala jata, tyat, tycha artha khup acceptance ahe asa nahi ahe, pan boltana khup tanav nahi ahe,(so foreign return Indians see the same way as rest of Indian see them). Boltana khup tanav nahi ahe (if you talk about lesbians then they do not feel much pressure as gay people), mahnje udharan artha, vasti madhe jar koni mahiti asel, ki koni samalangik ahe, tar tyala, tyachi cheshta udvali jate, tyala chakka mahntil, pauli gul mahntil, available mahntil, tyala bot ghaltil, tyala, kahi tari hai kartil, pan, tyala, tyala nakarana jat nahi, vastitl asel tar, ankhi char panch mitra pan astil bar ka barobar, tyacha ek mahittili kahi astil, shejar pajarachi loka astil (if people know that a person is gay then friends,colleague bully him or make a sarcastic comment, sexual comment but they identify them as being gay), tyacha (inaudible) tasa mulina sobat nahi disat ahe, te visible cha nahit, visible cha nahit, jithe khuthe, samalangik maitrini ata rahta ahet, tya, lapun chapun cha kuthe tari rahalya lagtay, chotsya room madhe, chotysya flat madhe, itkade, tikade asa, tyamule jahir pane streeya samor yet ahet, asa shyakta khup kami diste (where as in case of lesbians they are invisible, they stay in hideouts. Possibility of they come out and reveal that they are lesbian is less) , mahnje bride parade madhe suddha trans genders, trans gender women, transgender men, gay, homosexual purush, hai jasta visible distat, pan mulichya tasa disat nahit (even in bride

parade transgender men, transgender women , gay or homosexual men are visible but not lesbians), tyacha direct sambandh patriarcy shi ahe (their direct relation is with patriarchy), mahnje samalangik purush jari asla, tari purush mahnun tyala milnara je kahi priviledge an sapces ahet na, karan deha shariracha ahe tyamule, ti space kadachit milte tari (even though he is gay he gets that priviledge of being gay in patriarchy)

milte streeyancha babtit, ankhicha adchanicha houn jata, samalangik streeyan ani transgender, men, ya, don thikani khup adchan hote asa mala vatat, (I feel in patriarchy women find it more troublesome to accept that she is homosexual).

BS: acha

RES: manhje khupcha adchan hote, samalangik streeyan baddla visibility, cha nahi ahet, pan transgender, men tar ekdam, visible ahe (gays are visible and not lesbians), pan deh streeyanche ahet, tyamule sagle tyana bai, mahnun baghat ahet (they are lesbians but every one just treat them as women), tyamule bai mahnun asleli vulnerability, sagli ahe, chedli janari chi vulnerability, ahe, kadachit, koni tari jabardasti karnaryachi vulnerability ahe, correctional paddahti na vagavnyachi, pan ahe karan ti thodishi (so all vulnerability is there, vulnerability of being women in patriarhchal society is there), purshi diste, mag biology is only biology, tyamule tichi vulnerability, he jasta sensitive mudde ahe (then her face features are like men) samalangik streeyanche nicheet pane ahet, pan transgender, men je ahet na, streeya jya purush ahet, tyanche khup jasti hal ahet (treansgender men are vulnerable but in patriarchy transgender women are more vulnerable).

BS: Jevha tumhi courses gheta, tevha je prashan vicharle jatat mulan kadna, tar adhiche ani attaché prashana, yacha madhe kahi difference vatato ka, jevha masculinity che prashana vicharle jatat, tar tya prashana cha swarup kay asta, mannje te kasha prakare te dista,tyancha madhe (as you mentioned you also conduct sexual harassment workshops. So what kind of questions they asked, and do you see any changes in pattern of questions they asked?)

RES: adhi che nanatar che mahnya itpat khar, vel nahi ahe, (mobile) sry ha tar, mahnje adhiche prashan, nanatar che prashana itka kalavadhi nahi jalela ahe (no, I am not invovlved for in this for a longer period to tell you question pattern). Majya , asa khup generation barobar jahelala ahe asa mala nahi ahe, pan sadharan, pane prashanacha swarup ek sarakha asta (even I also do not say that I have worked with all generations), jevha apan samante baddla apan vichar karto (when we talk about equality), stree purush samanata (gender equality), hinsa viruddhi asa apan bolyala lagto (we talk things about violence), tevha kuthlya hi vayogatala purusha kadun ek prashan hamkhas yeto (irrespective of their age group, one question people always asked), mag, streeyana kay asacha sodyacha ka (women are meant to be controlled, we cannot leave them like that) asacha sodachya ka asa rikama sodachya ka, rana sodache ka, bar asa ek prashana (it is ethical to control them and this is what they asked) asto, doosra prashana asto ki, mag streeyan itkya purushana varti, hinsa karat (and second question they asked is that is it right that women commit violence on men), teesra mudda asto ki streeya gairfayada ghetat (third thing is that women do misuse laws or take advantages for their vested interest), kayadacha,tyamule h ji mythak ahet, vyasthechi purushi manat, bharavali geleli (these myths regarding masculinity and women are born due to patriarchal condition), veg veglya veli, tar ti mythak prashana cha rupa madhe veg vegli, padhatit yetat (this myths take different forms questions), mahnje tyana vicharya cha asta direct (means they directly ask), pan te adhicha halun magahun, chalela asta, vicharna, mahnje kahi tari te, adhi politically correct prashan vichartat (these questions are in their mind but they are afraid of asking it so they asked politically correct langauge) , ani mag haluch ha, prashan vichartat, ha trend khup disto ki, aplya kade asta na (then they slowly start asking such question) , kal asa jala, jalgaon madhe asa jala kal parva, jithe mi hoto, medical shop madhe gela na ki bhartiya purush, condom, magtana asa magtat, ek crocin dhya (when Indian men go to medical shop to buy a condom, they hesitate to buy it, so first they buy crocin) ani mag haluch, ek condom dhya (and then

slowly they ask for a condom packet), asa magaun mahntat, tasa te bai nahi stree na marhan karat, purush nahi purusha na marhan karat, asa je asta na, tyacha adhi te kahi tari bolatat, mahnje asa kahi tari mahntat, ki, samaja chi paristhtih ata kharacha baddali ahe, streeyan var eka paddhtit ne hinsa hot aste, pan streeya suddha kartat na purushancha varti (in such way they first talked about how violence has increased all the time but then they slowly asked that what if women also do violence on men). We witness the similar things, tar hai, khup typical prashana ahet (these are typical questions), je, lokanch chya mana madhe ahet (people have these things in their mind), hinse cha muddha mahntla ki,

BS: bar asa ekhadha anubhav ahe ka (do you remember any special experience), that is very special, ah... asa khup bolava sa vatla, khup jahal anubhav ki jyacha madhe, violencne, kiva aikandarit tumhi je cases handle kele, tyacha baddla cha, kiva je workshp ghetle tyacha baddla cha, asa khuthla special case ahe ka, je tumhala ata, ekdam click hota ni tumhala sangavasa vatat (any special case worth mentioning)

RES: definitely, mi ata asa mahnen ki je te case ahe na (definitely, I will mentioned such cases), tech case majya sathi atapryant chi, saglyat jasta sensitive vel handle karnyachi, hoti (that was the case was very sensitive to handle. I will always remember it), ani ti jasta challenging pan asha sathi (that was more challengeing), karan ek bajula jevha vyakti sudh ya bhavanene na case, chalevyala baghte, tevha, vulnerability, fact asto to khup chrchila jat nahi (as both, men and women are vulnerable at different level), samalangik purush chi vulnerability cha vichar karat nahi (the case questioned vulnerability of homosexual man), tyana kelelya satta (power equation) majurde panacha (their masculinity), cha tyala jab vicharna, hi prakriya khup challenging hoti (the entire response of both parties were very challenging), ti balance karana khup challenging hota (it was challenging to balance it), at the same time tyachi vulnerability, ji ahe, na ti tyacha consensus shivay jahir pane (same time man's vulnerability was never challenged), and at the same time tyana purush mahnun keleli hinsa, ji ahe, tyachi, kimat tyala mojavi lagli (at the same time being gay he is also perpertrator of violence.) ,tyala tyachi janeev hote (he is conscious of it), asa tya vyakti barobarti pitrusatak, purush , ani samalangik purush, hya donhi patali varti tyala, kam karava lagla (I worked on both level as man in patriarchal society and asa gay in conservative society), mahne, pitrusatak purushla hai samjayla ki tula paryay hota lagna na karnyacha (being gay he has all rights to refuse marry a girl), tari tu lagna kela (still he got married), tari tu heavily compensate now (now he has to compensate),ani doosrya bajula hai hi naghna ki bakichi sagli vyastha tyacha langikte la, langiktechi vulnerability nahi na vadhvat ahe (this is things are increasing his sexual vulnerability), yala public karat nahi yet na, hai sagla baghat astana finally, bai chya hakka cha vichar kendrasathani thevane (my focus was that woman), ticha legal rights cha vichar saglyat adhi karna (I prioritise legal rights of the woman), tila sahaja sahaji mutual consent ne divorce hava hota, toh tichya mahnyna miltoy ka hai baghna (she wanted divorce in a mutual consent method), hi khup challenging case mala vatla hoti (which was challenging), it becomes complex, compolex it really become complex (the case was very complex), navara, baykot bhadana ahe, maherche vegle (husband and wife, then wife's parents all things were difficult), bapa kadche vegli (on husband's side too), ashi paritsthiti asli ki pharak phadto, pan jithe, kuthli hi complexity, kiva, vyakti chi doganchi vulnerability, jati na langiktena, vadate, kiva, (inaudible) tithe ti case khup sensitive hote (so the case was too sensitive due to complexity), bar jasta sensitive hote, it not just man, woman, conflict, but at the same time, sexuality, cha, sexual right cha mudda (it was not just men-women conflict but sexuality also comes between) , yeto, toh jati cha mudda asla asta tar te jasti cha complex (the matter would have been more complex if the caste issue also would have been there), banat jate, mala asa dista ki hai khup japun baghyala pahije (we need to handle this very carefully), asa cha asa mi kalpanik udharan din (one hypothetical case is), mi mahnin ki ucch jatiya mulgi, ani dalit purush (suppose it is upper class girl and dalit men), tyacha madhe jar ashi case ali (and if a dalit man is gay), tar

mala asa dista ki bai chya, hakkana kendrasthani thevun suddha, purushachi jat mahnun asleli vulnerability (then the man is more vulnerable), baghta yalaya pahije, te mala nyaya cha vatat, purush mahnun toh patriarch ahe, at the same time tya saglya, jat rachne madhe vulnerable ahe (yes, as a man he is superior in patriarchal society but at the same time in entire caste system he is inferior due to lower caste), tyamule hai khup challenging cases astil asa mala vatat (I think this is very challenging cases) arthat tya tya case madhe tatva nahi banvata yet, asa ki baki samajik vulnerable purush asel tar tya kade durlaksha, savendashil baghta,as ate mi nahi mahnat ahe, pan (I don't say that other cases are less sensitive or less complex), ek complex payari vadte, vishleshana chi (but when a man who is superior turns to vulnerable due to sexuality, then sure the case becomes more complex and sensitive), ani ti lakshat thevnyachi kadachit, garaj aste (we need to analyse this), similarly mi asa mahnin ki ek able bodied woman, ani, disabled men, tyacha tla disord jala tar patriarchal, men and disable men yachatla je dwanda asnar ahe (similarly I also think that a disable man and a normal healthy woman, and power relations between them must be complicated), te senstitively samjun ghet ghet (we need to handle it sensitively), karana ani hai sagla, kartana tyala finally patriarchal purush, ya padhtit na cha baghna (while these kind of cases we need to understand patriarchal man and women's right), bai chya hakkna kendrasthani, thevat, hai mala vatat khup, challenging cases asnar ahet, astat rather, ya pudchya don mi kalpanik sangitlya karan,tyacha adhichi case mi directly baghitli hoti (This was one was an imaginary case, the first one was real)

BS: shevtacha prashana, jevha tumhi workshop conduct karta, tevha sexuality, baddla prashan vicharle jatat ka, tya kuthlya swarupache astat, (this one is the last question. When you conduct a workshop on sexuality, what kind of question they asked?)

RES: well khup, jevha exclusively sexuality baddla (well if you talk exclusively on sexuality), paddhtichi workshop hotat, phakta, sexuality, patriarchy, masculinity, sexuality (when it is about only sexuality, patriarchy, masculinity, sexuality), tar tyacha madhe khup jasti, jasta, personal reflection, che prashan astat (in such workshop more question are of personal reflection type), personal reflection che, mahnje, udharan artha (suppose for example), ek activity ashi aste ki (one activity is), know your sexual preference (called as know your sexual preference), tyacha madhe lokana prashan vicharun swata chya langik avdi nivadi (so in that we asked people their sexual likes and dislikes) plot, karyala sangitlya jatat, kagada varti (we asked them to plot these things on paper unanimously), unanimously, ani that paper goes with them , nothing to do with kind of submission, on this, jyana jyana vatat voluntarily, discussed karava te kartat (those who want to volunatrily discussed their issues they discuss it), tyacha madhe khup veg vegle choices dile jatat (we give various choices), at ate choices tumchya sexual expression che astat (we have given choices regarding sexual expression) , mag sadharan pane asecha prashana astat ki (we give yes or no questionnarires), say yes, no, I agree, I am ok (say yes, or no, I agree), doing these, mag khup veg vegle sexual acts, statement sanghtile jatat (we give them various imaginary sexual acts, statement), and people mark it for themselves, not at all,agree, agree, I am ok, if someone does, but I am not ok with that, you know, I see that nobody should do that, and the statements are sexual activity before marriage, sexual activity with, consenting adults with multiple partner,sex minor child, sex with a child, safe sex with HIV infected person, so various ideas, celebrating nudity, when you are safe and alone, wearing a kind of clothes, which makes you feel sensual, so veg vegle statements yetat,ani people plot themselves on this scale and people just be aware of what they like and what they don't like, kind of, ase kahi prashna vicharle jatat (we ask different kind of question), khupda audience kadun yenare, je prashna astat na toh, jar thode informed audience asel tar te patriarchy ani sexual control of women (informed audience asked questions like patriarchy and sexual control on women), hai samjun ghenya sathi prashana vicharle jatat (they are curious about it), hai kadhi suru jala hota (when actually patriarchy started), suruvatila hota ka , nar madhi rahat hote (what was it during adam and eve times), tevha hot aka, kiva ekdam typical

prashaa yeto ki (or typical questions like), jar apan khulya langik adhikarana baddla bolyala suruvat keli (we started giving sexual rights, then what about family system, how will it survive), tar kutumb vyasthe cha kay hoil, ha ek typical prashana asto, family institution cha kay hoil, aplya, kiva, lok prashan vichartat ki anachar vadenar nahi ka (they link this things with immorality), kiva,mahnje ya saglya naitekte baddla cha prashan vicharle jatat (all morality concepts were discussed), pan, mag when it comes to the their, sexual activity, hya itkya khulya panane vicharle nahi jat (they do not ask sexual activity that openly), nahi, never, ek prashan purushachya workshop madhe humkhas asto, toh mahnje bai la samdhani kasa karayacha (one thing they always ask is how to make them happy, satisfied in sex) , ti anxiety performance ahe (that's anxiety performance), purushanchi, mag bai cha samadhan jala ki, apan kasa oolkhyacha (how do we find out whether a woman is satisfied), acha mahnje ajun hi bai chya consent baddla kiva mahnje consent baddla ani orgasam baddla, khup khup bolna nahi ahe (we do not get questions regarding consent, orgasam), khup bolna nahi ahe karan sexual activity hi purush na sathi (during sexual activity interaction is not there), pleasure activity tharte (it is more sort of pleasure activity), streeyan sathi ti pleasure activity aste yachi janeevcha nahi ahe (they don't understand that this is pleasure activity for women too), purushan madhenahi te reproductive, sathi ti reproductive sathi aste hai grihit dharle jate (men take it for granted that the sexual activity for women is only for reproduction), reproductive dokyat pan naste (no, not for reproduction), purushanchya dokyat, mi jevha workshop karto na tyacha dokyat reproductive pan nasta (they do not have reproduction as moto for sex), acha tyacha dokyat pleasure hi nasta baicha, tyana asa nahi vatat, ki ata bai, reproduction sathi aplya barobar ahe, tyncha dokyat te so much obseesed with pleasure for self (they are much obseesed with pleasure of self), they are not even bothered about reproduction or pleasure of women, sadharan pane, purushan barobar boltana (when we talked to man we find that they don't even know that they even don't know what orgasam is), hai diste, tyamule orgasam ha kay prakar ahe, streeyan madhe, yacha baddla kahi kalpnana nahi lokana, anek gairsamaj ahet, they feel ki they, ejaculate, anekanche samaj ahet ki te ejaculate hota (they think that when they ejaculate it woman are satisfied), mag jevha tumhi tyana explain karyala sanghta na, ki orgasam, h physiological prakriya ahe, ti physiological prakriya streeyan madhe kay aste (we need to explain them that orgasm is physiological thing which is in women), (inaudible) dhusar mahnje kay hai mahitcha nasta, ani mag, ha prashan ato kasa kay, samadhan karyacha hai sagha, jala ahe ki nahi te kasa oolkhyacha, so our always response to that, have been ki vichara, is that simple (when they ask how one will satisfy a woman then we answered that you need to ask them), you ask your partner, jala ahe ka samadhan (are you satisfied), te andaz karat bastat,vicharat nahi, they keep guessing

BS: so communication tya don sexual partner chya madhe, nahi ahe

RES: absolutely nahi ahe (no absolutely not), communication, nahi ahe asa nahi mahnta yenar (no communication between partners), see kasa ahe, ek tata institute cha ek paper ahe, ki sexual act chya dharmyan purush ani streeya kay kay bolta (there is a research paper by Tata Institute of Social Science on interaction on sexual act), jar search kele tar sapdel, kuthlya tari, koni tari kelale ahe toh (I don't know who is the author, search it), tata madhe ani tyacha mahnan, asa ahe ki dista ki jopnarya partner madhe samvadh ahe, pan toh samvandh ahe na toh samvandh mutual pleasure cha kiva ekmekana samadhan, pleasure vadhvanara aselcha asa nahi (they do talk while having sex but the interaction is not mutual pleasure, or regarding satisfaction), they talk to each other, it is not mute sex by the way, they would say ki khali sarak, varti sarak, ha, hai kar, te kar, dialogue ahe (dialogue is only to adjust body while having sex), nahi dialogue nahi bolna ahe, tyacha madhe pleasure cha jo dialoge ahe na, pleasure cha jo samvandh asto na toh misiing asto (such dialogue is missing), samadhan cha nahi ahe, mahnje udharana artha, that study reports ki men abuse, women, for no reason while they having intituiveness (that study also says that men abuse women due to their intitutiveness), bol chal chali ahe, kahi na

kahi, bolchal chalu ahe (dialogue is there), pan tyacha content jo ahe na, toh consent cha mutually pleasure cha (content is not of mutual consent or pleasure), mutually respective dena, asa asel asa nahi ahe (mutual respect is not there), asa asel asa nahi, tyamule, he is not asked about what is that would make her happy (so he doesnot know what will make him happy), you know ani tyachi anek factor asu shaktat (there are many factors behind this), which I completely understand, in that sense, ki purush, insensitive astat (Indian men are insensitive), they are not trained to deal with sexual partner (they are not trained to deal with sexual partner), that is foremost and primary reasons, that's why, tyanchat manat chi purushi bavna ahe ki pleasure is for me she is just, a kind of, you know, vastu ahe, (so men treat women as sexual object) she is sexual object, hi purushi bavna hi mulat, mala karan vatate, tya palikade kahi physical constraint, ahet, mahnje ya asti madhe jar apna, baghitla tar eka ghara madhe char loka rahtaeyt ani 10 by 10 chi, ghara madhe rahrateyt,(one thing is patriarchy and second thing is in small house, 10 people are staying then what kind of dialogue you expect). So what kind of sexual activity it would be like,

BS: ya that's true,

RES: karan condom use kayache, yacha madhe khupda, disposal ha problem ahe (even scarcity of place is reason for disposal of condom), mahnun condom use nahi, asa vastya madhe sangitla jata, ki je agadi khar ahe (so this in type of settlement people do not use condom) , karan dispose kasa karyacha, kuthe karacycha hai mahit nahi (as main problem is disposal, how to dispose them), kachra peti hai kya paryay nahi ahe (waste bin is at farthest place) ghrtla kachara asa jadla ki baher koprya madhe dhaklun dila jato, and where do you dispose it off (where you dispose it off immediately), tyamule physical setting je asta na, physical setting tya tithla te pan determine karata, khupda ki kay padhtitchi charcha honar, kay padhdhticha bolna honar ki nahi (so physical setting also determine quality of your sexual intercourse) all these get into violence, I am pretty sure, ki thoda, empirical kam kele na koni, tar ya ratri cha samvad nasnya chya, divas bharcha hinse shi kahi na kahi sambandh sapdel (I am sure that if you do some empirical work then you will know this night conversation), I don't know whether there is some empirical work aoround this but you know, but this is interesting thing to find, pan multacha ratri chya tya sambandha baddla, bola jata ki nahi itpasun cha bolala jat nahi, prashanchi suruvat yete,we don't know, we are blind on that, mahnje aplyala mahit nahi ahe, mahnje apan mahnuyat ki nahi bolala jat, tyala kahi adhar nahi mahnje mag, mi sangtoy tyala, mahnje apan ata tyala asa jari mahntla ki kahi bolala jat nahi, we don't have any, base, tyala kahi empirical base nahi, ya mandanila.

Ok.

Appendix C: Informed consent for Biographical narrative interview

Consent Form For Biographical Narrative Interview

Purpose of the research: To understand relationship of education and violence on women in India.

If you take part in the interview. Your responses to the interview questions will be kept confidential. At no time will your actual identity be revealed. You will be assigned a pseudonym. Anyone who helps me transcribe responses will only know you by this name. The recording will be destroyed as soon as when my dissertation has been accepted. The transcript, without your name, will be kept until the research is complete.

The key code linking your name with your pseudonym will be kept in a locked file cabinet in a locked office, and no one else will have access to it. The data you give me will be used for a dissertation I am currently writing and may be used as the basis for articles or presentations in the future. I won't use your name or information that would identify you in any publications or presentations.

Participation and withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. You may withdraw by informing the experimenter that you no longer wish to participate (no questions will be asked).

In case of any question please contact me at: Bhakti Shah (Doctorate student at university of Göttingen.
Email.id: bhakhti.shah@stud.uni-goettingen.de

Agreement:
The nature and purpose of this research have been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty.

Signature: _____.

Date:- _____.

Outline 7 Consent letter

Appendix D: Letter of Authorization for Expert Interview

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Göttingen, den 20 December, 2013

Letter of Authorization

To whom it may concern

Ms Bhakti Shah is doing her PhD at the Gerog-August-University Göttingen, Germany, under my supervision. She is researching on the subject "Recources and Restraints of Women's Education in
Reckoning with the Violence on Women in India". To get an experts opinion about violence on women and their experiences with the victims of violence, we have decided to conduct interviews with experts who are working with the NGOs.

I hereby request you to give your valuable interviews and I authorize her to conduct these interviews.

Many thanks in advance,
Sincerely, yours

Prof. Dr. Andrea D. Bührmann

Appendix E: Initial codes and categories

<u>Natural way of living</u>

- Violence ubiquitous

- Patriarchy

- Acceptance to subjugation

- Social pressure

- Fear

- Culture of violence

- Pattern behaviour

- Consider Natural

- Violence as natural

- Like rainfall, violence as normal

- Son preference

- Female as burden

- Manipulation

- Stereotypes expectation

- Dowry

- Girls as patriarhcy's agent

- Husband supreme

- Girls as commodity

- Sexual talk uncomfortable

- Silence about sexual education

- Socialization of girls to accept subjugation

- Lack of openness

- Sexual organs as dirty

- Culture promotes violence

- Culture makes vulnerable

Expert's method

- Advocacy progamme

- Traditional counselling

- Service providers

- Socialisation focused counselling

- Legal help

- Reconcilliation aim of counselling

- Awarenss process

- Family counselling

- Brother imp in counselling

- Self help strategy

- Expert for gender equality

- Public participation

- Institutional intervention

- Temporary working on problem

- Female centric male focused

- Focus to change roots of problems

- Passing solution

- Empowerment of women within family

- Strengthen family values

- Strengthening social norms

Intervening external factors

- Formal education

- Lower education effective

- More education women more controlled

- Upper educated- honor issues

- Education- economic power

- More resources- high education

- Education- no realiation

- Reproduction of values with education

- Vulenrablity with education

Non formal education

- Creating new meaning

- Reinforcing old values

- New forms of reinforcing

- Both side of coin

- Not aginst mainstream

- Acceptance convinient values

- Positive for social change

Informal Education

- Uphold old norms

- Refernce group

- Great impact

- Impact invisible

- Glorification of patriarchal norms

- Institutionalization of rites and rituals

- Sexual purity

- Against equality

New forms of subjugation

- New way of subjugation

- Women empowered, men same

- Materialistic interpretation of relationship

- Ambiguity about relationship

- New forms of dowry

- Career oriented dreams for women

- Gender roles expected

- Lower accpetance to empowerd women

- Technology without responsibility

- Sex selective abortion

- Technology supporting technology

- Economic independence within patriarchal framework

- Marriage roles imp for women

- Framed image

- Pre marital sex and guilt

- Limited freedom

- Economic instability

- Submitting instability

- Monetary insecurity for women

- Modern with traditional frame

- Knowledge understanding with in framework

Appendix F: Example of initial coding

Questions asked during interview	Sample Interview	Codes	Constant Comparison
What is this data a study of?	It is just a tip of an ice berg, there are many women who do not know that this is violence. You know the state of subjugation is such that we believe that this is not violence. Whats wrong in beating. Noting is wrong if a husband beats his wife.	Subjugation pattern of women Treats violence as normal	Comparing subjugation pattern of different caste and religion
	We take certainly position. We talk to that men and help him to understand his socializaton, as men his ideas of menhood, connected to with violence	Work on socialization Manhood as cause	Aim, purpose and method of intervention
	(Education) has empowered women, but at the same time it has brought vulenrability also. Because women are getting empowered, men are not taught to live with women who are empowered. Their ideas of manhood are same, their ideas of control are same.	Empower women Brought Vulnerability Socialization not changed	Way education impacts and consequneces of education (within the frame of violence)
	Learned educated women would report that now he does not beat me but he scans through the inbox of mobile phone, forms of control have changed. Forms of control have changed but things have remain the same, the control is still there. Women would report oh... he is absoultely fine with everything, but the moment I used a low necktop he really gets	Changed in pattern Technology as means of control	Old and new subjugation pattern

crazy, saying that you should not be wearing that kind of cloth or top.	
	Modern outfit but with traditional view

Table 4 Example of initial coding

Understanding an emergence of core category through sample memos:

The sample memo given here describes the procedure of an emergence of core category 'way of living'for current study. The three sample memos mentioned here describe the process of an emergence of core category and ambiguity experienced by the reseacher during coding process.

Appendix G: Sample Memo

Memo- SWEIMO (01I)

First interview data is about experts' methods and appraoch. He follow male focused but women centric approach. The expert works on masculinity, manhood and socialization of men which is responsible for women's subjugation. Various incidents mentioned here indicate how women are unaware of the violence and or take their subjugation for granted. Impact of formal education was discussed by the experts by citing various incidents. To my surprise, the incidnets mentioned here analysed, though formal education empower women but at the same time it has brought them vulneraibility. Vulnerability by giving them sense of framed right and wrong. Making their belief stronger on framed moral and immoral values. Lower educated women report violence easily, as they have less fear of society. Culture of silence in learned and educated women is due to patriarhcal society, of which educated women are more aware of. It is further supported by the media and religious preachers.

Outline 8 Sample Memo for Swanand

Memo- (01SCC)

With empower women- idea of control are same, men learned politically correct language such as equality, justice. Educated women have understanding of violence but unable to come out and deal due to fear of society. Whereas uneducated women come out without fear of society. Why women tolerate violence inspite of education is due to their socialization. Experts intervene on socialization to empower women. Formal education, media and religious preachers work on socialization either to re establised the social norms or revolt against social norms.

 Questions I often asked during coing interviews are why women tolerate subjugation, the reason is due to pattern of living. Why do experts intervene- reason is to make community aware of subjugating social norms. How do different forms of education impacts women subjugation-either through restablishing age old norms or working against Indian social norms. All answers have roots cause which is pattern of living. Thus pattern of living is core category. Yet there is confusion in my mind between pattern of living or expert's intervention. As due to experts intervention I got insight on patterns of subjugation and impact of external factors in women's subjugation.

Outline 9 Sample memo for selective coding

Memo- (CC 11)
After confusion of many days I finally presented my theory with a core cateogry 'intervention' to the colleagues in the summer seminar 2016. The core category emerged due to discussion with my colleague and the supervisor was 'way of living' which is pattern of living as mentioned before. Glaser mentioned peculiarites of core category as the Central to the integration. To find out whether way of living is central at intergration, it is necessary to find out how way of living is main concern of the emerged grounded theory. Following questions asked helped me to find out the main concern of the theory.

Questions	answers
Whywomen do face violence?	Way of living
What is the main concern of participants?	Subjugating way of living
Why experts intervene?	To empower women
Empowering them against what?	Against patriarchal culture
Why women accept patriarchal culture?	as it is way of living for Indian women
Do women get empower due to expert intervention?	External factors impacts experts efforts
External factors impact what?	Impact way of living
Consequneces of impact on way of living	New way of living
Why new way of living is important	It is the foundation for the future way of living

The question and answer above established 'way of Living' as core category for the theory

Outline 10 Sample memo for core-category

Appendix H: Discovery of the substantive theory and theoretical integration

Theoretical coding
Before taking decision regarding theoretical coding, I have list of 18 coding families. The question asked during emergnce of core category helped to find the most suitable theoretical coding from 18 coding families.

Main concern of experts is way of living, which is the context for NGO experts' intervention. Formal education, media and religious preachers are external condition on which impact Indian way of living and external conexts for expert intervention. The consequeneces of working context and external condition is changing way of living. After much confusion, I finalise following theoretical codes for the properties.

From six c's threoretical code family, 'Causes' is the first code which is apt for way of living. The sub core category considering natural is cause for unconsciously accepting way of living-core category.

Cause- Way of living

Way of living is a cause of women's subjugation. The way of living is unconcsicouly accepting assumption that women are subordinate and inferior to men. Indian community accepts the assumption unconsciously and consider patriarhcy as natural and normal. Considering natural is due to accepting boundaries set by Indian society. Indian society considers natural to treat women as a commodity, which is first property of the sub core category. In the patriarchal society, females are counted as burden due to various social norms naturally. In next category Indian way of living patriarchal society, female sexual purity is demonstrated with women character, thus sexual organ are treated with pureness and to curb pre marital sex, sexual organ, sexual purity is treated as dirty. To carry the partiarchal cultural value Indian women are taught to consider men as supreme. These norms are treated as normal and natural by the Indian women and unconcsciously accept them as a way of living.

Strategy- Approaching

NGO experts who make an effort to make women empower are aware of way of living considered as natural by Indian community. Passing empowerment method temporary solve the problem between the couples while reaching roots work extensively on Indian community at all levels. They work to make them conscious of their subjugating way of living and making them understand different concepts such as gender equality, gender sensitivity, and sexual education. On the other hand agianst reaching roots there are some experts who follow customizing way approach. In this approach, experts work to re institutionalize the social norms. Thus, here all experts work either to make them conscious or to re establish their values in age old social norms which is considered as natural by Indian women. Thus theoretical code 'strategy' is suitable for method categories of the current studies.

Intervention: The theoretical code intervening condition is suitable for the categories of formal education, media and religious preachers. Education interfers not only in 'way of living' but alos on 'NGO experts' approaches to empower women. The properties of the education category posed ambiguous analysis of the intervention in way of living. On one hand they impact way of livig by introducing social reform values and on the other hand they also institutionalised the old traditional values.

Consequences: The cause, strategies and intervening condition- all three cumulative impact on changing nature of way of living in Indian society. Thus nature of subjugation is changing

in contemproary India. Consequnces is a result of strategy and intervention into changing nature of subjugation of Indian women.

Outline 11 Outline of the theory of victimizing educated women in India

Appendix I: Declaration

1 My opportunity to take part in this doctoral procedure was not commercially brokered.In particular, I have not sought out the services of any organisation that provides advisors for the completion of disseertations or would fulfil the duties incumbent upon me with respect to examination-related achievements in whole or in part.

2 I hereby declare that I have prepared the dissertation submitted, Theory of Victimization of Educated Women in India: Understanding Experts' perception of a Cognitive Shift independently and without any unauthorised assistance. I have not accepted any external aid with or without remuneration, nor will I do so in the future. I did not use any aids other than those listed by me. All passages taken either verbatim or in adopted form from other authors are indicated as such.

3 The dissertation I hereby submit has not yet been submitted in the context of any other examination procedure.

4 Furthermore, I am aware that any falsehood regarding the present declaration shall exclude me from admission to the doctoral examination and /or shall later lead to termination of the doctoral procedure or to revocation of the title I may receive.