

**CHALLENGES IN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PREVENTION WORK AND
RESTORATIVE APPROACH IN GENDER JUSTICE**

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Abstract

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a global phenomenon. It refers to all acts of violence that are rooted in and reinforce gender inequality. GBV can manifest in various ways, including physical, sexual, psychological, economic, systemic, structural, and symbolic violence (Bott et al., 2005; Davies & True, 2015; Heise et al., 1999, 2002; Montesanti, 2015). While it is complex to understand GBV and its different manifestations, working toward its prevention is even more challenging. The context of Global South countries, due to their socioeconomic conditions, creates unique challenges for gender equality-related work (Bull et al., 2020; Carrington et al., 2016; DeKeseredy & Hall-Sanchez, 2018; Nazneen et al., 2019). In the context of rural India, one such organization is the *Women's Court*, which works with restorative approaches to prevent and resolve GBV cases. Women's courts gained legitimacy in India over the last few decades, following the National Commission for Women's recommendation in 1992 to establish women's courts as alternative dispute resolution platforms (Iyengar, 2007; Kethineni et al., 2016; Vatuk, 2013).

This dissertation aims to contribute to the literature on GBV prevention work, especially considering the context of India, by applying a postcolonial feminist approach. We conducted a quasi-ethnographic study with a women's court based in rural Jharkhand to explore various challenges in GBV prevention work, the application of the restorative approach in GBV solution, and strategies applied by women's courts in pursuing gender justice. We present our findings in the form of three essays:

The first essay, *Challenges in Accessing Gender Justice*, discusses findings related to various challenges in accessing gender justice by survivors of GBV and women's court members. The

essay discusses the social world of the survivors and their post-violence realities. We have used intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) and subaltern perspectives (Spivak, 1988) for discussion in the essay. The second essay, *Performativity in Restorative Justice and Women's Court's Work*, discusses performativity aspects in GBV-related works of women's court. The essay also explores the paradoxes involved in women's courts' work in fighting against GBV and appropriating gender roles while applying restorative approach. For discussion, we have borrowed from the literature on gender performativity (Butler, 1990) and hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995, 2005). The third essay, *Feminist Organizing of Women's Court's Work*, discusses different strategies the women's court adopts to fight, challenge, negotiate, resist, and collaborate while working with different stakeholders for GBV prevention. We have used feminist solidarity lens (Mohanty, 2003; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019; Weatherall, 2020) for discussion in the essay.

Keywords: Gender-Based Violence, Women's Court, Intersectionality, Subaltern, Feminist Solidarity.

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CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONTRIBUTION

7.1. DISCUSSION

GBV has been regarded as a global phenomenon, where one out of every three women faces it in their lifetime. This dissertation is an attempt to contribute to the literature on GBV work, especially considering the context of India from a postcolonial/southern feminism perspective. This is an attempt to contribute to the literature on GBV prevention work by exploring the challenges faced by organizations while working for GBV prevention. Our dissertation confers that the context of India, due to its postcolonial socioeconomic conditions, imposes unique challenges for gender equality-related work. The unique conditions of these countries not only create limitations for women to access gender justice but also raise their voices against violence. In such a scenario, when women's courts come forward to prevent GBV and help survivors, they face various challenges in their work.

Previous studies have indicated different aspects of gender justice-related work, such as how exhaustive emotional labor is a part of gender justice-related work, the ethics of care and justice in GBV work, issues of funding for organizations working on gender inequality, the influence of intersectionality on GBV, etc. We found that the literature on challenges faced by organizations that work in the area of GBV is limited, and there is less knowledge on strategies adopted by organizations in organizing their work for GBV prevention. Hence, with this dissertation, we attempted to contribute to the literature on GBV prevention work by focusing on these three objectives: (i) to explore challenges in GBV prevention work of women's courts and how different intersectionalities (e.g., the intersectionality of gender, class, and caste) may affect their work; (ii) to explore how performativity and GBV are related and how performativity plays a role in women's court's application of restorative justice; and (iii) to explore how women's courts organize their work and how they fight, challenge, negotiate, resist, or collaborate with different

stakeholders while engaging in GBV work. The three essays discuss the findings of the study in detail:

7.1.a. Intersectionality and Subalternity in GBV Prevention Work

Our findings in the first essay, “*Challenges in Accessing Gender Justice*,” reveal various challenges in GBV prevention work that arise from the intersectionality of GBV survivors and women's court members. Our findings show intersectionality has an important influence on women's court's stakeholder engagement, which ultimately determines their power position in such engagements. Whether it is the police, local leaders, or the court, the social position of a woman in terms of her class, gender, and caste determines how she will be heard in the process of justice. Further, intersectionality also influences how a woman will approach gender justice or whether she will continue her fight for justice. For instance, due to the living realities of the survivors, who are economically dependent on their husbands, they find it difficult to raise their voices against GBV. In such cases, women's court members also face limitations by the social and economic constraints of the survivors to aspire for justice in cases of GBV.

Further, the application of the subaltern perspective reveals how socio-political and socioeconomic processes produce conditions of oppression for GBV survivors and women's court members when they engage in gender justice-related work. Our findings reveal that for a marginalized woman, the formal judicial system is inaccessible, and in such situations, a victim who is at the margin due to her lack of knowledge of grammar and the vocabulary of law remains a silent sufferer. In such cases, the women's courts facilitate a victim to approach the law and work as a support system. Compared to the formal justice system, women's courts are found to be inexpensive and accessible; however, the burden of persuasion on the part of the survivor does not go away in the justice

system of the women's court either. And when the cases demand the women's court to approach the formal justice system, the marginalized women face helplessness to persuade themselves to meet the expectations of their multiple stakeholders (for example, the police or court) in a case of violence. The persuasion paradox further discourages a GBV survivor from coming forward to raise her voice against violence.

Moreover, our findings uncover various post-administrative realities that a woman has to go through after an episode of violence and engagement with police or court due to her intersectional positionality. While the social, cultural, and economic expectations limit a woman from seeking justice, in the aftermath of violence, the survivors again have to face a struggle to make ends meet, and in such a situation, a lack of relief and support from the state and local bodies further marginalizes her position. Spivak (1988) asserted that marginalized women lack the exercise of their agency to raise their voices, and they lack a platform to be heard and understood in the manner in which they want to be understood. In such situations, their voices often get misrepresented and replaced by the voices of the powerful. In the context of GBV and gender justice-related works of the women's court, we found how the voices of marginalized women get silenced by the interlocking systems of patriarchy, casteism, capitalism, and bureaucratic justice. The intersectional inequalities constrain marginal women from seeking justice, and often their voices are silenced and replaced by the voices of the powerful. Further, the lack of funding for organizations to fight against violence indicates how lesser economic resources create obstacles for them to intervene in GBV prevention. While the findings of our dissertation are not generalizable to all Global South nations, the context of India being a developing country in South Asia having various socioeconomic constraints, colonial past, and gendered laws illustrates the challenges faced by organizations with fewer resources compared to the developed nations. The

challenges in accessing gender justice may help to reflect on how postcolonial Global South countries are characterized by microforms of violence because of the underpinnings of structural and systematic inequalities that are caused by the hegemony of the West.

7.1.b. Performativity in Gender Justice

In the second essay, “*Performativity in Restorative Justice and Women’s Court’s Work*”, we presented five prototype cases of GBV based on the narratives of women to discuss the performativity aspect of GBV prevention work and the restorative approach. The analysis shows a strong relationship between performative regulations and GBV, complex manifestations of performativity in caste-gender relationships, and reinforcement of performative regulations through restorative justice. Based on Butler's (1990) perspective on performativity, we explored performativity in the GBV prevention work in three ways: i) the relationship between gender performance and violence, ii) intersectional performative regulations of caste and gender regulations, and iii) performativity as a source of emancipation as well as imprisonment:

Our findings demonstrate that GBV is rooted in gendered power relations and has a direct relationship with performative regulations, as it is directed against a person based on their perceived inability to perform gender regulations or hegemonic masculinity. In such cases, when a person deviates from the performative expectations that are imposed upon her, she has to experience violence or the threat of violence. Our findings show such performative expectations from both men and women. Men, when seen as failing to perform hegemonic masculinity, are subject to ridicule by other men in society. Likewise, when a woman is found to be failing to be submissive, she encounters violence.

Further, our findings demonstrate that intersectional performative expectations determine what is appropriate for an individual based on her intersectional social position in society. Intersectional performativity further imposes implicit caste and gender regulations, especially for women who belong to disadvantaged castes. Along with gender performativity, when caste performativity intersects, it further exacerbates barriers for marginalized women to raise their voices against GBV.

Nevertheless, performativity can be seen in a positive light as well. Especially the engagement of women's courts and their involvement in GBV cases, which go against the dominant gender norms, demonstrates performativity that is not submissive. Organizing women into a group as court members challenges the patriarchal idea of justice, that justice can only be governed by men. However, our finding also reveals that women's courts' decisions can sometimes be seen as complex and paradoxical as the engagement of women's courts in GBV cases and their application of restorative justice sometimes reproduce and reinforce the patriarchal performative regulations that they originally aimed to challenge. While they aim to facilitate survivors in approaching justice, the women's court is bound by institutional and socioeconomic factors in making decisions. The lack of institutional support for GBV survivors' rehabilitation and the socioeconomic realities of survivors impose constraints on the women's court while looking for solutions in GBV cases. In 32 cases registered with the court, we found such dichotomies in three cases, which we attempted to discuss in Essay 2. Various judgments in the GBV cases demonstrate disciplining gender behaviors and imposing appropriating norms in heterosexual frameworks of marriage. In such cases, the women's courts also become a disciplinary institution that appropriates gender behaviors in heterosexual relationships. The application of the gender performativity lens in the study enables us to reveal how performativity is inseparable from GBV prevention work.

Considering the interrelationship, how it would be possible for women's court members and survivors to gain emancipation within the performative regulations remains a question.

7.1.c. Feminist Solidarity for Gender Justice

Our third essay, “*Feminist Organizing of Women's Court's Work*,” demonstrates how feminist solidarity plays an important role in organizing women's court's work in fighting against GBV. The essay builds on the literature on feminist solidarity practices by acknowledging non-Western and intersectional feminist engagements with solidarity and resistance. The solidarity among the members comes from their collective vulnerability as women who encounter GBV in their daily lives. Further, the sense of solidarity motivates them to mobilize themselves into a collective to fight against GBV cases. Working together against all odds, such as working on a voluntary basis without any monetary incentives, bargaining with powerful stakeholders such as police or local leaders to intervene in GBV cases, and challenging the existing patriarchal and caste structures in society through holding their meetings in villages to prioritize the voice of survivors of GBV, exemplify their commitment for solidarity to work against GBV. Our findings also show how the sense of solidarity acts as an empowering engagement for the women's court members. When solidarity is based on collective vulnerability, coming together to fight against their state of helplessness empowers them. Further, their act of solidarity acts as a binding factor for women’s court members and a support system for survivors, which helps them come forward to raise their voices against violence and recraft a life of dignity and empowerment.

Moreover, the study demonstrates the various strategies and tactics adopted by the women's court, which helps them organize themselves to fight against GBV and to achieve support from their stakeholders. When women's court members come from the same community, which imposes

social and cultural barriers to speaking against violence, their coming out from their own limitations and their desire to help other women require a lot of courage and emotional extensions. In such scenarios, when they apply various strategies with the ethics of feminist care to engage with stakeholders, it helps them pursue their goals. Hence, based on the situation, they use the threat of the law and higher authority or engage in collaborative dialogues with stakeholders. These tactics help them to present themselves as an informed and aware institution of women so that the stakeholders take their concerns seriously. On the other hand, engagement with stakeholders through collaborative dialogues helps the women's court to explore long-term and systematic solutions for GBV issues. In such cases, the sense of belongingness as a women collective helps them to pursue their objectives. Solidarity further enables them to showcase their resistance against oppression through different infrapolitics and activism practices. The Resistance Matrix (discussed in Chapter 6), followed by the women's court, demonstrates various individual-level and collective-level practices with which they engage on a daily basis. The four quadrants of the matrix—individual infrapolitics, collective infrapolitics, insubordination, and insurrection—demonstrate various overt and covert resistance strategies. These varied practices represent various tactics adopted by feminist organizations when they engage in challenging the existing patriarchal social systems.

7.2. CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY

The dissertation builds on postcolonial and southern feminist studies by exploring challenges in GBV work in India (Chamorro et al., 2023; Doshi, 2023; Lewis & Mills, 2003; Mohanty, 2015). In doing this, we extend the literature on intersectionality, subalternity, gender performativity, and feminist solidarity. The first essay, "*Challenges in Accessing Gender Justice*," discusses the

challenges faced by women in accessing gender justice through subalternity and intersectionality lenses. While the subaltern perspective enables us to examine various forms of marginalization faced by women's court members and survivors in fighting against violence, the intersectionality lens reveals how power differentials create barriers for women to access justice and for women's court members in intervening in GBV. We analyze the ability of the women's court and survivors of gender-based violence to express their opposition to violence from a subaltern perspective. Previous research has examined various aspects of GBV law and culture, intersectionality in workplace resistance, women's self-organizing, and women in entrepreneurial spaces and their socio-political change through the lens of postcolonial feminism (Alkhaled, 2021; Jamjoom & Mills, 2023; Lwatula, 2019; Raman, 2020). We extended the literature by applying subaltern theory to explain challenges in GBV work. We further investigated the impact of intersectionality on GBV prevention efforts. The intersectionality lens helps us understand how inequality of power based on the intersection of social identities, such as gender, caste, or class, can obstruct access to gender justice for survivors as well as practitioners. The subaltern perspective and intersectionality lenses further allow us to examine the issues of GBV from a non-essentialist standpoint. These analyses add to the body of knowledge on feminist analysis of violence (Acker, 1995; 2012; Connell, 2019) and examine the difficulties faced by practitioners in GBV work. The strategies used by the women's court and their resistance typology build on the literature on feminist solidarity practices by acknowledging non-Western and intersectional feminist engagements. The second essay, "*Performativity in Restorative Justice and Women's Court's Work*" on the other hand, extends the literature on performativity in GBV. By analyzing the interrelationship between performativity and GBV, we explore how performativity can lead to violence as well as how it can be used to combat violence. In doing this, we add to the agentic performativity literature by

discussing the role of the women's court in GBV work (Üstüner & Holt, 2007; Joy et al., 2015; Núñez Puente et al., 2015). Moreover, by employing the intersectional performativity framework to analyze caste and gender oppressions against women, we investigate how performative expectations differ according to an individual's intersectionality. (Derne et al., 2014; Fontanella-Khan, 2014; Joy et al., 2015). Several previous studies have found that women belonging to disadvantaged castes face an increased vulnerability to violence (Derne et al., 2014; Fontanella-Khan, 2014; Joy et al., 2015). In this study, we explored the intersectional limits in performative work by discussing caste and gender regulations on individuals, which indicates that even if in agentic performativity, the choices of women are restricted by socio-cultural and socio-economic boundaries or limits such as by caste, class, and gender (Sen, 2007; Menon, 2012). Our analysis further adds to the performativity literature by showing how the performative engagement of women's courts through the restorative justice approach can be emancipatory as well as imprisoning for women at the same time. We discuss the disciplinary aspects of the women's court's application of the restorative approach and how it can create limitations in achieving gender justice. Foucauldian framework has been used in the past to explore restorative surveillance in school discipline (Lustick, 2017). In this essay, we extend the understanding of the limitations of the restorative approach by discussing women's courts' application of this approach and its concerns related to the reinforcement of gender regulations and surveillance.

Finally, the third essay, "Feminist Organizing of Women's Court's Work," contributes to the postcolonial and feminist solidarity theories by discussing the role of solidarity in GBV prevention. The various strategies used by the women's court and their resistance typology add to the literature on feminist solidarity in practice and affective solidarity in feminist work (Cullen & Murphy, 2017; Russell et al., 2018; Smolović Jones et al., 2021; Mohanty, 2003; Segal, 2017; Vachhani & Pullen,

2019; Weatherall, 2020; Wickström et al., 2021). While the intersectional marginalization and vulnerabilities of women in the Global South countries require non-western approaches to combat GBV issues (Vachhani & Pullen, 2019; Wickström et al., 2021), the feminist engagement with solidarity, which comes from the collective vulnerability of women (Mandalaki & Fotaki, 2020), gives the women's court members a sense of empowerment. Their engagement with solidarity facilitates women to reimagine their lives with dignity and recraft an empowered version of their lives. This study also brings insights into the activism of feminist organizations in fighting GBV (Mohanty, 2015; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). It extends the scholarship on decolonial feminist studies (Manning, 2016; Girei, 2017; Weatherall, 2020) by discussing the practices of solidarity of the women's court in GBV prevention, through which they challenge the idea of colonial justice (Asadullah, 2021; Weatherall, 2020; Wilcox et al., 2021). Moreover, the chapter brings insights into intersectional feminist engagement (Mohanty, 2003; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019) by discussing collective strategies of women's courts in confronting inequality. This chapter discusses how solidarity is crafted by women's court members having intersectional differences in their experiences with communicative engagements—dialogues of solidarity (Dean, 1998).

7.3. CONTRIBUTION TO PRACTICE

The study has a significant contribution to make to practice. While the rate of GBV cases has been increasing over the years, the interventions to prevent GBV have not been entirely successful yet. The study examines the struggles faced by ground-level practitioners in GBV prevention. While some struggles they face as a result of economic, social, and systematic inequities, which have colonial roots, the cultural barriers further create challenges for practitioners in intervening in GBV cases. The dissertation shows that the unique conditions of India as a third-world country impose

complex challenges in GBV prevention work, and to combat GBV, special attention from policymakers is needed. While GBV is a global phenomenon, the cases are significantly higher in the Global South countries, and for this reason, the intervention approaches that worked well in Western countries do not suit the context of the Global South countries. In these countries, creating support groups for intervening in GBV cases is even more difficult as people have less access to economic and social resources. The history of colonialism has had a further influence on the socioeconomic participation and mobility of women in these countries. This study brings insights into the perspectives of the survivors and their post-administrative realities in GBV cases. Further, the study uncovers some ground realities and challenges faced by organizations that aim to prevent violence and brings insights into performative activism by feminist organizations. The findings can help such feminist/alternative organizations explore their own resistance strategies to fight against gender inequality. Here are a few points that require attention from policymakers, government, civil society organizations, and practitioners in GBV interventions:

Considering the unique context of the country, GBV needs to be approached systematically with a collaborative approach among all stakeholders. The government and policymakers play a very important role here. Our study reveals various systematic and structural limitations in the justice system that demotivate GBV survivors to come forward and fight against GBV. The insensitivity of police departments, the long bureaucratic process of the formal courts, and the lack of economic support discourage women from raising their voices against violence. Policies to promote intersectional sensitivity among the various stakeholders and practitioners can make the justice system more approachable for women.

The fact that there is less funding for organizations in the Global South that work in the gender equality domain indicates how the marginalization of organizations with feminist agendas takes

place in the power politics of institutional funding. As pointed out by Grosser (2016), women-led NGOs that work on gender equality receive marginal attention from corporations. In our study, we found the economic struggles of the women's court, as they have to work voluntarily and depend on their own limited resources to intervene in GBV cases. There is no central funding for women's courts at present, and the institutional funding under the Mahila Samakhya program is no longer available. In most parts of India, women's courts are run on a voluntary basis with the help of some local NGOs and women's federations (Vatuk, 2013). In such realities, women's courts always face funding crises to intervene in cases. Institutional funding can enable women's courts to function in more effective ways without having concerns about fund crises.

Again, the history of oppression of women and of women's bodies as part of colonial projects has a long-lasting impact on women in third-world countries, and neo-colonialism in such a context is marginalizing women in these countries further. For instance, the condition of women in the global value chain in the Global South countries is vulnerable due to extreme exploitation by Western MNCs (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019). Moreover, while women are perceived to be more vulnerable to poverty than men in developing and underdeveloped countries (Rao, 2006), the increasing cases of GBV impact women's participation in the workforce as well. Many studies in the past have pointed out that gender-based restrictions and violence are often the reasons for the lower participation of women in the workforce (Paul, 2016). Many a time, due to a lack of education and personal property, women could not make a choice for their livelihood and decided to stay in such abusive marriages (Panda & Agarwal, 2005; Lutenbacher et al., 2003). Considering such challenges, gender policies need to consider the limitations of women. These limitations also impact the livelihood choices for women and limitations in employability; hence, policies for interventions need a gender-integrative approach.

Our study further demonstrates that current practices and attempts to prevent GBV need intersectional sensitivity in their approach. Gender policies need to accommodate the intersectional needs and subjectivities of GBV survivors and community workers. Preventing GBV needs collaborative engagement from the government, police, courts, local bodies, and community workers. In this regard, intersectional sensitivity training for stakeholders can help promote and strengthen inclusiveness. Further, the capacity building of organizations and community workers that work in the area of GBV prevention also needs attention from policymakers and practitioners. Intersectional sensitivity also needs to be incorporated into policy analysis to promote the accountability of stakeholders in GBV cases.

**CHAPTER 8: LIMITATION, FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTION
AND CONCLUSION**

8. LIMITATION, FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation explores the challenges in GBV prevention work from the perspective of practitioners and GBV survivors, as well as the role of solidarity in preventing GBV. Further, the dissertation uncovers the performative aspects of gender justice-related work and the limitations of the restorative approach to gender justice. The study builds on feminist organizing for gender justice literature (Acker, 1995; 2012) and responds to the call for scholarly attention in the area of gender and violence-related work and decolonial engagements in the Global South (Wilcox et al., 2021; Nascimento et al., 2022).

Our inquiry finds that survivors of GBV face different crises in their lives in the aftermath of violence. In such a scenario, women's courts serve as a support system for the survivors, assisting them in regaining their dignity, confidence, and sense of agency. Survivors of GBV require solidarity, empathy, and courage to reclaim their lives. With the support of the women's court, they gain optimism for their futures. The Women's Court's establishment as a feminist organization is in and of itself a revolutionary act by which they express their opposition to the caste-, class-, and patriarchy-based established systems in the neoliberal world.

The imagination of justice is possible only if there is a possibility to see oneself as a social actor or if there is a possibility to build the narrative of empowerment in the discourse of violence. In such cases, women's courts play a significant role in empowering survivors to regain themselves and recraft their narrative of empowerment, however we found that the lack of intersectional sensitivity among stakeholders and the living realities of survivors create hurdles in achieving their goals. Preventing GBV needs collaborative engagement from the government, police, courts, local bodies, and community workers. Intersectional sensitivity among the various stakeholders can make the justice system more approachable for women. Feminist perspective on GBV prevention

accounts for gender socialization and structural inequities. Hence, various prevention interventions such as economic, social, and policy approaches need to accommodate intersectionality views in practice.

8.1.Limitations and Future Research Direction

This study is not free from limitations. While my attempt was to interview all beneficiaries of the women's court, out of a total of thirty-two beneficiaries, I could only interview ten women. A few women were not available at the location during our field study, while for other beneficiaries, I did not approach them considering the sensitivity of the cases, as discussing their cases of violence at home at that time could have aggravated the situation and their relationship with their in-laws. Hence, I interviewed only ten beneficiaries in consultation with the women's court members.

Further, we attempted to study intersectionality. However, due to a lack of participants other than Hindu and Sarna (followed by 3 Santhal women), we could not explore the influence of religion-based restrictions on GBV. Further, our sample is comprised of people from the Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes categories only. The only case from the Scheduled Castes registered in the women's court was a murder case of a minor girl, where the family wanted support from the women's court to pressure the police to do the investigation. Considering the sensitivity of the case, we could not interview the family. Future research can be directed towards studying the intersectionality of these identities, as these intersectionalities may create varied experiences for women in GBV work.

Moreover, of the 32 cases that have been filed in the women's court, all of them are from traditionally oppressed categories (OBCs and STs). The demography of the block (data collection cite) comprised 31.73% ST and 6.59% SC populations. We acknowledge that the dynamics of

GBV can be different in non-oppressed castes (general category) as well as in non-working-class women and women in urban demographics. In the future, these contexts can also be explored to study GBV intervention and ADR mechanisms for women who do not belong to oppressed groups.

Further, GBV in different contexts within India may have different dynamics. For example, in India, a few communities follow matrilineal practices (e.g., Khasi and Garo in Meghalaya, Ezhava in Kerala, and Bunt and Billava in Karnataka). We found mixed literature on the relationship between women's possession of assets (matrilineal) and the IPV they face (Kelkar et al., 2015; Kelkar et al., 2020). Moreover, previous studies say that gender roles are not necessarily different in matrilineal societies. For example, "women do not seek leadership in either politics or religion... the Khasi have never had queens, only kings, and all priests are male" (Laird, 1995; p. 6). In the future, these matrilineal societies can be considered to explore how GBV operates in such societies and what challenges people face in GBV interventions in such societies.

8.2. Conclusion

This dissertation delves into the critical realm of GBV through the lens of postcolonial feminism, aiming to unravel the challenges in accessing gender justice by GBV survivors and women's court members, performativity aspects in gender justice work of women's court, and feminist organizing of women's court for GBV prevention. Through interviews with survivors, women court members, and community stakeholders, a comprehensive understanding of the different dimensions of GBV work has emerged. The research process has enabled me to comprehend the complexities of GBV prevention work and to adopt a non-essentialist viewpoint when examining GBV issues. I also acknowledge that in addition to its scholarly contributions, this research has significantly

influenced my personal beliefs and perspectives on gender justice. The requirement of ethical engagement with participants while conducting the research influenced me both personally and professionally. Further, the process helped me to be more transparent and accountable in my research practices. As I look to the future, I am committed to continuing my research journey in gender equality-related domains, incorporating the insights gained from this dissertation. Furthermore, the knowledge acquired on social and institutional forces in addressing GBV and intersectional vulnerabilities of marginalized groups to face such a crisis will be helpful for me to incorporate my research learning into classroom discussions in the future as an educator. I express my gratitude and acknowledge the support from all participants in the study for their invaluable contributions to this research.

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ANNEXURE

(i) INTERVIEW/FGD PROTOCOL (In English)

Introduction

Thank you for your time and for agreeing to participate in the study. I am a Ph.D. candidate at the Indian Intuition of Management Indore, and for my Ph.D. thesis data collection, I require your participation in the study. The objective of the study is to explore challenges in gender-based violence prevention work and the effectiveness of the restorative approach in preventing and solving gender-based violence cases. I look for your participation in the interview/FGD, which may take around 1-1.30 hours.

Our conversations in the interviews/FGD will be kept confidential, and any identity-revealing information of yours will not be shared in the thesis and with any individual(s) or institution(s)/organization(s). All analysis for the study will be done at an aggregate level and not at the individual level.

As a participant to the study, you are not required to respond to all questions if you are not comfortable; you always have the option not to respond to any of the questions. You also have the option to leave the interviews/FGD at any point in time if you do not feel comfortable continuing the conversation.

We require your consent to start the interview/FGD.

Please give your permission to audio record the interview/FGD; it will help in data transcription and analysis in the future.

Part A (Interviews with the Women's Court members)

1. Please share your journey of becoming a member of the women's court.
2. Please share about your work at the women's court.
3. Please share your experience of working on gender-based violence issues with the women's court so far.
4. How do you see yourself at your home, locality, and society?

5. How as a member of the women's court, you have been seen by people in your home, locality, and society.
6. Please share about different challenges that you have to face while working against gender-based violence.
7. How do you engage with different stakeholders while working with the women's court? Please share your experience of working with different stakeholders.
8. How do you see your struggles (because of your gender, caste, religion, class, etc.) while performing your work? Please share your experiences.
9. What are the different challenges that the women's court as an institution has to face while working in gender-based violence cases?
10. How do you help people when they approach for help?
11. How do you engage with the gender-based violence survivors? Please share your experiences.
12. How do you see the success and failure of women's courts interventions so far?
13. According to you, what are all the factors that limit or restrict women's court's work/interventions?
14. How do you see the future interventions of the women's court?
15. What is your vision for the women's court, and what all future planning do you have for the women's court?

Part B (Interviews with the beneficiaries of Women's Court)

1. Please share your experience of approaching the women's court for help.
2. How was your experience with the women's court in your case, please share.
3. What were the facilitating factors that helped you to approach the women's court?
4. If there were any limiting factors that restricted you from seeking help, please share.
5. How has the women's court helped/ is helping you?
6. How do you see yourself after seeking help in your case?
7. How, as a beneficiary of women's court, have you been seen by people in your home, locality and society?
8. Please share positive or negative changes in your life after seeking help from the women's court.

9. How do you see the work of women's courts and the way they engage with various stakeholders in solving cases?
10. How the women's court can support/ could have supported more in your case?
11. Please share if there is anything you want to suggest for gender-based violence survivors in seeking help.
12. Please share if there is anything you want to share more about your experiences.

Part C (FGDs with the Women's Court members)

1. How do you see the importance of your institution in gender-based violence prevention work? Please share your experiences.
2. How do you engage in gender-based violence cases? Please share all different mediums through which you reach women who need help?
3. Please share the process of resolving cases at your court.
4. What are the struggles faced by the women's court in performing work? How does the women's court overcome the struggles?
5. How do different intersectionalities (of gender, caste, class, gender, religion, etc.) influence your work?
6. What are the different struggles that you have to face while working with different stakeholders like -police, court, survivors, perpetrators' families, etc.
7. What different strategies do you adopt in intervening cases?
8. What different strategies do you adopt to engage with different stakeholders in solving gender-based violence cases?
9. How do you see the effectiveness of the women's court in preventing and solving gender-based violence cases?
10. What can be various enabling factors that can support your work? Please share your expectations of support from different stakeholders.

(ii) साक्षात्कार/FGD प्रोटोकॉल (In Hindi)

परिचय

आपके समय के लिए और अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होने के लिए धन्यवाद। मैं एक भारतीय प्रबंधन संस्थान इंदौर के पीएच.डी. छात्र हूँ। मेरे पीएच.डी. थीसिस के डेटा संग्रह के लिये, आपकी भागीदारी की आवश्यकता है। अनुसंधान का उद्देश्य जेंडर आधारित हिंसा रोकथाम कार्य में चुनौतियों का अध्ययन करना और जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मामलों को रोकने और हल करने में पुनर्स्थापनात्मक दृष्टिकोण की प्रभावशीलता का अध्ययन करना है। मुझे साक्षात्कार/FGD में आपकी भागीदारी की उम्मीद है, जिसमें लगभग 1-1.30 घंटे लग सकते हैं।

साक्षात्कारों/FGD में हमारी बातचीत को गोपनीय रखा जाएगा, और आपकी कोई भी पहचान-खुलासा जानकारी थीसिस में और किसी भी व्यक्ति या संस्थान/संगठन के साथ साझा नहीं की जाएगी। अध्ययन के लिए सभी विश्लेषण समग्र स्तर पर किए जाएंगे न कि व्यक्तिगत स्तर पर।

अध्ययन के प्रतिवादी के रूप में, यदि आप सहज नहीं हैं तो आपको सभी प्रश्नों का उत्तर देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है; आपके पास हमेशा किसी भी प्रश्न का उत्तर न देने का विकल्प है। यदि आप बातचीत जारी रखने में सहज महसूस नहीं करते हैं तो आपके पास किसी भी समय साक्षात्कार/FGD को छोड़ने का विकल्प भी है।

हमें साक्षात्कार/FGD शुरू करने के लिए आपकी सहमति की आवश्यकता है।

कृपया साक्षात्कार/FGD को ऑडियो रिकॉर्ड करने की अनुमति दें; यह भविष्य में डेटा ट्रांसक्रिप्शन और विश्लेषण में मदद करेगा।

भाग A (नारी अदालत के सदस्यों के साथ साक्षात्कार)

1. कृपया नारी अदालत के सदस्य बनने की अपनी यात्रा साझा करें।
2. कृपया नारी अदालत में अपने काम के बारे में साझा करें।
3. कृपया अब तक नारी अदालत के साथ जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मुद्दों पर काम करने का अपना अनुभव साझा करें।
4. आप अपने आप को अपने घर, मोहल्ले, और समाज में कैसे देखते हैं।
5. नारी अदालत के सदस्य के रूप में आपको अपने घर, मोहल्ले, और समाज के लोगों ने कैसे देखा है।
6. कृपया उन विभिन्न चुनौतियों के बारे में साझा करें जिनका आपको जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के खिलाफ काम करते समय सामना करना पड़ता है।
7. नारी अदालत के साथ काम करते समय आप विभिन्न हितधारकों के साथ कैसे जुड़ते हैं? कृपया विभिन्न हितधारकों के साथ काम करने का अपना अनुभव साझा करें।
8. अपना काम करते समय आप अपने संघर्षों (अपनी जेंडर, जाति, धर्म, वर्ग, आदि के कारण) को कैसे देखते हैं? कृपया अपने अनुभव साझा करें।
9. एक संस्था के रूप में नारी अदालत को जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मामलों में काम करते समय किन विभिन्न चुनौतियों का सामना करना पड़ता है?
10. जब लोग मदद के लिए संपर्क करते हैं तो आप उनकी मदद कैसे करते हैं?
11. आप जेंडर आधारित हिंसा पीड़ितों के साथ कैसे जुड़ते हैं? कृपया अपने अनुभव साझा करें।
12. नारी अदालत के अब तक के हस्तक्षेपों की सफलता और विफलता को आप कैसे देखते हैं?
13. आपके अनुसार नारी अदालत के कार्य/हस्तक्षेप को सीमित या प्रतिबंधित करने वाले सभी कारक क्या हैं?

14. आप नारी अदालत के भविष्य के हस्तक्षेप को कैसे देखते हैं?
15. नारी अदालत के लिए आपका क्या दृष्टिकोण है, और नारी अदालत के लिए आपकी भविष्य की क्या योजना है?

भाग B (नारी अदालत के लाभार्थियों के साथ साक्षात्कार)

1. कृपया मदद के लिए नारी अदालत से संपर्क करने का अपना अनुभव साझा करें।
2. आपके मामले में नारी अदालत के साथ आपका अनुभव कैसा रहा, कृपया साझा करें।
3. नारी अदालत से संपर्क करने में आपकी मदद करने वाले कारक क्या थे, कृपया साझा करें।
4. यदि कोई सीमित कारक थे जो आपको सहायता मांगने से रोकते थे, तो कृपया साझा करें।
5. नारी अदालत ने आपकी किस प्रकार सहायता की है/ कर रही है?
6. अपने मामले में मदद मांगने के बाद आप खुद को कैसे देखते हैं?
7. नारी अदालत के लाभार्थी के रूप में आपको अपने घर, मोहल्ले, और समाज के लोगों ने कैसे देखा है?
8. कृपया नारी अदालत से मदद मांगने के बाद अपने जीवन में सकारात्मक या नकारात्मक बदलाव साझा करें।
9. आप नारी अदालत के काम और मामलों को सुलझाने में विभिन्न हितधारकों के साथ उनके जुड़ाव को कैसे देखते हैं?
10. आपके मामले में नारी अदालत किस प्रकार समर्थन कर सकती है/और अधिक समर्थन कर सकती है।
11. कृपया साझा करें कि क्या आप मदद मांगने में जेंडर आधारित हिंसा पीड़ितों के लिए कुछ सुझाव देना चाहते हैं।
12. अगर आप अपने अनुभवों के बारे में कुछ और साझा करना चाहते हैं तो कृपया साझा करें।

भाग C (नारी अदालत के सदस्यों के साथ FGD)

1. आप जेंडर आधारित हिंसा निवारण कार्य में अपने संस्थान के महत्व को कैसे देखते हैं? कृपया अपने अनुभव साझा करें।
2. आप जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मामलों में कैसे हस्तक्षेप करते हैं? कृपया उन सभी विभिन्न माध्यमों को साझा करें जिनके माध्यम से आप उन महिलाओं तक पहुँचते हैं जिन्हें मदद की ज़रूरत है?
3. कृपया अपनी अदालत में मामलों के समाधान की प्रक्रिया साझा करें।
4. काम करने में नारी अदालत को किन संघर्षों का सामना करना पड़ता है? नारी अदालत संघर्षों पर कैसे विजय पाती है?
5. विभिन्न इंटरसेक्शनैलिटी /अंतरस्थिरियता (जेंडर ,जाति, वर्ग, धर्म, आदि) आपके काम को कैसे प्रभावित करते हैं?
6. विभिन्न हितधारकों जैसे-पुलिस, अदालत, उत्तरजीवी, अपराधियों के परिवारों, आदि के साथ काम करते समय आपको किन विभिन्न संघर्षों का सामना करना पड़ता है?
7. जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करने के लिए आप कौन-सी विभिन्न रणनीतियाँ अपनाते हैं?
8. जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मामलों को सुलझाने में विभिन्न हितधारकों के साथ जुड़ने के लिए आप कौन सी विभिन्न रणनीतियाँ अपनाते हैं?
9. आप जेंडर आधारित हिंसा के मामलों को रोकने और सुलझाने में नारी अदालत की प्रभावशीलता को कैसे देखते हैं?
10. आपके काम को समर्थन देने वाले विभिन्न सक्षम कारक क्या हो सकते हैं? कृपया विभिन्न हितधारकों से समर्थन की अपनी अपेक्षाओं को साझा करें।

(iii) Reflexive Notes Examples

29/06/2022

Place: -

Dem is a CTF representative working since 2016. Also works as a gender trainer and received training on Gender Module I, II and III from Jageri and Pradan professionals.

She had a case of domestic violence in 2017.

* Didn't want her husband to be punished. - why?
called women's court members for meeting.

→ She was not dependent on her husband unlike other cases.

→ Cultural limitations?

→ She has three children to look after.

→ Her husband runs a grocery store currently.

→ She works with the federation.

Approx. Rs. 7500 she earns in a month.

→ Women's Courts intervention helped her in her case. She wanted an amicable ~~and~~ solution.

→ No report of any other case in last five years after women's court meeting.

→ What helps in establishing accountability of perpetrator for future? - Threat of law?

Date: 29 June, 2022

-Facts: Monika Devi (name changed) is an educated woman. She is representing CLF for more than five years.

- Personal thoughts and assumptions: Having a livelihood option might have made her independent to fight her case. I have seen her conducting trainings for SHGs before (during 2017-2019), she must be strong and outspoken. Is she happy in her marriage now after facing domestic violence?

-Assumptions were wrong: She did not want her in-laws to be punished, she did not ask for help from police. She was looking for amicable solutions in her marriage.

-Reflection: An empowered version of self is possible when woman can take charge of their life. Choices are socially constructed and always limited by social realities. Finding an empowered narratives involved negotiation and cooptation of different narratives such as being a good mother or example of strong women. Many cases of GBV go unreported.

(iv) Description of Field Work

Dates	Engagements in field work
31-05-2022	Went to federation office and Pradan office, discussed field work plan.
01-06-2022	Went to the women's court office, interacted with participant 1 and 3.
02-06-2022	Went to the women's court office, interviewed participant 1. Interacted with federation women.
03-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, interviewed participant 3 and 4.
06-06-2022	Went to the women's court office. Conducted interviews with Participant 2, and 5.
07-06-2022	Went to the women's court office, interacted with women's court member, and community women.
08-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, interviewed Participant 6.
09-06-2022	Went to the federation office and women's court office. Interacted with federation women.
10-06-2022	Went to Pradan office, interacted with executives of Pradan on their projects related to gender.
11-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, interviewed Participant 7.
13-06-2022	Went to women's court office. Discussed plan for data collection with the president of the women's court.
14-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, interacted with participant 13.
15-06-2022	Attended a CLF meeting with women's court members
16-06-2022	Attended women's court emergency meeting
17-06-2022	Went to the women's court's office, read case minute book, case registration book and minute book
18-06-2022	Went to the women's court's office, read case minute book, case registration book and minute book
19-06-2022	Discussion with women court members regarding cases of GBV
20-06-2022	Attended meeting women's court meeting with stakeholder
21-06-2022	Went to villages of beneficiaries, conducted interviews with participant 11
22-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, interviewed Participant 8 and 9.

23-06-2022	Attended BLF women federation meeting with women's court members. Conducted interviews with participant 8 and 13 after the meeting.
24-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, conducted interviews with Participant 14, 15 and 16.
25-06-2022	Went to villages of women's court members, conducted interviews with Participant 17 and 18.
27-06-2022	Went to villages of beneficiary and community women, interviewed Participant 9, 10 and 11
28-06-2022	Went to villages of beneficiaries, conducted interviews with participant 19 and 21.
29-06-2022	Went to a villages of beneficiaries. Conducted interviews of participant 11 and 24.
30-06-2022	Attended women's court's monthly meeting till 2 pm. Went to interview community members 3-7 pm. Interviewed participant 29 and 32.
01-07-2022	Went to women's court member's village, interviewed Participant 20.
02-07-2022	Went to women's court office to plan for FGD with them.
03-07-2022	Went to women's court member's village, interviewed Participant 22.
04-07-2022	Went to women's court member's village, interviewed Participant 23.
05-07-2022	Organized two FGDs at the office space of Pradan.
06-07-2022	Went to villages of community member, conducted interview with participant 25 and 26.
07-07-2022	Went to villages of beneficiaries. Interviewed Participant 27 and 28.
08-07-2022	Went to villages of beneficiaries. Interviewed Participant 30
09-07-2022	Went to villages of community member, conducted interview with participant 31 and 33.
11-07-2022	Went to the federation office. Transcribed the FGDs.
12-07-2022	Went to villages of beneficiaries and community women. Interviewed Participant 34 and 35.
13-07-2022	Went to villages of beneficiaries and community women. Interviewed Participant 36 and 37.
14-07-2022	Went to federation office, interacted with the BLF coordinator, attended a Sakhi meeting where a few community women came.
30-07-2022	Attended Women's court meeting online

(v) A sample invitation letter for women's court's hearing

सूचना पत्र

पत्रांक E.MAM/Sr/06 दिनांक 21-02-2019

सेवा में

विषय: केस संख्या 4512 से सम्बंधित 28/02/2019 को 5 में उपस्थित होने के सन्दर्भ में।

महोदय / महोदया

आपको सूचित किया जाता है की आपके विरुद्ध घरलू टिंसा, मानसिक प्रताड़ना से सम्बंधित शिकायत 30/01/2019 को दर्ज करायी गयी है। इस सम्बन्ध में दिनांक 28/01/2019 को स्थान कार्यालय में समय दिन 12 बजे उपस्थित होकर अपना पक्ष रखें। अन्यथा आपको दोषी मानते हुए आगे की कार्यवाही की जायेगी।

अध्यक्ष
महिला अदालत

(vi) A sample decision letter of women's court's hearing

एकता महिला अधिकार मंच, [Redacted]

(एकता महिला अधिकार मंच द्वारा संचालित नारी अदालत)

निर्णय पत्र

केस संख्या 11 दिनांक 30/01/19

पहला पक्ष [Redacted] दूसरा पक्ष [Redacted]

आज दिनांक 30/जनवरी/19 को एकता महिला अधिकार मंच में दर्ज केस संख्या 11 को

के सम्बन्ध में दोनों पक्ष उपस्थित हुए। दोनों पक्षों की उपस्थिति में निम्नलिखित निर्णय हुआ:-

1. [Redacted] देवी पक्का घर में रहेंगी।
2. [Redacted] देवी को उनके पति [Redacted] हर महीने का 1000 रु. खर्चों के रूप में देंगे। एक माह के बाद रिश्तेत वैसा जा।
3. चावल एवं अन्न अलग से दिया जाएगा।
4. बिच में कुछ जरूरत होने पर दोनों पक्ष आपस में बात कर सकते हैं।

उपरोक्त निर्णय दोनों पक्षों को मंजूर है एवं भविष्य में कभी भी एक पक्ष दूसरे पक्ष को किसी भी प्रकार की हानि नहीं पहुंचाएगा।

[Redacted] पहले पक्ष का हस्ताक्षर [Redacted] दूसरा पक्ष का हस्ताक्षर

[Redacted] एकता महिला अधिकार मंच के सदस्यों का हस्ताक्षर