

**DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST MARRIED *DALIT* WOMEN IN
POKHARA METROPOLITAN CITY, KASKI, NEPAL**

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SOCIOLOGY

By

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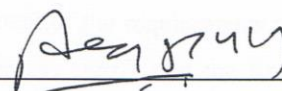
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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled “**Domestic Violence against Married Dalit Women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal**” was prepared by Ms. Shanta Kumari Khatri under our supervision and guidance. This dissertation is hereby recommended for the final examination of the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University to meet the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.



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APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled **Domestic Violence against Married Dalit Women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal** was submitted by **Shanta Kumari Khatri** for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology**. I, hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has therefore accepted for the degree.

Prof. Kushum Shakya, PhD
Dean and Chairperson
Research Committee

Date: 15 April, 2022

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. dissertation “**Domestic Violence against Married Dalit Women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal**” is a completely novel effort and contains no resources previously published except those cited. The results presented in this dissertation have not ever been presented or submitted anywhere else for the award of any degree or any other purposes. Due acknowledgments have been made to all authors and sources whose ideas and information have been used. I am solely responsible if any evidence is found against my declaration.



Shanta Kumari Khatri

Date: 2078/12/2

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore and analyze the forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in Pokhara Metropolitan City (PMC), Kaski, Nepal. This research is guided by feminist standpoint theory, socialist feminism, and power theory. Accordingly, forty-three married *Dalit* survivor women were selected (*Kami, Damai, Sarki, and Gaine*) from six wards of PMC aged 15 to 61, who have been suffering from domestic violence. The methodology was based on the use of exploratory and descriptive research design through a purposive sampling method. Accordingly, tools and techniques for data collection used in this study included forty-three in-depth interviews, observation, and fourteen key informant interviews with the identified respondents. The nature of the research was qualitative as well as narrative analysis.

The findings revealed that there are mainly three forms of violence found in the survivor woman's life, such as physical, emotional/psychological, and sexual. Accordingly, out of the forty-three survivor women, more than half of them were abused by physical violence, about two-fifths of them were abused by emotional/psychological violence (some of them included under the physical violence category as well), and about one-fourth of them were sexually abused. The main causes of violence are the low economic and educational status of the survivor woman and her husband; alcoholic nature of husband, husband's suspicion towards his wife, sexual dissatisfaction of husband, early marriage, and extra-marital relationship that were the major factors that facilitated the emergence of domestic violence to the married *Dalit* women's life. Thus,

the main consequences of survivor women are continued physical injury, gynecological problems, anxiety, mental health problems, panic attacks, suicide attempts, and often the resultant flow of such problems passed down to the children. I found that the majority of the survivor women tried to dismiss and usually ignore the violence. Instead, they persuaded themselves by crying, engaged in housework, wage labor, and taking care of innocent children, and were reluctant to follow the required series of steps including government bills, laws/acts and regulations, and the perpetrators' attention to the survivor women.

The findings of this study well highlighted the fact that survivor women usually avoid protesting against their husband's violence, mainly because they are unaware of their basic rights and legal provisions. Therefore, the findings of this research are considered to be essential for analyzing, comparing, and extracting the overall situation of violence faced by married *Dalit* women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, which is equally important for proper policy formulation and planning as they vary in nature. For example, the majority of the survivor women kept silent, few women seek for help from neighbors/*Tol* Development Committee, and also few women reach to maternal home. Moreover, the survivor-woman tries to self-negotiate all kinds of torture instead of defending the perpetrator and filing the case to the concerned authority. The findings of this study have aided sociological studies, particularly those focusing on married *Dalit* women's issues. The socioeconomic and educational status of women and their perpetrators has a direct impact on the extent and types of violence they face. The findings emphasize the importance of social order and structural approaches to changing norms as well as improving women's status because the coping strategies in place

provided by legal provisions do not appear to be effective. Study findings also supported the fact that patriarchal social structure, established social norms, values and unequal power relation between husband and wife are the reason of domestic violence among married *Dalit* women. Thus findings of this study are thought imperative in formulating appropriate policies and implementing proper planning.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBS	-	Central Bureau of Statistics
CEDAW	-	Convention for Elimination of Domestic Violence against Women
DDC	-	District Development Committee
DHS	-	Demographic Health Survey
DV	-	Domestic Violence
DVA	-	Domestic Violence and Abuse
DVAW	-	Domestic Violence against Women
FEDO	-	Feminist <i>Dalit</i> Organization
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
GDI	-	Gender Development Index
GESI	-	Gender Equity and Social Inclusion
GBV	-	Gender Based Violence
GO	-	Government Organization
GV	-	Gender Violence
HIV/AIDS	-	Human Immune Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
I/NGO	-	International Non-Governmental Organization
ICPD	-	International Conference on Population and Development
INSEC	-	Informal Sector Service Center
IPV	-	Intimate Partner Violence
KII	-	Key Informant Interview
LGBTQ	-	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and/or Questioning
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
NDHS	-	Nepal Demographic Health Survey
NDSWO	-	National <i>Dalit</i> Social Welfare Organization
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
NLSS	-	Nepal Living Standards Survey
OAS	-	Organization of American States
PMC	-	Pokhara Metropolitan City
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	-	United Nations Development Fund for Women
VAW	-	Violence Against Women
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WOREC	-	Women's Rehabilitation Center

WORKING DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

Domestic Violence - Domestic violence refers to any form of physical, mental, sexual, and economic harm committed by an individual against a person in a family relationship. The term also includes any act of condemnation or emotional harm.

Economic Damage - Economic damage means deprivation of common or private use appropriate possession or deprivation or lack of access to employment opportunities opportunity, economic resource or means.

Family relationship - Family relationship refers to a relationship of two or more people who live together and are related living together as a joint family through dignity (blood relationship), marriage, adoption, or family members; or a dependent domestic help live in the same family.

Gender-based violence - Gender-based violence (GBV) is a harmful behavior committed by the male to the female or vice versa and it is against the will of the individual. GBV is known as violence against women as well.

Intimate Partner Violence - Intimate partner violence include the abuses committed by perpetrator such as intimate partner (e.g., spouse, boy friend, girl friend, and ex-partner). The violence might include various abuses including psychological harm, physical assault, and sexual harassment as well as financial deprivation.

Mental Harm - Mental harm refers to any behavior that threatens the survivor's body torture, show terror, scolding him/her, blame him/her, false accusations,

forcibly driving him/her out of the house or in other ways emotionally cause harm or harm to the survivor, and this expression it also includes any discrimination based on ideas, religion or culture as well as customs and traditions.

Perpetrator - Perpetrator refers to a person who has a family relationship with the survivor(s) and the survivors claim to have suffered domestic violence, the term also includes anyone accomplices involved in domestic violence or crime.

Physical Harm - Physical harm refers to the act of committing or causing physical harm or hurt as a captive, cause physical pain or any other related and incidental behaviors, but does not include the following behaviors broken limbs (*Angabhanga*).

Physical Violence - Physical violence perpetrator uses physical force to hurt the survivor by causing physical harm including injury. The physical force might include activities such as hair pulling, grabbing, shoving, pinching, biting, kicking by hand or leg, even acid attack, and burning.

Sexual Harm - Sexual harm means sexual misconduct, humiliation, frustration or hurt anyone's self-esteem; or any other behaviors that hinder safe sex and health.

Threats - It is a hostile action committed by one person against another and often committed by verbal means or physical action such as hitting or displaying weapons.

Survivor - Survivor refers to the current or former in the family relationship with the defendant, who claimed to have experienced domestic violence the perpetrator.

Violence against Women - Violence against Women is an abuse against females and it has its root in sexual inequality. This kind of violence can come in any form such as physical, psychological/emotional, sexual.

Violence - This is one person's behavior that hurts or even kill another person. The behavior might include physical force, threat or intimidation resulting in physical injury, psychological harm, financial or emotional deprivation, and even death.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study focuses on domestic violence against married *Dalit* women situation in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. It mainly concerned with the exploration of forms of domestic violence, and the causes, consequences, and coping strategies. This is a qualitative sociological study and is guided by the feminist standpoint theory in the context of caste, gender, and socio-economic analysis.

Domestic violence has been reported in all countries, whether wealthy or impoverished, developed or developing, regardless of caste, class, or gender, social status, wealth, urban or rural habitation, or victimization and aggression age. Violence against women is one of the most important social factors that keep women in an inferior position to men (United Nations, 1993).

Gender discrimination has long-term effects on women and girls who are survivors of gender-based violence (Bradbury et al., 2017). Gender-based violence can be seen, thus, as a structural mechanism that maintains male domination; equality between men and women is impossible to achieve while women are subjected to gender-based violence (Jewkes et al., 2015). It is thus important to know why violence occurs and how women become survivors of such violence.

Domestic violence and abuse (DVA) is more commonly used than 'gendered violence' or 'intimate partner violence', and it refers to any instance that includes controlling, coercing, or threatening behavior by intimate partners or family members,

regardless of gender or sexuality. In the worldwide context, the majority of Gender-based Violence (GBV) is committed by men (WHO, 2012a).

Almost one-third of women all over the world have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from their partner, among murdered women by the violence, approximately 38 percent of the women are murdered by their male partners (WHO, 2017). Not only the straight, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer men (LGBTQ) can also be survivors of violence by their partner (Bradbury et al., 2017). According to the United Nations definition any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, these forms of violence deprive women of their fundamental human rights, restricting the development and prosperity of communities and nations (United Nations,1993). In Nepal, historically, violence against women existed throughout her life span where people still have the notion those women and girls are not subjected to be free from any kind of GBV. Girls are violated even from childhood till the date of marriage where she is to be under the control of parents or brothers. After marriage, she becomes the property of her husband and consequently, the husband considers that he deserves the right to decide about her life (Bennett, 2005).

Gender-based violence is commonly seen due to unequal power relation. Unequal power relation is exercised in the patriarchal society. In the patriarchal society, women are suppressed and oppressed by their male counterpart and in-laws in general. In these scenarios women are physically tortured, mentally stressed, sexually abused. Garcia et al. (2006) reported that they had a reproductive health condition, physical injuries, fear, and stress connected with violence can lead to serious health problems such as

gastrointestinal problems, heart diseases, and gynecological issues (Capmbell, 2002). Domestic violence is also a leading cause of mental illness, such as depression and anxiety. According to Kumar (2010), violence is exploding in Indian society. People are being tortured, beaten, and killed behind closed doors all around the country. However, the severity of the situation may differ. According to Chaudhary et al. (2009), the majority of women are unable to recognise domestic abuse as an issue. Physical and verbal abuse by their partner is a common facet of their life. Moreover, some people are more inclined to domestic violence than others (Straus & Gozjolko, 2014).

Usually, the root cause of violence against women is seen due to low status in the community and is considered as a commodity as perceived by the male counterpart. Illiteracy and economic dependence over males are also considered as causes of violence. Along with the above factors, lack of women's participation in decision-making, early marriage, traditional beliefs, social values, and social norms are deep-rooted factors that lead to violence against women (Sharma, 2007). Domestic violence against women is an important international issue in today's globalised world. However, the definition of domestic violence may vary from one part of the world to another. It is a complex and challenging topic for discussion around the world, and the results of any study cannot foretell it. Because moral ethics, thoughts, and emotions pressurize, there is no ideal reason to come up with exact results on this topic (Levy, 2008). The act which is perceived as serious violence in one part of the world might not be perceived as not that serious in the other part of the world due to variations in social and cultural norms. This difference around the world makes violence a complex and challenging topic to address related issues (Levy, 2008).

Dalit community accounts for 13 percent of Nepal's overall population (CBS, 2011). Women's status in Nepal, as in other South Asian countries, is extremely low. Historically, women, particularly *Dalit* ones, are under the worst social conditions (Sob, 2012). *Dalits* have limited access and control to resources such as land, forest, and water. Likewise, *Dalit* communities have a lower human development index (i.e.0.42) in comparison to the overall human development index of Nepal (0.59). The plight of *Dalit* women is worse than *Dalit* men as the women have low access to their household properties such as land, house, and money (Cameron, 1998).

It is often reported that *Dalit* women are most exposed to domestic violence because of a lack of education, the male-dominated society, the low economic condition of the family, large family size, unemployment, and several other associated reasons. The *Dalit* community is the most marginalized among the disadvantaged groups of Nepal. According to the census of Nepal (CBS, 2011), about 7 percent are *Dalit* women where nearly one-third are literate. Among them, only one-tenth have access to higher education. Being low in number they are again excluded in the state mechanisms, governing structures, and even in the political sphere. Perhaps due to lower educational status, these women become survivors of severe violence. The data showed that about half of *Dalit* women face violence and only less than 5 percent of those cases are reported to the police (FEDO, 2013).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Home is one of the safest places, but it is a major area where the rights and freedom of female members are most oppressed. Due to the unequal power relation between men and women, socio-cultural norms, and values, women are treated as

second-class citizens (Norman & Pauly, 2013). Violence against women is frequently recognised by way of gender-based violence as it evolves in part from females' inferior position in the social order, they are weakly situated at the lowest position of the caste, gender, and class hierarchies.

Violence against women prevalence rate is varied across the globe. Accordingly, 45.6 percent of women are survivors of violence in Africa, 36.1 percent in America, 36.4 percent in the Eastern Mediterranean, 27.2 percent in Europe, 40.2 percent in South-East Asia, and 27.9 percent in Western Pacific region. Even in the high-income countries one-third of the women population are survivors of violence (WHO, 2013).

Domestic violence against women is still considered as an individual problem rather than a social problem. These sorts of issues are kept undisclosed. They are considered personal and family matters. Government organizations and other stakeholders have not been very effective as they are not able to find out the causes and measures of violence against women. Domestic violence occurs mainly in low-educated and poor families, where hopelessness, tensions, scarcity usually prevailed. Domestic violence also takes place in high-class families, but they are rarely exposed outside perhaps due to their cultural norms and prevailing customary practices. Domestic violence usually takes place between husband and wife, mother-in-law, father-in-law, and sister-in-law, and is often hidden by the family members. The more violence is kept secret, the more dangerous the situation and escalation in the violence leading to the murdering of wives in the patriarchal society (Kaur & Garg, 2008). *Dalit* women's lives are characterized by marginalisation through the caste system which is based on concepts of purity and defilement, as well as patriarchy and gender inequality. They suffer from

abject poverty, shame as well as denial of social and economic rights, resulted in exclusion from the mainstream of society. Indeed, they face discrimination on multiple levels as a *Dalit*, as a woman, and as a poor person.

Economic level and education also are one of important factors that could affect violence against women, but the fate of schooling to the *Dalits* is still undermined (Cameron, 1998). Among *Dalits*, girls are less educated than boys and girls are more likely to drop out of school. Similarly, elder *Dalits* have a lower literacy rate than younger *ones*, and the poorer *Dalits* have the lowest literacy rates than richer ones. Literacy rates among women have improved in recent times (Still, 2011).

According to the Population Census of Nepal (CBS, 2011), females are weaker in terms of economic, social, political, educational, and cultural conditions than men in Nepal. In Nepal, women have less access to literacy as well as formal education. Due to this reason, women have a minimal role in decision making than males, as evidenced by the lower Gender-related Development Index (0.499) score compared to the Human Development Index (0.509) (UNDP, 2009). However, noticeable progress has been made in the health and education sectors in recent decades. In Nepal, women's life expectancy has increased to 72 years which is around 1.5 years higher than the male's life expectancy (Ministry of Health and Population, 2016).

Among the 1319 cases reported by WOREC Nepal (2019), 880 (66.72%) are the case of domestic violence against women and among the perpetrators, 90 percent are by their husbands. Among the survivor women, around 40 percent are between the age of 17 and 35 and are highly affected by domestic violence.

The report of National Women's Commissions of the fiscal year (2017) showed that only 341 violence-related cases of women were registered, among these survivor cases, physical and psychological violence were recorded more. The other cases like divorce, rape, citizenship, property division, drove out of the house are also registered in fewer numbers. Similarly, in the year 2073, nearly 2,992 cases of violence against women were registered in the Nepal police office. Common troubles like poverty, illness, backwardness, unemployment, and alcohol consumption are more prevalent in Nepal. These scenarios thus well reflect the fear of women's domestic violence in the *Dalit* community in Nepal.

In the 2009, Nepal government passed the Domestic Violence Act. According to the act domestic violence means the harm done by a member of a family to another. The harm can be done in physical, emotional, sexual, and economic forms (Domestic Violence Offence and Punishment act, 2009). Nepal has also made several other initiatives to combat GBV, including the National Action Plan, 2010, against GBV. One of the major strategies included in the National Action plan is Gender Empowerment. One of the major goals of Gender Empowerment is to end gender-related violence. Similarly, the constitution of Nepal, 2015, represents a key step toward gender equality and social inclusion (GESI), as the constitution offers better protection for women, the impoverished, survivors of gender-based violence, and other oppressed groups (Nepal Law Commission, 2015). Despite those attempts, women still face a significant amount of discrimination due to weak implications of rules and laws as well as cultural and social aspects.

Study about incidents of violence against women in the academic field is very scanty and confined only to the quantitative survey of health-related issues in Nepal. Moreover, qualitative sociological studies of caste, class and gender-related domestic violence are not yet done. Violence against women in Nepali society is an important area of inquiry in the present context. For this, a comprehensive understanding of all aspects of the problem related to domestic violence is required to analyse-especially, focusing on the *Dalit* women, to those who are facing various types of structural discrimination and domination. This study thus explores survivors and perpetrators; clarifies risks and preventive measures; analyse factors and paves out specific consequences of abuse, and thus practical and factual needs of those who survive.

To fulfill such a gap, the study of problems related to domestic violence on *Dalit* women of Nepal is important to consider. Moreover, *Dalit* women are living in the Pokhara Metropolitan City, they are suffering from different types of forms of domestic violence that necessitates in-depth study on issues of women's domestic violence. This research is thus valuable to find out the major forms, causes, of domestic violence among married *Dalit* women, and its consequences to the family, and the development of coping strategy to be considered. In general, conflict and violence mainly occur among resource-poor *Dalit* families. This research is taken as a social problem thus qualitative approach of sociological study is central to find out the answer of who is the perpetrator and survivors of domestic violence in the *Dalit* community? What are the main forms, causes and consequences of domestic violence? What kind of assistance has been received from government organizations to survivor of domestic violence?

Based on the above scenarios I was motivated to select the topic as of this research interest. Therefore, this study is worth considering qualitative research focusing on the feminist standpoint in the field of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women residing in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. This study has been structured to address the following research questions:

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions are formulated for this study:

1. What are the common types and causes of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women?
2. How do married *Dalit* women experience domestic violence and how does it affect their lives?
3. Who in Nepal's *Dalit* communities are the most likely perpetrators and victims of domestic violence?
4. How do victims of domestic violence report the incident and seek assistance?

1.4 Research Objectives

The general objective of this research was to explore the existing situation, forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal.

The following are specific objectives:

1. To identify the perpetrators and forms of domestic violence across Pokhara Metropolitan City.
2. To explore the root causes of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in Pokhara Metropolitan City.
3. To analyze the consequences of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women and to examine the strategies to cope with the problem.

4. To investigate the status of justice/support from government bodies in dealing with married *Dalit* women related to domestic violence.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The importance of this study can be justified from two angles- Theoretically, this research is guided by feminist standpoint theory and power theory. Domestic violence is primarily a form of violence against women by a man that is socially and culturally oppressed. Domestic violence is even more dangerous because the family is a safe place for women to live, when they are victimized in the family, they are often helpless and hopeless to survive. This study seeks to investigate the forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women. In practice, this study helps students, faculty, and researchers to contribute in the relevant field, and helps them to plan, develop strategies, and agendas.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations provide a guideline regarding what is acceptable and unacceptable while doing research. It ensures the right of human subjects. In this study, I followed the ethical guidelines and obtained informed consent from all the participants who took part in the study as an interviewee during the field visit and data collection. Before an interview, an informed approval letter was read by a female research assistant indicating that the privacy of the participants would be maintained. Before tape recording, the research assistant received approval from all participants ensuring their human rights, dignity, and identity protection. In addition, an outline of the purpose of the study was read aloud to the participant. It is mandatory to provide information to the participants while conducting such kind of social research. Participants are also told that

they had the option to withdraw from the study at any moment with no repercussions as a method of study. Participants are well informed and free to ask any dubious questions regarding the study before the initiation of the interview and recording of their answers. All of the female research assistants could speak and write both Nepali and English as they need to translate participants' answers from the Nepali language to English.

Participants are also given the option of choosing their interview location and time to safeguard their privacy and ensure that no one else knew they had taken part in the study. Some of the direct quotes are put in this dissertation without mentioning their real name to ensure their anonymity throughout the study. As the research include various kind of outbreaks of violence against women, it is a very sensitive topic. Therefore, in this study, only females are trained as research assistants, so that they can talk more comfortably with the participant about their experience related to sexual violence and other abuses.

The research was done under the right supervision of supervisor and co-supervisor, with the objective and relevance of the research fully communicated. The interview checklist was organised in a favorable environment after their verbal consent. Questions are asked only in the absence of a partner/husband and other family members. Some respondents were also interviewed on the phone if any unfavorable circumstances aroused during the fieldwork. Names of the respondents were kept confidential throughout the study. Each respondent was free to skip any question or conversation if she does not want to answer it and she can also drop the interview at any time as per her wish. It was promised that any personal information and issue of data obtained from the field study would not be misinterpreted and misused. Throughout the research period, the

subject area's socio-cultural norms, values, and rites to thoroughly honored throughout the field visit.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This study is mainly focused on the qualitative exploration of main forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies for seeking justice for domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in selected six wards of Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. Moreover, a study is limited to explore and analyse the family relationship, the physical, psychological/emotional, and sexual violence against married *Dalit* women; the study cannot cover all kinds of violence. Only married *Dalit* women are taken as studied respondents, while violence against women of all the communities and ages are not covered as it was beyond the objectives of this study. Information and analysis are all based on the respondents' recall methods and their existing experience.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This dissertation has been divided into seven chapters followed by a list of an appendix and references.

Chapter one presents the introduction of the study which deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, and research objectives, significance of the research, ethical consideration and limitations of the study. These include a consideration of what is understood by the term domestic violence against women, gender-based violence is then examined.

Chapter two provides a review of literature on the emerging society's evidence- Gender-based violence, violence against women, domestic violence against women,

domestic violence against *Dalit* women, highlighting the inconsistencies in attempts to theories and understand the phenomenon. An examination of the prevalence of domestic violence against married women follows, citing the variety of definitional and measurement tools used to study it, subsequently providing data that is largely incomparable. It provides a review of the related literature, it includes an overview of the general sociological concept, definition, and types of domestic violence, feminist theories dealing with the feminist standpoint theory approach of domestic violence as well as a review of related studies. It also provides the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. Several research gaps in the literature are identified, including areas that require further research attention. Such areas include potential risk, and protective factors, the effect of gender on perpetration and victimization, and the self-report of these behaviors. Furthermore, multiple opportunities for prevention and intervention efforts are outlined.

Chapter three describes the research methods of the study: study sites, research design, sources of data collection, sampling method, tools and techniques of data collection, selection of the respondent's, and data analysis process. Chapter Four covers the socio-demographic findings of respondents and their perpetrators and describes the stories of survivor women's which is compiled based on primary evidence collected through the field study. Chapter Five analyses the major forms and causes of domestic violence. As well as, demonstrated by the participants' narratives, and exploring the improvements required for prevention and intervention work for it to become truly effective.

Chapter six explores the participants' experiences and the impact of domestic violence on survivor women and their children. This chapter also covered the coping

strategies adopted by the survivor women's formal and informal support. Sources of informal support included friends and family, whilst formal sources consist of support from the healthcare unit, and the police justice system. Chapter seven presents the discussion of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women and the conclusion and knowledge contribution.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter covers pertinent information of sociological understanding of the concept of gender-based violence, violence against women, and domestic violence against married *Dalit* women, feminist stand point theory along with gaps in the literature and the conceptual framework in the context of domestic violence. The theoretical and conceptual review broadly describes the domestic violence situation in the married *Dalit* women of Nepal.

2.1 Understanding the Concept of Gender-Based Violence

Gender-based violence (GBV) can be present within various kinds of violence such as domestic violence, intimate partner violence, politically motivated violence, sexual harassment, and workplace violence indicating that gender-based violence is embedded in various parts of human life (Forbes-Mewett & McCulloch, 2016). Gender-based violence is described as any type of harm to a person or group of people because of their sex, gender, sexual orientation, or gender identity, whether real or perceived. Gender-based violence is motivated by a power imbalance and is used to humiliate and subjugate a person or a group of individuals.

Violence is an act against humanity. Gender and sex are different terms used in society where sex is a 'biological construct' and gender is a 'social construct' which differentiates between men and women (Haviland et al., 2013). Violence based on women and men is a social crime that hinders society's overall development and progress.

Domestic violence affects people of various cultures, ethnicities, beliefs, ages, and educational levels. Income, socialization, and sexual orientations of man and woman (Angel & Kihara, 2017). Domestic violence can occur between married or unmarried couples regardless of rural or urban dwellers, couples who cohabit or live apart, couples who are previously married or dated, and couples who are heterosexual or same-sex (Angel & Kihara, 2017).

The United Nations' (1993) attention to this situation has been issued at various times in the form of manifestos, treaties, and articles. In which, gender violence is defined against women or violence against humanity. The Human Rights Campaign (2017) has emphasised formal equality through civic and political rights, social, cultural, and economic rights, but violence against women has remained intact, which raised the issues at the international level and in 1969, the subject of eradication of violence against women was issued. The convention on the eradication of Violence against Women, addressing issues related to women's equality, discrimination, and violence in 1979 by the UN Declaration and enlisted in the manifesto. Gender-based activities like threats against women, beatings, rape, exploitation, sex trafficking, human trafficking are categorized under the violence against women.

UN General Assembly (1993) stated that in the private and public life of women, they should be safeguarded physically, psychologically, and sexually. Gender violence is a form of inequality in society that creates hindrances in women's ability to exercise their rights and liberty. To end the gender-related violence and women prevention committee, The United Nations (1993) recommends the following suggestions to its member countries. Accordingly, research and study works should be boosted on violence-related

facts, protection of women who are a high risk of violence, minimise existing gender discrimination and promote awareness programs for equality, laws related to women's rights should be made and public officials should be familiar with these laws, women empowerment is a must for upscaling the women's status that would help to break the violence against women, unfair political and administrative practices should be ended from the society. These suggestions are offered to lunch across the UN member countries to protect women and children from sexual violence, especially rape, abuse, and violence during armed conflict (United Nations, 1993).

Gender-based violence (GBV) is disproportionately disturbing and affects women and girls, along with men and boys. GBV is a barrier for the attainment of gender impartiality, exaggeration a serious risk to independent progress and public strength, and is a decisive hurdle to achieving sustainable progress, monetary growth, and harmony (CEDAW, 1993). If women, girls, men, and boys are not secured at home and outside, but considered as full citizens, thus they cannot contribute meaningfully in society. Gender-based violence is the destruction of human privileges. This has been well reflected in global agreements such as 'the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Conference (1995). To reduce and end GBV, a paradigm shift is required in favor of survivors of violence. This entails a focus on identifying the causes of violence and gender-based supremacy, inequalities, and gender-based discrimination. Gender-based violence against women is a persistent, international occurrence distressing across developed and developing countries.

Gender-based violence is a serious problem, but still, anti-GBV, the feeling is not widespread across the globe, perceptible in sexist events appears only during specialised games and public response (UNFPA, 2013). Gender is socially constructed through while by way of outcome of socio-cultural structures influences on an individual's development (Schneider et al., 2005). Gender identity can differ from one society to the next based on how people view female's role in society. Ethnicity, historical and cultural background, family values, and religion can all influence people's views and gender identification (Devkota, 2010).

Gender discrimination is another way of characterising sexism, and it is particularly linked to prejudice and stereotyped beliefs about women. Stereotypes are socially and culturally guided beliefs and actions of members of specific groups (Schneider et al., 2005). Stereotypical ideas and beliefs towards women are still evident in Nepal and other modern cultures where women are considered as submissive and as a property of males fueling oppression against women (Bhasin, 2003). Unfortunately, things are much worst in numerous nations around the world, including Arabian courtiers, Africa, and South Asia, where women do not have equal access and rights as men in their society (Henslin, 2006).

It has been spelled out in a patriarchal society like Nepal. World Health Organization (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2013) indicated, that one in of every three females has been oppressed, enforced into gender, or exploited in society. It is important to note that GBV does not simply depend on undefined inclination (although socially constructed) of men and women, internalise sexual social order and gender hierarchies as

habits is the disposition that generates unconscious practices and perceptions (Bourdieu, 2005).

Gender-based violence occurs as an outcome of the normative outlook connected with each gender, besides the inadequate control among genders, inside the context of a specific society. Domestic violence, marital rape, dowry, related violence, polygamy, child marriage, female infanticide with craft, trafficking, *Chaupadi*, accusations of women and girls for sexual abuse are common GBV issues in Nepal (UNFPA, 2013). Survivors of violence can experience physical and mental distress. They may suffer from sexual and reproductive health problems, as well as unwanted pregnancies, hurtful fistula, sexuality, dangerous abortion, transmitted infections, including HIV, and even death.

Gender-based violence of females has been recognised worldwide as a desecration of basic human privileges (UN General Assembly, 2006). In South Asia, 40 percent of women and girls reported having been subjected to physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, and half of all women face domestic violence. GBV is a global issue that frequently infringes on basic human rights and security. Apart from individual suffering, it has a large societal cost and is a key development stumbling block (Asia Foundation, 2010). The majority of care-seeking women relied on their friends and families for help and care. Sometimes, the same people who are supposed to give care abuses them result in domestic violence. The majority of those care-seeking women can tolerate the violence to uphold society's conventional values and customs whereas and a minority of them even defend their abusers (Muche et al., 2017). This has been revealed that both socially and economically powerless women are not complaining about the violence just to save their social prestige even when they are tortured and suffered in the

household. Nepal Demographic Health Survey (NDHS) of the Ministry of Health and Population (2016) reported that Sixty-six percent of women who have been survivors of physical or sexual abuse have not sought assistance or spoken with anybody on how to resist or stop the violence. Spousal, physical, sexual, or emotional violence has been reported by 26 percent of ever-married women. Physical spouse's abuse is the most common 23 percent, followed by emotional spousal violence 12 percent. Spousal violence has been reported by 7 percent of ever-married women (NDHS, 2016).

This decline represents declines in emotional violence and sexual violence only. WHO study (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2013) also reported that violence from people with sexual relationships has many negative effects such as the possibility of widespread murder, isolation/separation, HIV bearing, physical impairment, soft tissue injury, being disabled, or even death. Besides, the immune system is at risk, increasing blood pressure, sugar, thyroid, the problem of mental health and depression, heart, and delivering obstetric diseases. Gender-based violence results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women (Barkat & Majid, 2003). Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) also has an impact on reproductive health, causing gynecological problems, unexpected pregnancies, early labor, and birth, as well as sexually transmitted infections like HIV/AIDS (WHO, 2012b). A present or previous intimate partner's abuse hurts a woman's well-being including physical, psychological, and other types of development (Pinheiro, 2006).

2.2 Violence Against Women

Violence against women is a complex phenomenon, which is a challenging issue for the policymakers, the legal sectors, community, people's representatives, families, and

even individuals to resolve and address this phenomenon. There is a difference in the prevalence of violence against women on a large scale, whether they are rich, poor, developed, or even developing countries across the world. Women are raped, beaten, trafficked, and murdered. These violations of human rights not only cause immense injury and suffering to women, but also rip the fabric of an entire nation apart. To address those issues, the world has been responding better in recent decades, and Nepal also has joined in this effort (Puri et al., 2012).

In a patriarchal society, violence occurs within the family. In millions of families around the world, the crime of killing a daughter inside the mother's womb is committed thus millions of wives and daughter-in-laws become the survivors. Even today, those who bring such incidents to light and expose them are not taken seriously in society and in many cases are not taken further for legal action.

Violence against girls and women impacts not just women, but also society as a whole including children and other members of a family, preventing peace, and prosperity, and social development. Due to the violence, individual and family happiness as well as peace, are lost result in breaking the family tie (Chowdhury, 2016). Hits, slaps, kicks, beatings, burns, and the use of a weapon are all examples of physical violence directed at women. Constant disparagement or disdain, the imposition of severe isolation, and embarrassing behavior are all examples of psychological violence. Sexual harassment, unwanted sexual touching, forceful sex, and forced pregnancy are examples of sexual coercion and abuse (UNICEF, 2016). Other forms of violence are linked to traditional or customary practices that are exclusive to specific communities or geographical areas (UN General Assembly, 2012). In the realm of violence, domestic

violence against women is a rare incidence, and an individual would be more likely to meet such continuous abuse or violence in a prison (Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

Urban movement, transmitting social qualities, and men's joblessness shift the equalisation of power in sex cognations. Opposition from males and their antagonism is related to abusive behavior at home. Family foundations, for example, prolonged family structure, relatives, and in-laws didn't seem to offer much protection (Cooper et al., 2009).

Women activists in the Indian context purposefully introduce VAW as a human rights issue and gave pressure on the Christian leadership and the Indian administration in attaining alarming change against the issues of violence. They receive worldwide support as they convey manhandling and domestic violence to the attention of media on the international stage, get support from India's administration and national actors. These activists are self-inspired and holding the power to defend females for utilizing recommended laws (Chawla, 2016). Excessive alcohol consumption, patriarchal hierarchy, polygamy, sexual dissatisfaction, the practice of the dowry system, and many more often contribute to domestic violence against women. Adverse effects are observed on physical, mental, and reproductive health as well as chronic conditions and negative health behavior of survivor women and girls in general (Giri et al., 2017).

2.3 Domestic Violence Against Women

Domestic violence is defined as violence that occurs within the family unit or at home. It is assumed that the survivor and the perpetrator have a close relationship. Domestic violence is an infliction of physical injury by one member of a family to

another member of the family. Such violent behavior is often repeated and became a habit of a perpetrator (Vander et al., 2012).

Domestic violence occurs when one person acts violently toward another in a domestic environment, such as a marriage or cohabitation. It can be referred to as an intimate partner relationship, a heterosexual or same-sex partnership, or a relationship between former spouses or partners. These outbreaks of violence are difficult to detect, and in many circumstances goes unreported, until the perpetrator decides to act at some point and assesses his or her ability to treat the survivor or perpetrator (Gao et al., 2021).

Domestic violence of any kind has a motivation to thrive and maintain power over the survivor. Abusers commonly use tactics like dominance, humiliation, isolation, threats, intimidation, denial, and blame to exert authority over their spouse or partner. To use those tactics perpetrators often use physical force such as hitting, slapping, punching, choking, pushing, burning, and other sorts of contact that cause bodily injury to the survivor are all examples of physical abuse (WHO, 2017).

2.3.1 Physical Violence

In physical violence the perpetrator uses physical force to hurt the survivor by causing physical harm including injury. The physical force might include activities such as hair pulling, grabbing, shoving, pinching, biting, kicking by hand or leg, even acid attack, and burning (WHO, 2012b).

2.3.2 Sexual Violence

Sexual Violence is an activity that attempts to have sexual contact or display sexual behavior without the consent of a partner. The activities might include unwanted

sexual advances or sexual harassment. Even touching body parts or telling sexual jokes without consent is an act of sexual violence. In its worst form sexual violence can be committed as marital rape or rape within a dating relationship.

2.3.3 Emotional Violence

Emotional violence is caused by abuses such as threatening, intimidating, and harassing an individual by others to deprive the survivor of the necessities. The perpetrator often restricts the personal freedom of the survivor. Emotional violence may cause the survivor to behavioral changes like eating and sleeping disorders, as well as drug and alcohol abuse, sometimes, even leading to suicide.

2.3.4 Psychological Violence

Psychological Violence includes emotional mistreatments, and often caused verbal abuse, rejection of thoughts and opinions, threat and intimidation, insult, isolation from others.

2.3.5 Economic/Financial Violence

Financial violence includes controlling financial resources by a perpetrator. This involves activities such as keeping a careful eye on the survivor's shopping habits, using money without permission, creating problems in resource acquisition, and reducing the number of resources available to the survivor. The fundamental motivation behind this behavior is to make financial deprivation to the survivor so that the survivor becomes more dependent on the perpetrator (Chhabra, 2018).

2.4 Caste System, Dalithood and *Dalit* women in Nepal

Historically, the caste system constituted the social, cultural, and economic inequalities in the structure of the entire population of Nepal. It can be reiterated here that the caste. The caste system is based on Hindu Varna system which stipulates the specifications to be followed by different social groups. The caste system divides people into different societies groups that are allocated by birth and determine their rights and genetics. These rights are unequal and hierarchical. The ones above the social ladder enjoys all the benefits and does very little work, while those at the bottom of the hierarchy hardly enjoy any benefits and are destined to do so most works are considered humble and impure. This system is maintained by a strict law enforcement system so that deviant's severe punishments were imposed. Obviously, the doctrine of inequality is the core of this highly oppressive and discriminatory caste system.

The caste system and discriminatory practices are intertwined in South Asia, has been deeply integrated into Nepali society. Origin of caste stratification and discrimination in South Asia as early as three thousand years before (Ahuti, 2010). Article 18 of Nepal's Constitution prohibits caste however, the definition of discrimination is universal. Existing definition discrimination fails to recognize indirect and invisible forms of discrimination, and discrimination by non-state actors. Although Article 24 of the Constitution Prohibition of untouchables, it lacks provisions for proper compensation to survivors discrimination and compensation for the historical marginalization of untouchable communities. Discrimination based on caste and untouchables Crime and Punishment Act 2015 provide a legal framework and untouchable. However, the law is still invalid in practice because it does not appropriate

measures to protect survivors and witnesses. There are no penalties it is enough to explain the seriousness of the crime.

Dalits in Nepal are considered ritually “impure” and “untouchable” in society. They have been facing caste-based discrimination for centuries. *Dalit* are the bottom of the social hierarchy. *Dalit* are dispersedly found all over the country. According to the population census (2011), the *Dalit* population covers 13.6 percent (3.6 million) out of the total population (CBS, 2011). *Dalits* are by virtue of caste discrimination and untouchability, the most excluded and marginalized in health, social, economic, educational, political and religious spheres and deprived of human dignity and social justice in The Nepali society.

It is difficult to trace the origin of the Varna system in Nepal. However, the origin of the Varna system in Nepal can be traced more accurately from the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla in the Kathmandu valley introduction of *Muluki Ain* (Old Code) in 1854 in the context of entire Nepal. Jayasthiti Malla categories the population of the Kathmandu valley is divided into 64 caste groups, and each caste group has different functions and occupational categories. Originally very few the traditional caste structured until 1854. *Muluki Ain* is a document with the significant historical, legal and cultural interest of Nepali scholars (Sharma, 2004). This *Muluki Ain* divided Nepali into four main classes (Hofer, 2004). They were: *Tagadhari* (the caste through the holy thread) Upadhaya: Brahmin, Thakuri, Jaisi Brahmin, Chhetri, Dew Bhaju (Newar Brahmin), Sannyasi, and all kinds of wear the holy rope (*Janai*) is included in this group. *Matawali* (drinking caste): *Matawalis* goes one step further divided into two subgroups- "Inslavable inkers" or "*namasinya matawali*" and "slave drinker" or "*masinya matawali*". For

example, including Magar, Gurung, Sunuwar in *namasinya matawali* and Bhote, Chepang, Kumal, Hayu, Tharu, Gharti is included in *masinya matawali*. *Pani Nachalne chhoi chitto halnu naparne* (impure but touchable Caste): Kasai (newar butcher), Kusle (Newar Musician), Hindus Dhobi (newar washerman), Kulu, Musalman, and Mleccha is included in this category. *Pani Nachalne chhoi chitto halnu parne* (untouchable caste): Kami (blacksmith), Sarki (shoemaker), Kandara (from the union between Kami and Sarki), Damai (tailor and musician), Gaine (musician), Pode (newar, skinner and fisherman), Chyame (newar scavenger) is included in this category.

In Nepal, the caste system is historically drawn-out practices in society and the condition of *Dalit* women are positioned on the lowest level of the social order beneath the burden of caste, class, and gender discrimination. They are facing extreme forms of discrimination and violence due to unequal power relations in the social, economic, and political spheres. They are positioned in the vulnerable as a *Dalit*, as a woman, and as a poor. *Dalit* women are most defenseless the reason of caste, gender and socio-economic, and legal conditions as well as in their own home also where the agency's escape or lack of response to the violence and discrimination of them. The caste system is a basic part of the capitalist system in South Asia today. The caste system claims that *Dalit* women are inherently impure, untouchable. They are socially exploited and excluded in getting opportunities as other women in the community. Under this background, women make up the overwhelming majority of poverty, as landless wage laborers, thus cannot get basic resources (Nithya, 2016). *Dalit* women are both female and *Dalit* faces discrimination at the highest level, but neither the Constitution nor the Act recognition of *Dalit* women as a separate category and different forms of discrimination what they experienced.

Dalit women in Nepal are even more marginalized than other disadvantaged groups of women. As *Dalits*, members of an impoverished underclass, and women, they face numerous discrimination. *Dalit* women have been facing gender and caste discrimination for a long time as a result of greatly skewed social, economic, and political power dynamics (Cameron, 2009). The plight of *Dalit* women in other developing countries is more or less similar to *Dalit* women of Nepal. For example, caste-based social exclusion from economic, civic, cultural, and political rights has long been a problem in social and cultural contexts in India and other South Asian countries (Sabharwal & Sonalkar, 2015).

The United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Nepal Human Development Report (2014) affects all members of *Dalit* households, but poverty affects women and men differently due to gender discrimination: traditional property ownership patterns favoring sons and husbands over wives and daughters, or the preference for educating boys. Because of the combined effects of caste and gender, *Dalit* women bear a disproportionate share of the burden of poverty. Higher levels of poverty among *Dalit* women are due to a lack of resource endowment (including educational attainment) and, as a result, access to more productive employment compared to historically privileged groups (Cameron, 2009).

Caste-class-gender characteristics that recognize *Dalit* women's low status in society and associated disempowerment and exploitation are directly related to a wide range of connection reasons for violence in the broader community, and patriarchy, which is gender-based and biased towards women, is at its foundation. Male authority is

represented publicly in attacks on *Dalit* women's sexual and bodily integrity, as well as their rights in inter-personal relationships with men (Irudayam et al., 2006).

2.5 Global Scenario of Violence against Women

The global scenario of violence against women in different survey research and studies had conducted in different countries around the world by different agencies and researchers who showed that different types of data in the violence against women and girls.

Around the world one-third of women have been survivors of physical, psychological, or sexually intimate relationship violence at some point in their life. According to several reports, many of those women who experienced violence generally have many health issues such as a higher rate of abortion, high HIV infection rate, higher rates of depression (WHO, 2013).

As an extreme case of violence, the perpetrator even kills the survivor. According to a study conducted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2019), among the intentionally killed 87,000 women worldwide in 2017, around 60 percent were killed by intimate partners or family members, implying that in a single day, 137 women were killed by a member of their own family around the world. Among those killed women, more than a third of the women (30,000) were killed by their current or former intimate partner alone.

In recent decades, research on domestic violence is prevailing across the globe. In this title, the review focuses on studies related to the status of domestic violence within the ten years across the countries. Accordingly, the WHO report by Butchart et al. (2010)

related to The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey conducted by the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention indicated that more than one-third of women (35.6%) in the United States have experienced rape, physical violence, and/or intimate partner stalking. Their companions for life. It is estimated that the incidence of women experiencing physical violence by their intimate partners in their lifetime is 31.5 percent In the 12 months before the survey, it is estimated that 4.0 percent of women have experienced some forms of physical violence by their intimate partners (Butchart et al., 2010). The report further estimates that an estimated 22.3 percent of women have experienced severe physical violence by an intimate partner at least once in their lifetime. Regarding the personal behavior of severe physical violence, it is estimated that 15.4 percent of women have suffered a violent impact, and 13.2 percent of women have been hit by fists or heavy objects. In the 12 months before the survey, an estimated 2.3 percent of women had experienced at least one form of severe physical violence. The idea of an intimate partner may or may not be legally married; domestic violence exists in marriage and cohabitation relationships (Hattery, 2009).

Intimate partner violence usually includes a series of sexual, psychological, and physical coercive behaviors against adult and adolescent women by current or former intimate partners (United Nations General Assembly, 2006). However, the reference significance of violence against women in intimate relationships such as domestic violence or spouse abuse has now been established in society (United Nations General Assembly, 2006). Genital mutilation is another form of domestic violence against young females that occurs in many parts of the world. Based on the data of 30 nations, at least 200 million women and girls aged 15 to 49 have undergone female genital mutilation. In

the majority of mutilated females, the mutilation ritual was performed before the age of five. Among those mutilated females, more than 20 million are from just seven countries (Egypt, Sudan, Guinea, Djibouti, Kenya, Yemen, and Nigeria) and those mutilations are performed by health care practitioners (UNICEF, 2020, 2018 & UN General Assembly, 2018).

Forced sexual intercourse or other sexual activity without consent is another form of violence. This kind of violence is all-pervasive and has been experienced by around 15 million adolescent girls (ages 15 to 19), at some point in their lives, around the world. Adolescent girls are the most vulnerable to forced sex by a current or previous husband, partner, or lover in the great majority of the countries. However, according to data from 30 nations, only a very small number (1%) of those survivors have ever sought professional assistance (UNICEF, 2017). Harassment at school is frequently occurring violence. Around the globe, one out of every three students (aged 11 to 15 years) has been bullied by their peers at school at least once in the previous month, with girls and boys experiencing harassment equally. However, boys are more likely than girls to be subjected to physical harassment, while females are more likely to be subjected to psychological harassment, such as being ignored or left out, or being the subject of malicious rumors. Girls are also more likely than boys to report being teased because of their appearance. Gender-based violence related to schools impedes universal schooling and education rights for girls (UNESCO, 2019 & 2017 & UNGEI, 2014).

According to the Australian Human Rights Commission (2018), sexual harassment is more common in females than males. Over two out of every five women in the workforce aged 15 and older have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace in

the last five years, compared to one out of every four males in the same period. In nearly four out of five incidents, males are the perpetrator.

2.6 South Asian Scenario of Violence against Woman

Violence against women has emerged as a fundamental topic in the international women's movement's discourse in the twenty-first century including South Asia. In recent decades, South Asian women's networks also have risen their voice in a variety of issues related to VAW focusing more on the issue related to their personal lives as well as against the systems that perpetuate the violence. The slogan 'Personal is Political' which was first originated in the western world, become popular among South Asian feminists. Personal is political refers to an ongoing fight against all types of violence against women mostly focusing on the issues previously considered as private such as the roles played by woman as house wife and mother (Patel, 2019).

Expanding women's economic options and resources does not, at least not immediately, make them less vulnerable to domestic abuse. The level of violence against women varies greatly from village to village, and greater participation of women in income-generation is sometimes linked to higher levels of violence (Tamang, 2010). Domestic violence is the most common of them, and it is most widespread in the interior sectors of society, where it is rarely documented in the official legal system. In South Asia, between 40 and 70 percent of women and girls experience physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, and half of all women face domestic violence (Asia Foundation).

UNICEF conducted research in (1996) South Asian societies and found that women were positioned as second-class citizens, with cultural norms that place women at

the bottom of the social order. In the same way, daughters are frequently treated as second-class citizens in their families. During pregnancy as well, women do not get proper care, instead, they are obliged to physical labor that is harmful to their health. Around the world, violence against women occurs in different forms and degrees. Violence not only harms women physically, but it also leaves a deep psychological impact on both the survivor. Hence, continuity in research is necessary for both developed and developing countries to investigate the experience, prevalence, causes, and consequences of violence against women.

A study is conducted on the socio-economic factors and processes associated with domestic violence in rural Bangladesh showed about 1,200 women were surveyed, 67 percent had ever experienced domestic violence, and 35 percent had done so in the past year (Bates et al., 2004). According to a qualitative study that found of those participant women with higher education and income less likely vulnerable to domestic violence than less or no education with poor economic status. It was believed (or hoped) that having a dowry or a registered marriage could strengthen a women's position in her marriage (Bates et al., 2004). Women strongly supported educating their daughters, but pressures remain to marry them early, in part to avoid high dowry costs is a common practice in general.

2.7 National Scenario of Violence Against Women

Historically, violence against women and girls has existed and been pervasive in Nepali society. Sexual assault, recruitment into prostitution by family members, neglect by family members, feticide, dowry demand, and wife abuse are six types of violence against women in Nepal. Sometimes the survivor brings those issues to their relatives,

neighbors, or local institutions like the mother group, and local body. But, the survivors rarely bring those issues for legal action. This is because discussing violence-related concerns are considered too personal in society. As a result, women's lives are filled with torture and domestic abuse. The factors like superstition, male-dominant culture, women's sensitivity have all been proven to be serious impediments to women's empowerment due to victimization by their husbands and family members at home. Women who have been survivors do not have easy access to justice. Women have viewed sexual and physical violence as their fate due to tradition, social, and gender discrimination. Women's vulnerability, as well as a lack of access to and control over wealth and property, contribute to violence against them (UNICEF (2010)).

Among the reported cases related to violence against women, the majority of cases are related to domestic violence. The rate of filing or reporting of those violence-related cases is higher in the districts where NGO federations, paralegal committees, and human rights activists are more active (WOREC Nepal, 2019). Even though that cases have been filed, the further process has been sluggish. Only a few cases have been resolved, and the survivor has been compensated.

A Study on Violence due to Witchcraft Allegation and Sexual Violence in Nepal, conducted by INSEC (2012) in the year 2011, 648 cases of violence against women were reported among which 272 cases were particularly the event of domestic violence (INSEC, 2012). All survivors were females and the 18-30 year age group was affected most. According to this study, the major cause of domestic violence was patriarchal norms and values, imbalanced social structures, poverty, illiteracy, male dominance. According to the reported case in the study, 13 women were killed by the family

members of the husbands in dowry-related crimes in various places, and husbands committed the crime. Likewise, 44 women are killed on the allegation of disobeying family members, for objecting to the consumption of alcohol by male members of the family (INSEC, 2012).

Domestic violence against women shows that the status of Nepalese women is substandard. Despite its serious nature, it is entirely a personal problem. For most of the centuries, gender-driven differential attitudes from the patriarchal structure further discriminated against Nepalese women. Domestic violence itself refers to various behaviors against the physical, psychological, and sexual well-being of women in the family. This is an attempt to ensure the supremacy of men against women under the guidance of a patriarchal society. Cultural, economic, and religious factors have strengthened male dominance and female submission. The prevalence of DVAW in Nepal is 43.72 percent, and the status of physical, sexual, and psychological violence is 24.52 percent, 29.31 percent, and 27.40 percent respectively (Tiwari & Shrestha, 2018).

About half of the married women in Nepal report having experienced sexual violence. According to reports, compared with the Brahmin/Chetri tribe, Tharu women have experienced more sexual violence (Joshi, 2010). The nature of sexual violence ranges from unwanted physical contact to compulsive sexual behavior. Double standards of gender roles, traditional cultural norms, lack of family and legal support, alcoholism, and women's economic dependence on men are the main causes of sexual violence (WHO, 2007). A study report of National Commission for Women (2013) entitled study on violence against women in Rajasthan, India showed that women of weak economic condition and extreme poverty among the *Dalit* women lack behind in education and

awareness about their rights and legal protection mainly suffered from partner violence such as physical, sexual, verbal abuse, medical negligence. Even the doctor does not examine the rape survivors properly under the pressure of the upper caste and the police do not register the case of first information report, but kidnapping-like cases are appeared lowest in the *Dalit* family. Domestic violence is the main violence, so *Dalit* women face triple discrimination of caste, class, and gender (National Commission for Women, India 2013).

2.8 Legal Provisions on Violence Against Women in Nepal

There has some legal provisions in Nepal on violence against women and domestic violence.

The Domestic Violence (Crime and Punishment) Act of 2066 (2009) and the Domestic Violence (Crime and Punishment) Rules of 2067 (2010) are promulgated to stop any form of violence against women that may occur at home by family members, and punish the perpetrators. The bill clearly defines the terms domestic violence, physical injury, mental injury, sexual injury, economic injury, survivor, and perpetrator. Sections 2 (i) and 2 (j) of the same bill define police stations and courts and associate them with section 4, which directs the filing of complaints in domestic violence cases against women and explains the complaint procedures, case filing, survivor inspection, survivor safety measures. Section (6) of the Temporary Protection Order, Section (7) of the Non-Public Trial Litigation, Section (8) of the Summary Procedure to be Used, Compensation for Survivors, Services Provided at Service Centers, Punishment Provisions for Perpetrators and the time limit for filing a lawsuit 53 are some of the provisions included in the law. The penalties for the perpetrators of the survivors seem to be relatively light.

54 to exercise the powers conferred by Article 17 of the Act, 2067 (2010) Domestic Violence (Crimes and Punishments) Rules have been promulgated to strengthen the implementation of the Domestic Violence Law (INSEC, 2015). Article 20.1 of Nepal's 2072 Interim Constitution stipulates that "women shall not be discriminated against based on of sex in any way". Similarly, it stipulates in Article 20.3 that "No woman shall be subjected to physical, mental or other forms of violence, and such acts shall be announced following the law". As a signatory of international treaties, conventions and agreements, the Nepalese government is obliged to comply with the provisions of VAW prevention and remediation.

Survivors of domestic violence are often women, and female survivors are more likely to experience severe forms of violence. Perpetrators of domestic violence believe that their behavior is culturally acceptable, and their targets will not report abuse. The Domestic Violence (Crimes and Punishments) Act 2066 (2009) defines the form of domestic violence as any form of physical, mental, sexual and economic harm committed by an individual to a person with a family relationship. The term also includes any condemnation or emotionally hurting behavior. Domestic Violence (Crimes and Punishments) Regulations, 2010 (2067). The regulations provide for timely health checks for survivors and protection for survivors of domestic violence. Survivors should be protected when the case is filed and during the trial. According to the regulations, the government should establish or support service centers with minimum standards. These service centers are inspected and supervised by the government. According to the regulations, women and children officials have the responsibility to act as a coordination center at the district level to control domestic violence, coordinate complaint mechanisms

and service centers, provide legal assistance to survivors, and provide psychological and psychological services. Provide social counseling to perpetrators and survivors, and update data on domestic violence.

According to NDHS (2011), spousal violence in Nepal varies according to age group, employment status, number of living children, marital status and duration, ecological zone, education, and wealth status. Compared with younger women, older women report more experiences of spousal violence. Women who use cash (37%) suffer more spousal violence than women who use cash (30%) or are unemployed (30%). Compared with women with fewer children, women with more children experience more violence, and most violence starts within a year of marriage. This may be the reason for the partner's psychology. According to reports, spouse violence in Terai is seven times higher than in hills and mountains, and it is more common among impoverished uneducated women. Even for an educated husband, few wives experience spousal violence, but if both parties are uneducated, the possibility of violence is very high. If the husband has a habit of drinking, the possibility of spousal violence is greater (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Population, 2011). The NDHS report shows that there is no difference in women's experience of spousal violence when participating in family decision-making. Women's decision-making is a powerful indicator of women's level, but the NDHS survey results show that women's decision-making power alone is not enough to protect them from spousal violence (Ministry of Health and Population, 2016).

'Physical violence' is defined as any act or action that causes bodily harm or injury, except the loss or breaking of limbs, holding a person captive, inflicting physical agony, or any other acts related to or incidental to these acts. Sexual violence is defined

as any sexual act that abuses, humiliates, degrades, or otherwise violates a person's dignity; or any other acts that interfere with the safe conduct of sexual interactions. Similarly, 'economic violence' is defined as the deprivation of all or any property jointly or separately held by the aggrieved person to which he or she is entitled under the law; or the deprivation of, or access to, employment opportunities, economic sources, or means, whereas 'survivor' is defined as any person who is, or has been, in a domestic relationship with the defendant and alleges to have been subjected to domestic violence.

Domestic violence is a form of human rights violation. In the context of domestic violence, this submission examines Nepal's compliance with its international human rights commitments. Even though Nepal passed the Domestic violence Act in 2009, the law does not effectively protect domestic violence survivors. Nepalese government has also failed to allocate sufficient resources or training to the law's implementation. This submission outlines the issues that remain for the Human Rights Council, as well as recommendations for further domestic legislative, as well as judicial and legal sector reforms, to be examined during Nepal's second Universal Periodic Review. The Domestic Violence Act's most serious flaw is that it sees domestic violence as a crime against an individual rather than a crime against the state. A survivor's complaint must be filed with the National Women's Commission, the police, or a district court or municipal body. Instead of investigating the incident for possible criminal proceedings, the police's function is limited to arranging a resolution between the survivor and the perpetrator. Under Schedule 1 of the State Cases Act, 1992, incarceration is not an obligatory punishment, and prosecution is not the government's responsibility. The Domestic Violence Act's both fail/weaker to protect women from all forms of domestic violence

while also putting them in danger if they choose to report a violation. The Domestic Violence Act also fails to give survivors adequate emergency protection.

2.9 Review of Previous Research and Studies

The prevalence of spousal violence in many Asian countries is higher, and the consequences are often severe. In China, about one-third of women between the ages of 20-64 years are reported to be hit by their spouse even at the time of the relationship. For about 12 percent of these women, the consequences are bleeding, bruises, severe pain, or injuries; severe hitting was a significant risk factor for self-reported adverse general and sexual health outcomes. Kadam and Chaudhari (2011) in their study related to domestic violence against women in the “Past, Present, Future” pointed out that the United Nations defines “Any act of gender-based violence that causes or may cause physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to a woman, including threats to commit such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether it occurs in public life or private life, domestic violence every day”. It happens in families all over the world (Kadam & Chaudhari, 2011). The National Anti-Domestic Violence Coalition reports that 1.3 million women worldwide are survivors of domestic abuse every year. Violence against women is a serious problem in India. Almost one-third of 15-49 year old women have experienced physical violence, and about one in ten women have experienced sexual violence. Thinking of a country that praises beautiful women’s sex and dedication to the goddess through epics can be so disturbing and uncomfortable frustration. Depreciation and indifference to ordinary women living in the country are other factors. Although there are laws (civil and criminal) to solve these domestic violence problems, the enforcement of

part is weak, leading to severe violence between women and girls. It does not effectively implement (Kadam & Chaudhari, 2011).

Violence against women is identified as beating, rape, humiliation and abuse, widowhood, early marriage, sexual harassment, female genital mutilation, forced prostitution, and trafficking in women (Oli, 2012). The consequences of such violence against women include depression, suicide, murder, venereal disease, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, physical injury, high mortality, high blood pressure, and sudden death. Research further reveals that the main reasons for violence against women are male supremacy, gender inequality, women's perception of a disadvantaged gender, and women's economic dependence on men. Muslim women in Malaysia find their experience as a motivation to surrender to God (Allah) and seek divine help, which is one of the effects of domestic violence (Abdul-Ghani, 2014). The Islamic law such as disobedience and nusyuz (to the male partner) are types of social evil practices that need to control by an awareness campaign make empower women for fighting on for their rights. Education, socio-cultural, and moral support might be supportive to minimize and control domestic violence (Abdul-Ghani, 2014). Likewise, the study of Kocacik and Dogan (2006) on “Domestic Violence against Women in Sivas, in Turkey” found a statistically significant relationship among the types of violence, annual income, and the type of family. Apart from this education, women's occupation, education level of perpetrators (committees), watching violent/pornographic films, and childhood experience of emotional abuse or negligence are all associated factors of violence.

The field study of Kocacik and Dogan (2006) showed that 52 percent of women are exposed to at least one type of violence, whereas verbal violence was the most

frequently appeared violence (53.8 %), followed by physical violence (38.3 %). About 45 percent of women are exposed to violence at the age of 30-34 years. It was found that 41.6 percent of women completed only primary school education, and 73.6 percent are housewives. About 91.7 percent are married, 71.0 percent are exposed to violence during their childhood, and 45.2 percent are exposed to violence several times a month. Similarly, 31.4 percent of violence was reported due to economic problems (Kocacik & Dogan, 2006).

A study on “The Social Construction of Gender and Lifestyles: Theoretical Concept for Gender and Social Inequality Research” conducted by Vogl and Baurin (2018) highlighted gender discrimination and lifestyle women in general and survivors in particular. This study showed that gender might be the main issue, as it has been analysed from the household division of labor and how it connects work and family life. Social class and gender linkage might also be more important where male honor and violence appeared due to male supremacy in the patriarchal society. Therefore, gender practices are specific to social milieus and spheres of life (Vogl & Baur, 2018). Kishor and Bradley (2012) studied “Women's and Men's Experience of Spousal Violence in Two African Countries”. It was learned that based on the experience of married men and women with spousal violence, the level, intensity, and severity of spousal violence against women are much greater than that of men. Women are the survivors and men are the aggressors as opined. It was also found that when men start violence it is much more likely to be in a mutually violent relationship and women are much more likely to be only the survivors of violence.

The women of sub-Saharan Africa who had experienced violence are more likely to have poor health outcomes than men or children. Violence against women is a widely recognised serious human rights issue. It creates severe public health problems with substantial consequences such as physical, mental, sexual, and reproductive health. In this scenario study of Semahegn and Mengistie (2015) stated that in Ethiopia lifetime prevalence of domestic violence against women by husband or intimate partner among 10 studies ranged from 20 to 78 percent, whereas, the lifetime domestic physical violence by a husband or intimate partner against women ranged from 31 to 76.5 percent respectively. Similarly, the lifetime domestic sexual violence against women by husband or intimate partner ranges from 19.2 to 59 percent respectively. The mean lifetime prevalence of domestic emotional violence was 51.7 percent. Most of the women had experienced a violent situation during the pregnancy period. The major causes of domestic violence against women are mainly associated with alcohol consumption, chat chewing, family history of violence, occupation, religion, educational status, residence, and lack of decision-making power (Semahegn & Mengistie, 2015).

Atteray et al. (2015) also reported the fact-findings of research carried out in the Sindhuli district of Nepal entitled “Domestic violence and its associated factors among married women of a village development committee of rural Nepal,” found several forms of violence occurring simultaneously. In a country like Nepal, differential power relationships and poor mental health are found to be positively associated with violence against women. The study further highlighted the fact of infringement of women's rights which can be the cause of serious health consequences (Atteray et al., 2015). The study further added that the self-reported lifetime prevalence of physical violence was 29.6

percent and past-year prevalence was 15.2 percent, whereas corresponding figures for sexual violence were 6.8 and 2.3 percent, and for psychological violence was 31.0 and 18.3 percent. Similarly, lifetime domestic violence was 38.6 percent while in the past 12 months prevalence was 23.1 percent whereas 12.4 percent of women are experiencing all forms of violence. Women with poor mental health and controlled by the husband are also found to be at higher risk of domestic violence.

A study conducted (2012–2014) by Al-Matalka entitles “Physical Violence against Women in Jordan: Evaluation of Women Assaulted by Husband”. A total of 167 women were sent to the forensic medicine center for the examination of physical violence against women. Among them, only 115 had accepted their participation in the study on physical violence against women. It was stated that violence against women is one of the most widespread alarming human rights and public health problems in Jordan. The study also showed that 53.04 percent of the abused women had scratches and bruises all over the body, followed by cuts 9.56 percent, and few cases (8.69%) related to eyes, ears, and nose injuries are seen in the survivor's body. This finding is incongruent with other studies that showed the impact of physical violence on women that leads to psychological and social consequences. It was also envisaged the reality that the majority of women subjected to physical and verbal violence within the family than the women with constant anxiety, sadness, and unrest. Pessimism, insecurity, and lack of goal orientation in life are far behind. It has negative effects on all the family members including hostility and disharmony within the family environment.

Wang et al. (2013) conducted a study in China, when men become older and participate in programs to combat GBV, or have a stable job and/or earn well, they tend

to be less violent. Divorce is reportedly an increasing issue in China. Leaving a bad relationship is particularly difficult for women who may not have the education and work skills. Violence is more visible in rural than in urban areas of China. But urban life makes it easier for violence to remain hidden inside homes. General differences seem to reflect changing attitudes towards gender relations in Chinese society. The educational and professional levels play a role in creating violence. Along with this, age is also a great influential factor for violence in China. Younger women are more proactive in seeking help or filing for a divorce case in Chinese society (Wang et al., 2013).

Ghimire and Samuels (2017) also submitted a report to Nepal Institute for Social and Environmental Research Dikhanagar, Kusunti, Lalitpur Nepal on a title “Understanding Intimate Partner Violence in Nepal Prevalence, Drivers, and Challenges”. The report mentioned forms of IPV in the study area mainly include wife-beating, polygamy, extramarital affairs, neglect, emotional violence, and verbal abuse. Among the various districts of Nepal, Rupandehi and Kapilvastu had a serious impact on domestic violence, especially in the form of rape and polygamy (Ghimire & Samuels, 2017).

Atteray et al. (2015) in their study of “Factors Associated with Intimate Partner Violence against Married Women in Nepal” explored the factors associated with Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Nepal with married women. The study's finding revealed that women with low economic status, history of family violence, lack of decision-making autonomy in the family, illiteracy are the major affecting factors leading to domestic violence. Again an alcoholic husband, a low level of husband's education, and a couple with more children are possible causes of IPV. These problems are mostly predominated

in the Terai region where women are marginalized, suppressed, and underprivileged as per the caste and ethnic groups.

A study by Lamichhane et al. (2011) entitled “Women Status and Violence against Young Married Women Rural Nepal” showed that the rural women of Nepal are the survivor of VAW. More than half of the women (51.9%) are reported having suffered from some form of violence in their lifetime among which 46.2 percent reported sexual, 35.8 percent reported experiencing some form of violence in the past 12 months, 25.3 percent reported physical violence. It is because of low communication with a partner, less autonomy of women, and odds experience. Violence against women is quite common among young married women in rural Nepal (Lamichhane et al., 2011). The domestic Violence and Punishment Act (2066 B. S.) has been enacted in Nepal. The act directed the principle to increase inter-spousal communication among the couple and women's autonomy activities and encouraged in the country. Therefore, more research of the same form with its wider coverage is required in Nepal to examine the dynamics of violence perpetrated by husbands.

In the patriarchal family like in Nepal, when women often questioned the action of their husbands, or refuse to follow in a certain manner, that can be considered as undermining men's authority, which makes directly challenging women's expected role (Joro, 2016). Gender roles that women possessed within the narratives are those of 'Nurturer', 'Resilient', 'Dependent', and 'Obedient Wife'. The gender biases create limits on the behavior of women and influence men to perceive them in an objective way that separated them from the rights they claim (Joro, 2016). Toffaninin (2012) had opined that

gender violence is multi-factorial phenomenon that contains political, social, cultural, and interpersonal conflicts.

Tuladhar et al. (2013) conducted a study of “Women Empowerment and Spousal Violence Concerning Health Outcomes in Nepal” stated that women empowerment and spousal violence appear to have important effects on the health of women and their children. The study of NDHS (2011) also shows that 28 percent of women reported spousal violence (physical, or sexual) once during their lifetime. The data was taken among 3,084 married women of age bar (15-49), the findings of the study suggest the extent to which violence is a multi-faceted problem affected by a wide variety of contextual and situational factors (Ministry of Health and Population, 2011). In recent years, some of the traditional forms of IPV such as wife-beating appear to be decreasing while new forms of violence are emerging. Extramarital affairs, polygamy, sexual coercion, an exertion of control in mobility and social interactions, and crimes like acid attacks due to jealousy, and victimization using phones and social media are mentioned as new forms of violence among adolescents in Rupandehi and Kapilvastu districts of Nepal. Emotional violence seems to be prevalent and particularly among working middle-class women, but yet to be reported. The conclusion of this study suggests that certain groups of men are more likely to behave violently behavior towards their partner because of illiteracy, alcoholism, and unemployment, physical challenges are increasing witness of IPV inside the house.

2.10 Research Gap

There have been many studies and researches on violence against women across the globe. This study is similar in the topical context, but differences in the

methodological approaches in dealing with the socially excluded caste i.e *Dalit*. In Nepalese society, the caste system is historically drawn-out practices and the condition of *Dalit* women are positioned on the lowest level of the social order beneath the burden of caste, class, and gender discrimination. *Dalit* women, in general, are facing extreme forms of discrimination and violence due to unequal power relations in the social, economic, and political spheres. They are positioned in the vulnerable categories as *Dalit*, as women, and as poor. *Dalit* women are most defenseless with weaker power relations in the family and outside perhaps due to the traditionally deep-rooted patriarchal social system of Nepal. *Dalit* women are further marginalised among other deprived groups of people in Nepal. *Dalit* women experience chronic gender and caste oppression as a result of profoundly uneven social, economic, and political power equations (Cameron, 2015), and these conditions persist across class, caste, and lifestyles.

This study is designed to explore the context of domestic violence among married *Dalit* women through an in-depth qualitative study. The literature that I have consulted mainly focused on the study of domestic violence against women in Nepal. These research and studies are conducted by many of the development workers, but only a few studies have been carried out by academic researchers. Most of the studies have focused on the quantitative survey (Puri et al., 2012; Joshi et al., 2008; Atteraya et al., 2015), less qualitative thus thinking less coverage of the survivor's present status in terms of causes and forms of sexual violence, other health issues raised from violence, emotional blackmailing from her partners/husband and also study concern to the fate of her children. A fewer study has also dealt on factors associated with intimate partner violence against married women including gender situation, educational impact, women

empowerment, and overall context of women concerning domestic violence (Paudel, 2007; Sharma, 2007; Joshi et al., 2008; Oshiro et al., 2011; Dhakal et al., 2014; Ghimire et al., 2015; Dhakal et al., 2014; Guinée, et al., 2014; Clark et al., 2019).

Some other studies have covered group dynamics also forced domestic violence, social norms, and women's risk to living covering different scenarios and contexts including workplaces (Pun et al., 2018; Clark et al., 2018; Clark et al., 2019; Acharya et al., 2019; Thapa-Oli et al., 2009; Deuba et al., 2016; Dhungel et al., 2017; Dalal et al., 2014; Dhakal et al., 2014; Diamond-Smith et al., 2019; Chowdhury et al., 2018, and Sharma et al., 2019).

All of the aforementioned studies have some flaws, including a lack of explicit attention for *Dalit* survivor women. Furthermore, a deep qualitative study would allow survivor women to discuss their own experiences with domestic violence's factors and repercussions, resulting in a more distinct image of the problem. Thus, from the review of available literature, it is clear that there is weaker documentation of academic research on domestic violence at a university level in Nepal. Qualitative research and studies in Nepal are very limited in general and domestic violence in particular. There is a large gap that needs to be addressed to move towards more sophisticated models of intervention related to domestic violence, particularly of *Dalit* women. The findings would help to develop effective policies targeting solving those violence-related issues at the deeper levels and sort out the solution measures of such violence by using qualitative studies. There is also a lack of access to resources on Nepal such as research reports, published other forms of information, and journal articles at the local level. I am trying to search the local literature and using online surfing for softcopy and unpublished materials in individual's

self-efforts. This study focuses on domestic violence against married *Dalit* women situation in the Pokhara Metropolitan City of Nepal. It is mainly concerned with the exploration of different forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of domestic violence. This is a qualitative sociological study and is guided by the feminist standpoint epistemology in the context of caste, gender, and socio-economic analysis.

Domestic violence has been reported in all countries around the world, whether wealthy or impoverished, developed or developing, regardless of caste, class, or gender, social status, wealth, urban or rural habitation, or victimization and aggression age. Violence against women is one of the most important social factors that keep women in an inferior position to men.

2.11 Theoretical Review

The domestic violence perspective has been connected to the various frameworks and viewpoints. This perspective providing knowledge and understanding of domestic violence issue in society. There are in general, two types of theoretical review in the context of domestic violence research. The first is a form of feminist perspective which is related to the structural level (socio-cultural level) and the second is the form of individual-level (psycho-socio level). The structural level feminist perspective is related to the macro-level analysis of society and the second is related to the micro-level analysis. Mainstream sociology and sociological theory have been much concerned with analysing social conflict (Johnson, 2010).

2.11.1 Feminist Theory

Feminism is about men and women having equal rights and opportunities. Feminism is about respecting diverse women's experiences, identities, knowledge, strengths, and striving to empower all women to realize their full rights, and opportunities. In the Nepalese context, *Dalit* caste groups are socially discriminated against in terms of getting opportunities as other women do have. This study is thus trying to understand the ground reality of *Dalit* married women's rights and opportunities at the household level.

During the dynamic political activity of the 1970s, the feminist movement's theoretical outlook arose. The feminist perspective's main purpose is to comprehend women's oppression in terms of race, gender, class, and sexual choice, as well as how this has changed over time (Tandon, 2008). According to proponents of this theory, it is broadly defined as male coercion and oppression of women within the four walls of the home. In addition to domestic abuse, other forms of violence against women include rape, sexual assault, female infanticide, and dowry-related cruelty. Gender and power relations are common threads in all of these forms of violence against women.

The feminist perspective tries to explain domestic violence against women in society. Because these theories present clearer implications in each approach that can be useful for understanding, responding, and undertaking interventions to overcome the domestic violence issue. It is related to gender inequality, women's violence, social, cultural norms, and beliefs support that the problem. Therefore, a clear explanation of the social problem and utilising the power of feminist theories brings an advantage in provided that different perspectives on this issue. In this research, the base and

explanation for domestic violence can be the best way of explaining it through a feminist perspective. In general, the feminist theory emphasizes gender and power inequality among heterosexual relationships.

The concept of patriarchy, as well as the societal structures and institutions that support it, are central to feminist philosophy. A patriarchal society is dominated by and governed by men. Both boys and girls are socialised to assume and accept that males will set and enforce the rules in patriarchal societies. Males will largely hold all positions of power and authority in government and the workplace. For example, until the second part of the twentieth century, it was widely assumed that only men would become doctors and only women would become nurses. Within the medical setting, doctors are in command, and nurses are in charge of the patients. For both men and women, strict gender roles defined allowed activities and occupational options. Even today, with the relaxation of gender stereotypes, a disproportionate number of women advance to the top of their professions while men pursue occupations traditionally associated with women (Kokopeli & Lakey, 1992). Gender roles are socially constructed (Matthews, 2000). We establish what proper gender features are based on behaviors by our collective acceptance of the constituents of masculinity and femininity. A male is thought to be powerful, confident, clever, brave, unemotional, and sexually dominant in a patriarchal society. Submissive, afraid, and physically, emotionally, and intellectually frail, women are meant to be. We absorb these preconceptions as youngsters, and they form our perceptions of not only what is expected of us, but also what we should anticipate from our own and other gender members (Kaufman, 1987). According to Hattendorf and Tollerud (1997), premarital displays of patriarchy can typically foreshadow male-perpetrated marital violence,

according to the author, however, these indications are misread or not viewed as relevant by the women.

The main reasons for intimate partner violence, according to feminist thought, are gender inequity and sexism within patriarchal society (Bell & Naugle, 2008). Traditional feminist thinking held that violence against women is a unique situation that distinguishes it from other types of violence and crime (Dobash & Dobash, 2000). According to this theory, the treatment of this issue should focus on instructing men about the wrong values of patriarchalism and the dominant behavior of women. The ultimate goal is to overthrow the patriarchal social structure to prevent, reduce, and eliminate violence against women.

The feminist theory is based on a sociological perspective that examines how society interprets violence against women. The primary idea of this approach is that gender roles within marital life should be equal. A feminist perspective also condemns women's subordination in society and describes male power control over them (Yllo, 2005). This theory is critical in terms of male dominance, which is perceived as contributing to women's subordination (Dobash & Dobash, 2000).

According to the feminist perspective, we can only expect a gender-equitable society if men participate in violence prevention advocacy and reform their sexist conduct, patterns of gender-friendly interaction, and decision-making (Messner et al., 2015). There will be an acknowledgement of the issues of negotiating male privilege when males are participating in the prevention of violence against women and girls (Casey et al., 2013). Domestic violence is still considered a major problem, and as a result, its notables in today's society have been recognized, with the need for gender equality being considered within the context of cultural beliefs and religious conceptions

that underpin the reality of the situation. Therefore, a more comprehensive explanation based on feminist theories has the advantage of offering a variety of viewpoints on the subject. In a heterosexual relationship, the feminist theory also claimed that there is a gender and power imbalance. It represents a feminist goal: to abolish men's violence against women, which is perhaps the most obvious manifestation of patriarchy or institutional gender discrimination. Feminist activists are primarily concerned with a man's controlling authority over females. It is critical to recognize a woman's worth and to educate men so that they would participate in anti-violence campaigns and effect good changes in men's views and practices, peer relationships, and the socio-structural relationships in which they participate (Flood, 2015).

2.11.2 Socialist Feminism

Through the development and organization of wealth and production, Marxism tracks the development of oppression and class division in the evolution of human society and concludes that the evolution of the oppressive social structure is related to the evolution of the oppressive family structure, that is, the normalization of oppression. The female gender usually marks or coincides with the birth of an oppressive society. In “The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State” (1884), Friedrich Engels drew the earliest origins of the concepts of family structure, social hierarchy, and wealth from ancient and contemporary research. Engel concluded that women originally had higher social status and equal labor status than men. In the agricultural society, men are considered as rich and dominant people in society as they hold the land inheritance authority. In the book of Karl Marks, Engels rewrote a sentence between himself and Marx in 1846 “The division of labor between men and women was to have children”,

saying: “The first class antagonism in history coincides with development. In monogamous marriages, men and women oppose each other, gender oppression is culturally replicated and maintained through institutionalised inequality. By giving men privileges at the expense of women and refusing to recognise that traditional housework is of equal value, working-class men are socialised into an oppressive structure that marginalises working-class men and women. Socialist feminism focuses upon the interconnectivity of patriarchy and class capitalism. It is argued that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women's oppression (Kennedy, 2008).

In general, socialist feminism follows the Marx-Engels concepts, which links women's inferior status to class-based capitalism and its alignment with the patriarchal family in capitalist society. Socialist feminism, sexism, and capitalism are mutually related. Women's unpaid domestic labor and pay in a reserve labor force serve patriarchy capitalism at the same time. Many socialist feminists held the belief that economic and emotional dependence are closely linked. A husband's authority over his wife is unconditional because he is afraid of losing his financial security. Capitalism must be abolished, and socialist ideals must be applied to both the home and the workplace. Because gender and economic injustice are mutually reinforcing, changing both requires a socialist revolutionary goal. Working-class women and those who feel marginalised by capitalism's apparent economic potential are drawn to socialist feminism. It was most visibly manifested in the former Soviet Union, where women continued to bear the brunt of unpaid domestic labor while still working in the paid labor force. Although socialist feminism is linked to Marxist philosophy, the two have significant contrasts. Socialist

feminism focuses on sexuality and gender, whereas Marxist theory focuses on property and economic conditions to develop an ideology.

2.11.3 Feminist Standpoint Theory

A feminist theoretical viewpoint that knowledge stems from social status. This view denies that traditional science is objective, and shows that research and theory ignore and marginalise the way of thinking of women and feminism. This theory is derived from the Marxist argument that people from the oppressed class have special access to knowledge, while people from the privileged class cannot obtain this knowledge. In the 1970s, feminist writers inspired by Marxist insights began to study how gender inequality affects knowledge production. Their work is related to epistemology, a branch of philosophy that studies the nature and origin of knowledge, and emphasises that knowledge is always in a social position. In a society stratified by gender and other categories (such as race and class), a person's social status determines what people can know (Harding, 2016).

The American feminist philosopher Sandra Harding coined the term “Standpoint Theory” to classify the epistemology that emphasises female knowledge. She believes that people at the highest level of social hierarchy can easily overlook the true nature of real interpersonal relationships and social reality, and thus miss critical questions about society and the natural world in their academic pursuits. In contrast, people at the bottom of the social hierarchy have a unique position, which is a better academic starting point. Although these people are often overlooked, their marginal status makes it easier for them to define important research questions and explain social and natural issues. People are more likely to realize the relevance of positions and develop knowledge that is

embodied, self-critical, and coherent, according to standpoint theorists, when they begin from the perspective of women or other excluded groups (Harding & Nicholson, 1996). According to Harding, research and theories have generally ignored and marginalized women and the feminist way of thinking. In recent days women have realized males favored discrimination and women's exclusion in research and theories. It has thus fully realized and raised its voice by the women across the globe against subordination and oppression.

This view is shaped by the work of Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith. In her book "The Problematic Everyday Life: Feminist Sociology" (1989), she argues that sociology ignores and objectifies women, making them "others". She claims that women's experiences are fertile ground for feminist knowledge. By rooting sociological work in women's daily experiences, sociologists can ask new questions. For example, Smith believes that women have historically been caregivers of society, men can devote their energy to thinking about more valuable and important abstract concepts. Therefore, the activities of women are hidden and regarded as natural rather than part of human culture and history. If sociologists start from the perspective of women, they can ask specific questions, such as why women are ignored to participate in valuable decisions and only assigned to caregiving and associated activities. Recognising the position of knowledge producers makes people more aware of the inherent power of scientific authority positions.

Sociologists Patricia Hill Collins and Dorothy Smith have used standpoint theory in sociological method from the standpoint of women and Collins articulated mainly to the Black feminist standpoint theory. The American sociologist Patricia Hill Collins in

her book “Black Feminist Thoughts: Knowledge, Awareness, and Empowerment Politics” (1990), Standpoint Theory of opinion recommended an emphasis on African-American women. Collins believes that African-American women have a distinct perspective on their marginal status because of the matrix of oppression, which is a linked system of racism, gender, and class oppression. She demonstrated how economic exploitation of African-American women's labor force, political deprivation of their rights, and the use of controlling cultural images that create destructive stereotypes oppress African-American women, and she suggests that African-American women can contribute to feminist scholarship. Make some special contributions. Collins called for inclusive scholarships to reject the knowledge of those who dehumanise and objectify people.

To solve the critical position theory is essentialism, because it implicitly claims that there is a universal female position, position theorists focus on the political aspect of social status by emphasising the position of feminists rather than women. Other work is also careful not to confuse women, and expands Collins' views to include the different views of many marginalised groups race and ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, physical ability, nationality, and citizenship categories (Lykke, 2010). Feminism, the belief that both sexes are socially, economically, and politically equal. Although it mainly originated in the West, feminism has been manifested worldwide and is represented by various institutions dedicated to representing women's rights.

Throughout Western history, women are limited to family life, while public life is reserved for men. In medieval Europe, women are deprived of the right to own property, study or participate in public life. In France at the end of the 19th century, they are still

forced to cover their heads in public, and in parts of Germany, the husband still had the right to sell his wife. Even until the beginning of the 20th century, in most of Europe and the United States (before the federal government did this, several regions and states had granted women the right to vote), women could neither vote nor hold electoral positions. Women are prohibited from doing business without a male representative, who can be a father, brother, husband, legal representative, or even a son. Without permission from her husband, married women cannot control their children. In addition, women have little or no access to education and are prohibited from engaging in most occupations. In some parts of the world, this restriction on women continues today.

2.11.4 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is the domination of man has a very long history, many religions regard it as natural and necessary. The first theoretical explanation of patriarchy was found in Engels's theory on the subordination of women under capitalism (Barrett, 2014). He believes that capitalism leads to the concentration of power in the hands of a few people, which intensifies the oppression of women because men pass on wealth to male heirs. The main source of the patriarchal theory's foundation from feminism, which developed the concept in the 1960s. It highlights how the separation of public and private and the restriction of women in the family sphere are the main sources of male domination and female oppression. The famous feminist slogan “the personal is political”. Subsequent feminist theories and studies are exploring today. In various feminist traditions (for A-level sociology, usually divided into liberalism, Marxism, and activism), the practicality of the concept of male’s systemic domination of women is very practical (Thompson, 2017).

The concept of patriarchy forms the basis of the basic form of feminism.

Feminism focuses on how patriarchy is reproduced in many different ways, such as male violence against women, stereotyped expressions in the media, and even daily gender discrimination. Silvia Walby re-conceptualised patriarchy in the 1990s, arguing that the concept did not take into account the increasing gender equality, but it should still be the core of feminist analysis, showing that patriarchy has six structures: paid work, family production, culture, sex, violence, and the state. Walby also believes that analysis should distinguish between public and private forms of patriarchy. Patriarchy or the power of the father is often cited as the root cause of domestic abuse (George & Stith, 2014). In a patriarchal society, men enjoy privileges that women do not have, and domestic abuse is a manifestation of this male power in a male-dominated society (Dickerson, 2013). Violence and poverty in the patriarchal family system among the married respondents, many said that their husbands are poor and unable to provide the necessities of life, so they deal with poverty through extramarital affairs (Tarar & Pula, 2014). When we hope to capture the universality of gender inequality in South Asia, the concept of patriarchy stands out. In the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, women encounter patriarchy in both public and private life. Compared with men, their social, economic and political status is still lower. Women account for 53 percent of the national population, and most of them live below the poverty line (Saeed, 2013).

The feminist notion of patriarchy is concerned with patriarchal control over women, their exploitation, and oppression in several areas such as family, workplace, society, or state as a whole. This is more or less a struggle to achieve equality for women at home and outside. According to the concept of feminism, patriarchy is the ultimate

cause of all violence against women. In the past few decades, with the emergence of the feminist school in the 1960s or 1970s, feminist thinkers began to discuss women's issues in developed and developing countries. In the early modern feminist work, patriarchy was considered the only reason for all forms of violence against women in social construction, mainly to stimulate violence (Tracy, 2007). Walby (1990) believes that patriarchy is a social structure and practice in which men dominate, exploit and oppress women. Therefore, patriarchy promotes hierarchical and unequal power relations between men and women, and women are regarded as subordinate to men. Sigmund Freud mentioned that for women, anatomy is destiny. Naturally, violence against women is explained from the perspective of power struggle. For feminists in a patriarchal society, when their dominant position is threatened, those who have all-male power will resort to violence (Walby, 1990). Several feminists stated that domestic violence is the result of patriarchy and is part of a systematic attempt to maintain male dominance in the family and society (Knickmeyer et al., 2004). However, many religious feminists believe that patriarchy is the main cause of violence against women. Ruether (1989) further believes that domestic violence against women, especially wife beating is deeply ingrained, and is a logical conclusion on the basic assumption of patriarchy that women are subordinate to the family and society as a whole. Radical feminists also believe that both biological and social structures have a significant impact on domestic violence. Radical feminists further believe that biological differences may have some differences in gender roles, but it is not the only basis for male gender hierarchy that contributes to domestic violence. Socio-economic and political processes are also responsible for making men stronger and playing a leading role in female oppression (Sultana, 2010). Therefore, not only

individuals but also nations can be patriarchal. The radical feminist school presents a powerful patriarchal state, which regards the state as the oppressor itself, and the state as a social structure. The body not only serves the interests of men but also has inherent gender characteristics (Zajicek & Calasanti, 1998). Discrimination prevails in society through families, churches, and institutions. Men ensure that women are oppressed, and each of these institutions justifies women's subordination to men (Sultana, 2010).

The state is essentially not patriarchy, but historical patriarchy (Connell et al., 1982), which is also related to the socialisation of men and women in the family and the entire society. Similarly, Walby (1990) believes that the state has a systematic way to favor patriarchal interests and operate with its favored policies and actions. Thus not only individuals but the state itself can be patriarch in activities. The existing system of a country or the rule and regulations can be male-dominated in nature. Sometimes the state force can be patriarch in nature or act, sensitive towards the future of new generation people.

2.11.5 Power Theory

The roots of violence, according to power theorists, are deeply established in culture and inside the social structure (Straus, 1977a). Because this method of resolving problems was learned in childhood, most people seek to disrupt violence and settle down disagreements inside the family and between intimate partners (Straus, 1977b).

According to power theorists, power disparities between couples can generate stress within the family unit, raising the likelihood of intimate partner violence (Sagrestano et al., 1999). Domestic violence, according to power theory, is caused by power imbalances within families. Finkelhor (1981), a sociologist, noticed that power imbalances emerge

within families due to age and gender inequalities. He claims that these disparities arise when individuals who are bigger, stronger, and have more access to valuable resources push their will on others who are smaller, weaker, and have few or no resources. As a result, due to their social rank, age, physical stature, and strength, men are typically awarded influence over other family members, particularly women. The most typical tendencies, according to Finkelhor (1981), abuse gravitates toward relationships with the biggest power disparities. As a result, children, especially those of a vulnerable age, are more likely to be abused. Furthermore, sexual abuse of younger females by older adult males in dominant, authoritative positions is a typical occurrence. In the same way, the less influence a woman has in comparison to her husband, the more likely she is to be abused. The core outcome of gender-based inequalities shaped and intensified is Violence against women clearly shows that in a patriarchal society, these women who are subordinate to men in power relations are widely exploited and discriminated against (Irudayam et al., 2006).

Foucault (1998) described power in his concept of government, which he applied to the micro and macro levels. Foucault challenged the view that power is exercised by people or groups through accidental or sovereign domination or coercive behavior. On the contrary, it believes that power is decentralised and universal. Power is ubiquitous and can be exercised by anyone, but it is neither an institution nor a structure (Foucault, 1998). Theories of violence against women must focus on male power, but by placing this power in the patriarchal order, it is possible to understand the position of men relative to men and other ruling groups in their ruling plans. Violence against women is a product of patriarchal social arrangements and ideologies, and other governance systems maintain

and strengthen these social arrangements and ideologies (Hunnicut, 2009). Power relations are fixed, they are always asymmetrical, and the edges of freedom are extremely limited. It is difficult to say who has the power. Due to the social structure, the power of men has reached the level of strength and the patriarchal family system, and violence is launched against women, but women will not pay attention to them because they are always suppressed in a patriarchal society.

2.12 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Domestic violence can be defined as a method of behavior in any relationship that is used to gain or maintain power and control over family relationships. Abuse can be physical, sexual, psychological/emotional, economic behavior, or threats of events that affect others. This includes any act of intimidation, manipulation, injury, humiliation, accusation, harm or harm, to someone. Domestic violence can happen to anyone, regardless of caste, age, sexual orientation, religious belief, or gender. It can happen to married couples, cohabiting, or dating people. Domestic violence affects people of all socioeconomic backgrounds norms and values, marriage age, government policies, and education level (Rakovec-Felser, 2014).

2.12.1 Feminist Standpoint Theory

Sandra Harding coined the term 'standpoint theory'. This theory mainly emphasizes the epistemology of female knowledge and has been recognized as a feminist approach in the mid-1980s. Feminist standpoint theory is a broad category that includes several different theories. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) has focused on the 'Issues of Black Feminists thought'. Dorothy Smith (1997) also discussed 'Sociology of Everyday World' for women, the original feminist theory that was operated from the basis of materialism. It usually goes back to the master-slave relationship in Hegel's reflection and the classic Marxist theory (Harding, 1997). The theoretical framework of this study is quite closely to feminist standpoint theory (Maxwell, 2012). Therefore, I took feminist standpoint epistemology in this study, believing that it is more relevant on domestic violence against women creates and maintains the power of men overformn at the personal and social levels. Understanding domestic violence in the theoretical framework of gender-based violence reflects the reality that most survivors who seek justice from the police and support agencies and require medical attention are women, but most perpetrators are men (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Standpoint theorists also claimed that it is alternatives to positivism and offers multiple perspectives. Cultural and discourse-based knowledge stance lack of experience. This aspect of feminist standpoint theory through acceptance, is generated into a wide range of analyses, tools diversity is an inherent characteristic of human beings conditions, especially in collective identity, but women's multiple positions. The feminist standpoint theory of violence against women centers on the historical background of cultural and structural power imbalances between men and women. Widespread abuses by men to control female partners include physical and

sexual assault, intimidation (*dhamki*), emotional abuse, isolation, denial, and accusation (*aarop*); use of male privileges; use of children; and economic sanctions. In this research, especially under the feminist epistemology, it has been explained both theoretically and conceptually to highlight the status quo of domestic violence among married *Dalit* women in the Metropolitan City of Pokhara, Nepal.

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this study is based on the feminist standpoint epistemology. It focuses on gender, and sexuality; that shape the incidence, forms, violence, psychological violence, and sexual violence, and causes low socio-economic status, backward social norms and values, extra marital affairs early marriage, second marriage, remarriage, unemployment, alcohol use. Consequences such as physical injuries, mental health problems, gynecological problems, anxiety, panic attacks, suicide attempts, problems passed down to children and possible coping strategies, keeping silent, seeking help from neighbors/*Tol* development committee, sharing with friends, report to the police/court, seeking help from maternal home is followed by the survival of the survivor. For instance, divorce of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women is also possible consequence of domestic violence. The study tries to explore the existing situation of domestic violence and empirical pieces of evidence based on the experiences of married *Dalit* women of Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. The study variables are mainly concerned with the social structure, family relation, and the issue of women's violence. This study is mainly focused on forms of domestic violence namely, physical, psychological, and sexual (Figure 2.2). The main causes of patriarchal structure, poverty, social norms and cultural practices, remarriage, unemployment, alcohol use, along with the in-laws supporting violence are the experience of married *Dalit* women experiences.

Similarly, these above-mentioned causes brought negative consequences to the survivor women's life such as physical injuries, mental health problems, gynecological problems, anxiety, panic attacks, suicide attempts, and problems passed down to children. This study also envisages the coping strategy is very weak as the survivors practiced to escape from the violent situation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins with a brief description of the study site. It explains the methodologies, tools, and techniques used in this research. It encompasses research design and methods, the introduction of study areas, sampling, and methods of data collection tools and techniques and data presentation method. The research design is based on exploratory and descriptive. The feminist standpoint epistemology is used as a guide to the methodological procedure for this research.

3.1 Study Site

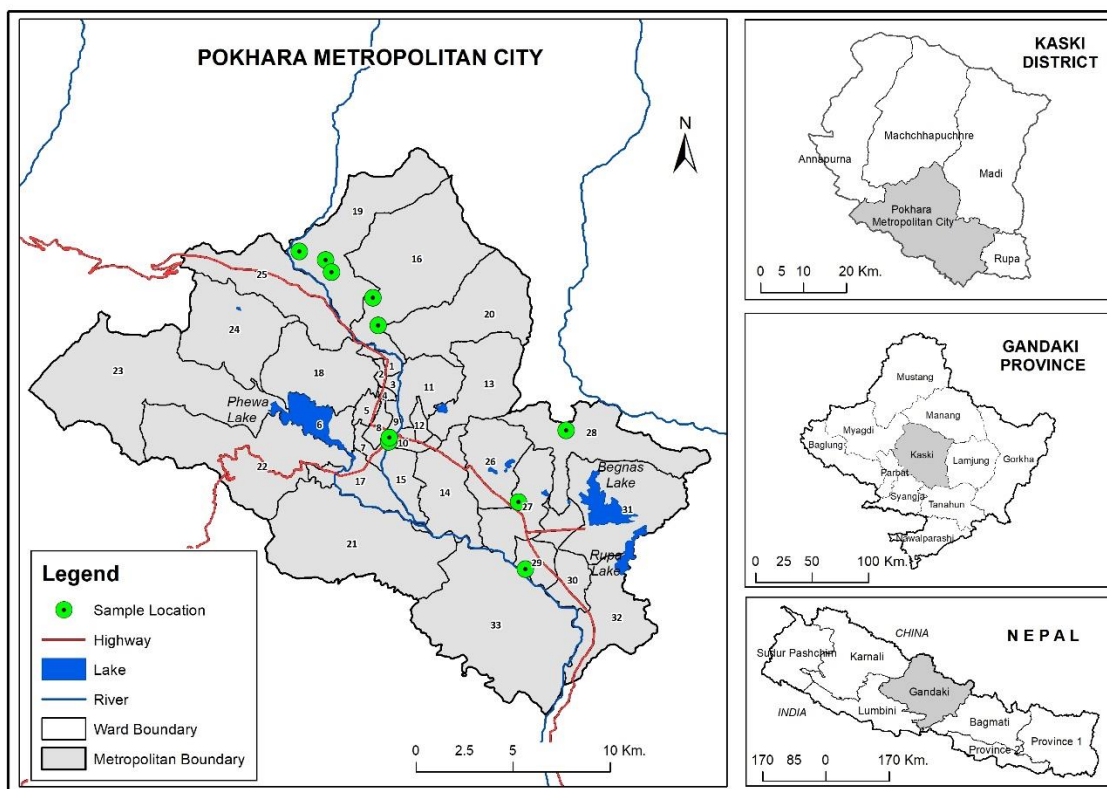
Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski is situated in the western part of Nepal. Constitutionally, Nepal is a federal republic state and has been divided into seven federal provinces consisting of 77 districts. Gandaki province lies near the center of Nepal, with eleven districts. Its capital, Pokhara, lies in the Kaski district. Pokhara is nearly 200 kilometers west of the national capital, Kathmandu. It is a newly formed Metropolitan City. It is the largest Metropolis of Nepal in area coverage and the second largest after Kathmandu in terms of population.

Pokhara Metropolitan City has a total population of 414,141 according to CBS, (2011). About 48.6 percent of the population is male and 51.5 percent is female. The sex ratio is 94.57 males per 100 females. The total number of households is 105,623 with an average family size of 3.92 (CBS, 2011). The population density is 892.08 persons per square kilometer. Pokhara has a literacy rate of 84.6 percent. It has mixed caste/ethnic groups, religions, and cultures. According to the 2011 census, the major castes by

population are Brahmin (27.78 %), Gurung/Ghale (16.16 %), Chhetri (15.55 %), Magar (9.13 %), *Kami/Sunar* (6.93 %), Newar (5.42 %), Damai (3.23 %), Tamang (2.76%), Sarki (1.98 %), Thakuri (1.39 %), Gharti/Khawas (1.42 %) and the rest are other castes/ethnic groups. In Pokhara Metropolitan City mixed ethnic communities live including *Dalits* in all the wards. The main ethnic groups in the Pokhara are Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Magar, Bhujel, *Dalit*, and so on. *Dalits* are socially and economically backward compared to others. Especially, these women are lower than other women due to caste, class, and gender discrimination, while *Dalit* women are in a worse position due to caste discrimination and patriarchal social structure. This study focused on domestic violence against *Dalit* married women are Kami, Damai, Sarki, and Gaine.

The Pokhara Metropolitan City, typically covers *Dalit* groups in terms of required sample households. The reason for selecting Pokhara Metropolitan City has twofold- firstly the selected study area has availability of enough sample size to meet the set criteria of 'married *Dalit* women' with low socio-economic status. I also belongs to a resident of the same city and has a keen interest in the study of such domestic violence. I wanted to go back to the study of violence against *Dalit* women since she had conducted a similar study during her MPhil degree (Khatri, 2016). I raised the interest to conduct such type of study with a larger group of married *Dalit* women of this area to know about their situation of domestic violence, forms, causes, and consequences so that appropriate policies can be developed regarding the promotion of *Dalit* women's status in general and married *Dalit* women in particular.

Figure 3.1
Map of Study Site



Source: Toposheet Map, Department of Survey, 1998 and 2020, Government of Nepal.

Moreover, no focused research has been done concerning the domestic violence upon the *Dalit* women of this area. This is a sensitive and contemporary issue, so this research has aimed to investigate the main causes and consequences of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women from a sociological perspective. Till now, few efforts to minimize domestic violence in this area have been observed. This is the reason why the study area has been selected.

3.2 Research Design

This study followed explorative and descriptive research design to explore various forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women of Pokhara Metropolitan City. This study is designed as a qualitative approach and is used to analyse the consequences and their existing coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women.

The research method is guided by feminist standpoint epistemology, it focus to women to raise their voice and change the male-dominated perspective. The feminist research method is more adaptable in qualitative research methods and cross-disciplinary collaboration. The adaptability is not only due to the flexibility in choosing a technique, it employs a variety of research methods, including qualitative technique and case studies (Harding, 1997).

The qualitative approach of study applies to the in-depth understanding of learning about forms, causes, and consequences of the survivor of violence which is not possible through the quantitative approach. Thus the qualitative approach is more appropriate for this study where I can closely observe the context of violence, describe the phenomenon, analyse the observable findings, and draw a conclusion as per the information available. This information would be base line data to draw the consequences of domestic violence to those survivor women, their children, and within the family. To observe various types, forms, causes, and the background of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women, which is appropriate for qualitative research. It is realized that there are quantitative-based survey studies conducted in Nepal regarding domestic violence-related issues, but the situation of a recent trend, forms, causes, and likelihood

consequences have not been assessed by qualitative approach. This study was designed to investigate the situation, causes, and consequences of domestic violence faced by married *Dalit* women. The exploratory research design was employed to undertake in-depth interviews, observation. This research is best appropriate in the context of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in Nepal to freeing *Dalit* women in the society to live and survive with dignified life as others.

The data collection steps mainly include setting the boundaries for the study; collecting information through In-depth Interviews, Key Informant Interview (KII), and audiotape recording materials, as well as creating the procedure for recording information and not talking.

3.3 Nature and Sources of Information

The nature and sources of research are qualitative. Review of information as a source of data was linked to different strata, such as at policy level, institutional level, and at the community and household level. At the policy level, the main review of documents included the Government's Five Year Plan relating to the policies on gender and domestic violence. At the institutional level, Government line agencies and I/NGOs working in the study area are consulted and necessary information was collected. Likewise at the community level observation was performed along with an in-depth interview with identified survivor women. Case studies of typical cases of survivor women are performed at the household level. The study relied on the information collected by using a standard qualitative approach. This study is based on primary as well as secondary data.

3.3.1 Primary Sources

Primary information was collected from the forty-three survivor women respondents by following different tools and techniques of a qualitative approach. Accordingly, general information of survivors and perpetrators and narrative data is collected from the in-depth interview, observation and key informants interview, have been used as sources of primary information. Observations were done to understand the contextual background of the family environment of the respondent, their physical, and mental, and health condition, relation, and interaction with their husband, neighbors, friends, and families.

3.3.2 Secondary Sources

This study uses various secondary sources to extract relevant as additional supporting information. These include Central Bureau of Statistics (2011), Nepal Demographic Health Survey reports (2016), Pokhara Metropolitan City profile, Ward profiles, online journal articles, Ph.D. dissertations, online reports and books, official records from different GOs/NGO (for example, district police officer of Kaski, Gandaki province police office and the like).

3.4 Population and Sampling

Population and sampling are one of the most essential aspects of qualitative research because, rather than worrying too much about the sample size, I purposefully select participants to get better responses to the research questions (Maxwell, 2012).

In this study, I purposefully chose the participants to get better information from them after selecting some specific criteria. For example, one selected such criteria is the

participant should be at least one year in her marriage relationship and must be suffered from domestic violence.

All the required data/information in this research are collected from in-depth interviews, case studies, and key informant interview with married *Dalit* women with the age ranges from 19 to 61 years who are currently in an abusive relationship with one or more of her family members such as husband, and in-laws. The population of *Dalit's* caste groups in Pokhara Metropolitan City is 50,883 in total. Accordingly, six wards were chosen for the study and are purposively selected based on the availability of most violence-related cases. Among the thirty-three, administrative wards, a total of six are chosen: wards (9, 16, 19, 27, 28, and 29) based on compact settlement and some slum areas of *Dalit* communities. The purposive sampling method was used to identify the married *Dalit* women who are the survivors of domestic violence for the study. Thirty-three administrative wards were visited and chairpersons have consulted *Dalit* representatives of the ward, local mother group, and found out six wards had the most survivor of domestic violence from the selected *Dalit* communities (Sarki-18, Damai-12, Kami-11, and Gaine-2). The selected wards are 9, 16, 19, 27, 28, and 29. The purposive sampling method was used to identify married *Dalit* women who are suffering from domestic violence in their families. A total of 43 married *Dalit* women are interviewed for this study.

Qualitative research has been conducted on survivor women who are seriously affected by domestic violence. During the several field visits in each of the six wards, I developed rapport well with the *Dalit* women representatives, ward chairpersons, and other women representatives of the ward and head of the local mother group and sought

their help to find survivor woman and time and location for an interview to the survivor women. The *Dalit* women representatives, ward chairpersons, and other women representatives of the ward and head of the local mother group are informed about the research.

3.5 Participants Recruitment

This study is a kind of sense as it is closely related to the domestic violence led by the husband and in-laws of the family. There are altogether forty-three respondents purposively selected from the six wards of Pokhara Metropolitan City-based in consultation with the representative women of elected *Dalit* ward members and local mother group. The technique of recruiting respondents was facilitated by an intermediary person with the verbal consent of telephone conversation. Accordingly, an intermediary person made a congenial environment and build rapport for approaching *Dalit* women members of each ward, who are familiar with abused women, and made the interview successful. Even when respondents of women in this study are voluntary, it was still difficult to get acquainted with the respondents. For gaining trust, ethical consent and pre-approval are the necessary steps to carry out sociological research thus this process was facilitated by an intermediary supporter that was a milestone to begin this research. At the start, telephone conversation was made to the identified survivor of domestic violence and confirmed the timing of the interview, venue, and so on. After that selected survivor women are interviewed according to their convenience.

The duration of fieldwork was five months. During the period I developed good rapport with the community, people become familiar with the survivor by visiting the study site several times before starting and during the fieldwork. During field visits, I

involved professionals, experts, supervisors, and co-supervisors, whenever it was required. The participants are made aware individually by informing them of the purpose of this study and made them happy too and utilized this occasion for the interview purposes. Initially, forty-six survivor women are chosen for this study, but only forty-three survivor women are ready. The three women are initially convinced and expressed their interest in participation in this study, but after some time, they withdrew their participation in the interview for no reason.

After developing a good rapport, most of the survivor *Dalit* women are open to sharing experiences of violence and happy to participate in the study, but few women are hesitant to share their bitter experience of domestic violence due to the inward type of personality. At the initial stage of my visit, many survivor women showed a willingness to share their bitter experiences and challenges of survival and also responded well. Later on, slowly and slowly, some of them hesitated to respond in the formal talk and share their feelings and often talk about family problems and grief rather than giving a direct answer to the interview questions. It was found that many of the survivors are looked sad to share their experiences about domestic violence committed by their husbands, the in-laws.

3.6 Pre-Test

Pre-testing allows to evaluate potential issues such as the adequacy of the research design, the appropriateness of the research methods, the scope of the questions in the interview guide, and more importantly, the feasibility of the main research. Pre-testing of the questionnaire was done with four individuals of non-married *Dalit* women (two Brahmin and two Newar) to understand the level of response to the set of questionnaires.

It was learned that respondents are reluctant to spell out the reason for violence possibly because of the patriarchal deep-rooted domination of the male-headed household.

Therefore question-related to this was omitted from the questionnaire set and these questions are asked during the discussion. After the pre-test, by consulting the supervisor, I replaced vague wordings, and change the way of asking questions so it would be easier for the respondents to answer those questions.

3.7 Tools of Data Collection

Various data collection methods (e.g., case study, interview, occasionally observation, survey, or questionnaire) are used in social science to measure behavior, beliefs, and other features of a human being. The devices/instruments, such as a computer-assisted interviewing system used to collect data, are referred to as data collecting tools (Ritchie et al., 2013). The topic of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women is a sensitive and private matter, affecting their children, family, and the whole society. So, proper care was taken during the data collection phase. Data was mostly collected through in-depth interviews. The tools and techniques used for data collection are described in the following section (3.7.1 to 3.7.3).

3.7.1 In-depth Interview

Face-to-face interviews between the interviewer and the interviewee, aimed at understanding the interviewee's opinions on their lives, experiences, and background in their own words, are known as in-depth interviews (Blee & Taylor, 2002). In-depth, interviews are intended to elicit explanatory views and opinions from the participants. The main aim of the interview is to create a comfortable environment for a conversation

between the participant and the interviewer. This enables participants to share their ideas related to interview questions such as the provision of laws, the Domestic Violence Act, and the strategy for reducing domestic violence. In this way, this procedure permitted to the collection of multi-dimensional views about the prevailing violence-related abuse and recognize the experiences of domestic violence.

Interview checklist was used in the in-depth interview time, to get information about their individual experiences of violence encountered by their husbands, and other family members. The interview also gathered information about the forms, causes, and consequences of the violence. The in-depth interview was conducted in the Nepali language and asked politely and respectfully with caution as the questions were related to the sensitive issue. Conversations were related to the survivor women's marital experiences, as well as forms, causes, and consequences of the violence they experienced. Examples of questions were: Could you please explain your experience of violence in an intimate relationship? Do you recall when and how violence occurs in your family? Who mainly initiate the violence in your family? How domestic violence usually occurs in the family? Do you know about the provision of laws and the existence of the Domestic Violence Act of 2009? Several open discussions are conducted during the in-depth interview. Survivor women are encouraged to express their violence-related experiences openly without any reservation. Every part of the interview ended with constructive and fearless communication about the survivor's experiences.

Me and my assistant both are married women thus it was easy to develop a good rapport with the survivor women informants. All respondents are interviewed with the Nepali dialect and translated into English later on. Before the interview, I explained the

purpose of the study and its confidentiality to her informant and once they feel happy, informed to fill the consent form. The location of the interview was selected as per the convenience of the interviewees, whether it is in their own home, at maternal home, neighbors' home, workplace, and the likes. If the interviews are interrupted, they are paused and resumed later as per their convenience. The duration of each interview was about two to two and a half hours depending on the openness of conversation. With the consent of interviewees, all conversation was audio recorded or written in a paper at the time of the interview. The safety and confidentiality of the interviewees are ensured in the information collection process (The interview checklist has been placed in Appendix 1).

3.7.2 Observation

The term “observation” refers to the process of looking at things and thinking about what you observe (Young, 1960). In qualitative research, observation is one of the most essential data collection strategies. While collecting data in the field with different equipment and approaches, the observation was also made to capture ordinary scenes in the everyday life of the studied survivors. In the study area to specify and shape out the information on domestic violence-related issues among the married *Dalit* women of Pokhara Metropolitan City. Observation is a research tool based on the principle of 'seeing is believing' the existing scenarios. Non-participant observation is thus useful when I visits the study field and takes notes about the behavior and activities of individuals of the research site. I usually recorded the events and incidents of the violence in an unstructured or semi-structured way during the field visit. Qualitative observers may also engage as a non-participant observation to a complete participant depending on

the circumstances. Typically, these observations are open-ended in nature where I ask general questions to the respondents allowing them to freely provide their views. The observation mainly focused on the respondent's physiological condition such as wounds, scars, and other traces of physical violence, psychological conditions, way of dressing and eating, family environment (if the survivor is at home), place of residence, relationship, and interactions with family members and the perpetrator(s), their children, friends and neighbors and photo are taken to record the observed data. (The checklist for the observation is placed in Appendix 2).

3.7.3 Key Informants Interview

Key informant interview technique is a qualitative research method, it has been widely and successfully applied to many branches of social science research. And can make a beneficial contribution to a sensitive issue in which principles are related to the quality of benefits more data can be collected in a limited time this method is useful in different ways to combine research technology or another qualitative method (Walsham, 2006). The key informant interview is a high-quality in-depth interview with those who know what is happening in the *Dalit* community. The purpose of the KII is to collect authentic data on domestic violence among married *Dalit* women.

The face-to-face interview have been conducted with the ward chairpersons, *Dalit* women representatives of the respective wards, head of the local mother's group, head of the district police office Kaski, and the deputy mayor of the Metropolitan City of Pokhara are selected purposively as the participants of the study. They have delivered first-hand information about the domestic violence situation in the *Dalit* women in their

community. These key informants provided insights with their professional knowledge and understanding.

Fourteen key informants were selected for an interview. Face-to-face interviews were done with the selected key persons. Checklist was prepared and used in the key informant interview. The interview was initiated with open-ended questions and was employed for conversation between them. Thus, an interview checklist was formulated and structures to get a deeper knowledge of the situation about the domestic violence against married *Dalit* women. The conversations are started in an informal way to capture the detailed information as it would be possible. A semi-structured interview checklist was used with these key informants. (See Appendix 3)

3.8 Triangulation

In research for their investigations, diverse fields frequently employ qualitative and quantitative research methodologies and approaches. Some researchers want to be referred to as qualitative researchers, while others prefer to be referred to as quantitative researchers. Each study method has its own set of benefits and drawbacks (Giddens, 1995). Triangulation entails using many methods, investigators, and data sources to verify the fundamental findings and maintain the validity of the information gained (Merriam, 2001).

In this study, only triangulation of different data sources was used such as interviews and observational field notes during interviews. Shenton (2004) suggested using a wide range of information providers as a way of triangulating through data sources. The author further believes that personal opinions and experiences can be

verified with others, and in the end, a rich description of the phenomenon can be obtained based on the contributions of a series of people.

Therefore, I have combined different methods using each to check and supplement the information as the process of triangulation to make sure that information was correct and valid to address the objectives set forth. During the field visit, I not only relied on the applied research tools but also made informal queries with the non-survivor population and triangulate the information obtained. For data collection, I visited many related officials and to meet the key informant to collect data on incidents of domestic violence in married *Dalit* women.

The women, children, and adult citizen service center under district police office Kaski (2019), recorded that 271 related cases to domestic violence are registered, among these, 199 cases reported by *Dalit* women who residence in Pokhara Metropolitan City. District Court Office of Kaski, 2019 there has registered, 239 related cases among these 46 cases are *Dalit* women. The Pokhara Metropolitan City office under the judicial committee was newly formed and there are no registered special cases of domestic violence.

I closely observed and learned the incidents of violence such as wounds, bruises, and meanwhile asked the survivor about the causes, consequences, forms, and coping strategy of violence then I describes the phenomenon. In this way, I triangulated the information about the issues of domestic against married *Dalit* women violence and came closer to the conclusion.

3.9 Data Management and Analysis

Data analysis is a basic and important step in the research process, which has proceeded immediately after the completion of data collection. As Miles and Huberman (1994) stated that data is not immediately accessible for analysis, but requires some processing. Therefore, the purpose of data analysis in this qualitative study is to draw thematic raw data into a more meaningful informative version which includes the analysis, interpretation, and dissemination of the findings. In this research, the collected data are analysed without modifying the real picture of their life experience through conversational analysis.

In this research, a voice recorder has been used and a field diary, and I have transcribed verbatim of each interview, and then conducted a narrative analysis of the data/information within each case. In-depth interviews were conducted in an individual by me and my assistance that each interview took about 40 to 90 minutes. The initial set of the checklist was developed and based on a review of the related literature and learning about the procedures for conducting the qualitative method of interviewing, the interview was taken by encouraging respondents to express their own experiences, truly. Related data are coded and decoded by qualitative narrative analysis. Case studies are taken in the Nepali language and translated into the English version without any modification. The individual informant is the component of analysis on which the survivor women's experiences of domestic violence are interpreted.

The language of the interviewees guided the development of categories and attributes; there was no mandatory use of new terms and no changes to the language of these categories and attributes. As new transcripts are coded, data is constantly compared

and contrasted. This process continues until saturation is reached, that is until no new information is obtained through the new transcript. During the encoding process, I wrote a memo to record the problems and ideas that occurred during the data encoding process.

The Feminist standpoint epistemology guide provides narrative analysis for data analysis, so in this study, I carefully read all the transcript data to ensure that all collected information is organized into meaningful groups related to the research question. Data validation and classification of initial codes as themes. The theme is named, then defined, and improved. A scoping review of previous literature in the field was used as a comparison of themes identified during data analysis to assess similarity. A final report was prepared, detailing each topic.

In this study, narrative data was used to provide a framework for the analysis of the main forms, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women. The main sources of information are in-depth interviews with the oppressed survivor women and focused on collective discussions with stakeholders, policymakers, political representatives, and local leaders as per the relevancies.

After the transcript of the interview, the coding process was completed and field notes were developed, transcript and final dissertation are prepared. Observational data included participant's nonverbal signs, my reflections as well as observations at the time of interviews. Observational type of data is valuable to produce a deeper explanation of the context.

3.10 Validity and Reliability

Reliability and validity are the concept of evaluate of the quality of research and consistency. This study was conducted to represent the reflection of my perspective and the interpretation of the experience of the survivor women. Which was guided under feminist standpoint epistemology. Therefore, the central concern of this study was the validity of the questions. It was believed that standardisation of some questions in the interview could increase the reliability of the data, a greater likelihood of similar responses could be captured from the conversation. Multiple interview transcripts, as well as data analysis in the study, are attested by some participants to gain flexibility regarding me interpretation of the data. No modifications are suggested by the participants with their opinions in the interpretation of the findings. In the context of the above, the face-to-face interview method can also provide additional benefits as it provides various means of data collection, for example, in-depth interviews, through key informant interviews as well as from my observation of surrounding environment.

My reflection on the nature of the study was mainly addressed in a brief written record of field notes during the research process. The field notes cover my thoughts and feelings, and the overall impressions of the informants, their expressions, and the forms, causes, and consequences of the violence. The validity concepts presented in qualitative research are reliability, transferability as well as reliability.

Throughout the research process, I comments on the nature of the study would mostly be addressed in a brief written record of the field notes. My thoughts and feelings, impressions, and interpretations of respondents' nonverbal signs and body language are

noted. As a result, I can complete the validation process of the study data using various data that will be obtained during the course.

To ensure the dependability and explanation of the findings, analyses, discussions, and conclusion, which reflects on the ways that my own biases might have shaped my questions, explanations, and conclusions. Furthermore, I gave all respondents a detailed summary of the findings, interpretations, and conclusions of the research before it was publicly disseminated. The research protocol and checklist were prepared with the advice of the supervisor, co-supervisor, internal and external experts. The research work was carried out under the supervisor's instructions and suggestions.

3.11 Field Experience/Lessons Learned

The study area of this research included different wards of the Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. Before venturing into the field for data collection, I discussed with key persons such as the chief of the judicial committee, deputy-mayor, executive officer, chairpersons, mother group representatives, *Tol* development committee heads, and representatives of local authority from each ward. A preliminary survey on the status of domestic violence in the *Dalit* settlements was performed. Many locals regarded this study as the first of its kind that they encountered, and *Dalit* women members of ward representatives played a major role while selecting survivors of domestic violence from the married *Dalit* women.

After being informed that disproportionately many incidents of violence were found from the slum settlements, with the help of these local representatives, individual in-depth interviews are set up with the survivor women by asking about the nature, forms,

and causes of violence reflecting their sensitive care, safety, and comfort. During the interview, with their permission, audio recording, and note-taking are done to learn about their experience of violence. Domestic violence against married *Dalit* women is regarding women; multiple precautions had been taken. Some uncomfortable moments still existed, as this is a sensitive issue of personal life and people would like to maintain their privacy. Although the respondents are open to sharing the incidence of violence including sexual violence was still treated as taboo and rarely touched upon. In three cases, alarming situations arose when the husbands of the respondents suddenly arrived home during the interview time. In these cases, the interview was shortened and postponed for detailing whenever they feel comfortable for the interview.

In one case of the slum settlements, a husband of the survivor woman argued with me and my assistant on the road by shouting us that it was not a matter of investing other's personal affairs. After not engaging in conversation with him due to the uncomfortable scene, the husband started badmouthing at me; he had overheard his wife's statements. Some respondents were getting injured assaulted by their husbands at the time of the interview, one had a fractured left hand, and two had blue markings around their head and eyes. These were the observed scenarios of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in the study area.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the socio-demographic findings of the survivor woman, about her husband, children and family. I have collected information about their age group, educational qualification, inter-caste marriage status, family size, age at marriage, age differences between husband and wife, number of living children, and type of family, occupation and income sources of family. The second part of this chapter included a biographical profile of each of the participants who shared their stories. A total of forty-three married *Dalit* women who suffered from domestic violence participated in this study and contributed by sharing their lifetime story related to the domestic violence. Before discussing the themes that are generated from the individual interview, I had collected the individual story of each of the survivor women, and then processing, synthesizing of the key findings followed interpretation and write-up of the cases. In this way biographical profile of each of the individual survivor women support understanding the background of the participants, individual level of experiences of domestic violence, and the consequences of such violence. All of the forty-three participants are first interviewed in the Nepali language, and transcription was done verbatim. I translated that transcribed verbatim of the individual story of the survivor English version.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Survivor Women

This section deals with the socio-demographic characteristics, mainly the age of the *Dalit* married woman, their level of education, number of living children, the gender

distribution of the children, inter-caste group, and religion of the respondents of Pokhara Metropolitan City . Findings revealed that the minimum age of survivor married *Dalit* women respondents was 19 years whereas the maximum age was 61 years. This also means that out of the total 43 respondents, only one married *Dalit* woman was the survivor of violence at the age of below 20 years. Likewise, two women at the age of 20-24 also felt within the survivor category (Table 4.1).

4.2.1 Age of the Survivor Women

Findings revealed that the highest frequency of survivor women's present age fell between the category of 35-39 years in this study, followed by the ages of 30-34 years as well as those with the age range of 40-44 years (Table 4.1). Therefore, it clearly shows the distribution of violence irrespective of particular age group once they are married. Moreover it was also quite clear that married women are survivors once they bear a child, mainly by husband and in-laws. Blames to the survivor women are hard to resist; including lack of physical satisfaction and proper caring of family members.

Table 4.1
Socio-demographic Characteristics of Survivor Women

Characteristics	Number (n)=43	Percentage	
Age (in years)	< 20	1	2.33
	20-24	2	4.65
	25-29	4	9.3
	30-34	5	11.63
	35-39	18	41.86
	40-44	5	11.63
	45-49	3	6.98
	50-54	4	9.3
	55-59	0	0
	> 59	1	2.33
Number of living children	No living children	2	4.65
	1 child	12	27.91
	2 children	13	30.23
	3 children	11	25.58
	4 children	3	6.98
	> 4 children	2	4.65
Sex wise children (n=95)	Girls	48*	50.53
	Boys	47*	49.47
Level of education	Illiterate	2	4.65
	Literate	20	46.51
	< 5 class	10	23.26
	5-8 class	6	13.95
	9-10 class	5	11.63
Caste group	Sarki	18	41.86
	Damai	12	27.91
	Kami	11	25.58
	Gaine	2	4.65
Religion	Hindu	36	83.72
	Christian (<i>Sachchai</i>)	7	16.28

Source: Field Study, 2019

4.2.2 Number of Living Children

Findings revealed the different scenarios of the number of living children of the survivor women. The number of living children per woman ranged from one to more than four whereas two respondents out of 43 did not have any child. About one-third of the respondents have either one child or two children whereas three out of 43 respondents enjoy four children per household (Table 4.1). The proportion of girls and boys was almost similar and equal number among the participating households.

4.2.3 Religion

The status of religion to those identified in this study, covering 43 respondents has been presented in Table (4.1). Findings revealed that about four-fifth of them believed in Hinduism and the rest followed the Christian (*sachhai*) as their religion.

4.2.4 Education

Education creates awareness among the people of their rights and duties in different domains of life. The status of the level of education helps in understanding their capacity in tolerating innovation, or, instead, rising voices and correspondingly reflects about their changing attitudes and perceptions. Civilisation in human society may be developed in cost-effective conditions, but it may not be socially developed, except to learn about its people in terms of their level of literacy that can be linked in terms of their participation in the decision-making process. It is thought that a high level of illiteracy constitutes one of the greatest barriers to the process of development.

Respondents' status about their level of education has been presented in table (4.1). About half of the respondents are just literate whereas two out of 43 respondents

are illiterate. About one-fourth of the respondents had studied up to Grade 5. Likewise, five out of 43 respondents had studied up to Grade 10.

4.2.5 Dalit Caste Group

This research has covered four different caste groups of *Dalit* survivor women- Sarki, Damai, Kami, and Gaine. The highest numbers of respondents (i.e. 18) are from the *Sarki* caste group followed by Damai and Kami. There are only two Gaine women out of the 43 survivor women respondents covered in this study, but there is no special reason to explore more cases of the Sarki caste group (Table 4.1).

4.3 Occupation and Income

It is normally believed that the attitude of a person is in contrast with variations in their socio-economic status. Socio-economic status mainly depends upon education, occupation, and income. Occupation is an important matter in the economic activity performed by an adult member of the family in a society which directly or indirectly influences social and financial contribution, and that constitutes a major role in the life of a person. Likewise, the level of income strongly influences term the status of an individual's livelihood, the family position as well as to the degree of reflection that creates in the society. Those who have less income, depend on others in all basic requirements of life, such as managing food, health, education and the likes.

Generally speaking, the social status of an individual or family depends to a large extent on the income level or the family's total income, which determines the overall lifestyle, standard of living, life opportunities, and access to education, medical care, facilities, and ultimately position in the social order. *Dalit* women have more freedom

and independence than upper-caste women; their speech, actions, and dress are often different from others. In the field work, *Dalit* women express themselves straightforwardly; they will shamelessly swear, obscene, joke, and joke with colleagues. *Dalit* women should take care of themselves outside the house, and they will loudly reprimand the men they consider offensive. *Dalit* women's dress is practical rather than modest (Still, 2011). However, there are several reasons why they suffer violence. For example, the main causes of domestic violence against *Dalit* women include low income, male alcoholism, husband's extramarital affairs, and complex social conditions related to inter-caste marriages. Therefore, *Dalit* women ultimately face caste discrimination and harassment outside the family and domestic violence within the family.

The economic status of the respondents along with their basic characteristics has been presented in table (4.2). Four major occupations are identified from the research. Most of the respondents are found to be involved in full wage labour covering from agricultural to off-farm activities (24/43). Likewise about one-eighth of the respondents are found with business, housewife, and casual wage labour (Table 4.2). Like in the case of domination of full wage labour in their occupation compared to the rest, source of income also reflected in the similar order and fashion. More than half of the respondents had daily wage as the main source of income, followed by small businesses. About one-seventh of the respondents did not have any source of income (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2
Economic Characteristics of Survivor Women

Characteristics	Number (n)=43	Percentage
Occupation	Daily wage labourer in construction	24 55.81
	Small/pitty business	8 18.6
	Housewife	6 13.95
	Casual wage labour in construction	5 11.63
Income source	Daily wage labour in construction	24 55.81
	Small business	8 18.6
	No cash income	6 13.95
	Casual wage labour in construction	5 11.63
Monthly income (Rs.)	No cash income	6 13.95
	< 5000	1 2.33
	5000-10000	26 60.47
	10000-15000	8 18.6
	15000-20000	2 4.65

Source: Field Survey, 2019

Findings regarding the status of income (NRs./year) revealed that more than half of the respondents earned NRs. 5,000 to 10,000 per month whereas about one-fifth of them had a monthly income of NRs. 10,000 to 15,000. Two out of 43 respondents had a monthly earning of NRs. 15,000 to 20,000, and one respondent earned less than NRs. 5000/month (Table 4.2). The maximum monthly income of the respondent was NRs. 16,000 with an average of NRs. 8,140.

Dalit women are found to be more out of the house and earning their income than women of other castes. They seem to be more independent than other women, but they are also survivors of the male domination of society.

4.4 Marital Status and Spouse Relationship

4.4.1 Age of Marriage

Age of marriage is one of the most noticeable characteristics of conjugal couples in a society. In the Nepalese context the motivational factor is very strong to become parents soon after marriage. When a woman is married, then she must set up her womanhood and identity by rapidly getting the expectation that she would be a good wife and a good mother, if possible. In fact, from a societal perspective if a girl delay in marrying, it will have an important impact to limit the population growth. Nowadays, the age at marriage is thought important to consider than it used to be in the past in determining how many children a couple will have. This is single the most important factor in determining family size (Dhungel et al., 2017). Findings from this study revealed that about four-fifths of the respondents had marriage age ranging 16-20 years. About 20 percent of respondents had a marriage age of few than 16 years whereas very few (<5%) respondents responded that their marriage- age ranged between 21 to 25 years (Table 4. 3).

Table 4.3
Marital Information and Spouse Relationship of Survivor Women

Characteristics		Number (n)=43	Percentage
Marital status	Married	33	76.74
	Separated	7	16.28
	Widow	2	4.65
	Divorce	1	2.33
Types of marriage	Arranged marriage	22	51.16
	Love marriage	15	34.88
	Re-marriage	4	9.30
	Inter-caste love marriage	2	4.65
Age of marriage	< 16	7	16.28
	16-20	34	79.07
	21-25	2	4.65
Age difference between husband and wife	< 3 yrs	5	11.63
	3 yrs	12	27.91
	4 yrs	6	13.95
	5 yrs	10	23.26
	6 yrs	3	6.98
	7 yrs	3	6.98
	> 7 yrs	1	2.33
	Died	2	4.65
Marital duration/ years of marriage	N/A	1	2.33
	< 6 yrs	2	4.65
	6 to 10 yrs	2	4.65
	11 to 15 yrs	9	20.93
	16 to 20 yrs	10	23.26
	21 to 25 yrs	11	25.58
Duration of abusive relationship	> 25 yrs	9	20.93
	< 5 yrs	6	13.95
	5-10 yrs	25	58.14
	10-15 yrs	6	13.95
	15-20 yrs	4	9.30
	> 20 yrs	2	4.65

Source: Field Survey, 2019

4.4.2 Age Difference between Husband and Wife

Age difference between husband and wife is also an important variable in the married life. It is naturally aged people will have more decision-making power as they grow older which is related to the age in deed (Dhungel et al., 2017). In Nepalese society marriage age difference still exists with the perception that the bride should be at least 4-5 years younger than the bridegroom at the time of marriage. When a husband is older than the wife, societal acceptance of that age difference is easily acceptable, but when a wife is older than a husband, society will question from a different perspective, often suspecting in her personal characteristics, or other physical weaknesses (UNICEF, 2017). Age difference has played a dominant role in maintaining a good conjugal relationship and vice-versa.

Findings from this study clearly reflected that about one-third of the respondents had their age difference of three years (meaning-husbands are 3 years older than wives at the time of marriage). On the other hand such differences are five years as reported by about one-fourth of the respondents (Table 4.3). Only less than one-tenth of the respondents had an age difference of less than 3 years-husband age was nearly close to their wife's age. Less than seven percent of the respondents also reported about their age gap of 6 or 7 years (Table 4.3)

4.4.3 Type of Marriage

Study findings revealed that arrange marriage is common in the *Dalit* family also but their parents think about their daughters marriage would be better at an early age, perhaps due to the reason related to the financial burden for rearing and caring for

them. Twenty-two respondents had followed the traditional type of arranged marriage whereas the 15 had done love marriages as per their own will, and four had done re-marriage. In the *Dalit* community, the re-marriage of women has also been well accepted. Two respondents had followed an inter-caste love marriage with an upper-caste man. This also reflects the fact that survivor women respondents, despite of entering into married life as per the arrangements of their parents, or relatives, had comparatively tearful of life (Table 4.3). *Dalit* women's economic productivity has implications for marital autonomy. Since they have earned their own income, there seems to be some flexibility in the choice of marriage. Among them are divorced, love marriage, widow marriage, inter-caste marriage, and remarriage also making strong sense in the community (Still, 2011).

4.4.4 Marital Status

The position of the existing marital status of survivor women respondents has been presented in table (4.3). Accordingly, it was reported that most of them (four-fifth) have still maintained their married life whereas one-fourth of them are living separated from their husband. Less than 5 percent of respondents are widows (Table 4.3).

4.4.5 Duration of Post Marital Life

The fact and existing scenario about the duration of married life (years of marriage survival) has been presented in table (4.3). Accordingly, it was reported that about one-fourth of them are enjoying married life of 21-25 years. Similar proportions of respondents are entering the married life duration of 16-20 years whereas about one-fifth of them are enjoying the married life for 11-15 years. Two out of forty-three respondents

are young and have entered into the married life for less than 6 years. On the other hand, about one-fourth of the respondents are enjoying their married life for more than 25 years (Table 4.3).

4.4.6 Duration of Abusive Relationship

It was revealed from the study findings that several married women have been living in abusive relationships with their husbands. Accordingly, about three-fourth of the respondents reported that they are living in an abusive relationship for the last 5-10 years. About five percent of the respondents also reported about their abusive relationship for more than 20 years (Table 4.3). The lowest duration of an abusive relationship was less than 5 years as reported by about thirteen percent of the respondent (Table 4.3).

4.5 Characteristics of Survivor Women's Husband

4.5.1 Age of the Husband

The age of the survivor women's husband ranged from 25 years or often quite less than that to the age of 55 years and more (Table 4.4). Findings revealed that about one-fourth of the survivor women's husband had their age group of 35-39 years, or 40-44 years whereas one-tenth of them also fell within the age group of 30-34 years. In deed about a similar proportion of survivor women's husbands also had the age group of 45-49 years or 50-54 years (Table 4.4).

4.5.2 Education of the Husband

Findings revealed that about one-third of survivor women's husbands had studied up to the Grade 5-8 or 9-10 whereas about fourteen percent of them had attained the

school, representing below Grade 5. One-tenth of them also had received college-level education (11 and 12 grade), and a similar proportion of them are just literate (Table 4.4).

4.5.3 Occupation of the Husband

Findings clearly revealed the domination of wage labor as the main occupation of survivor women's husbands which reflects a rather low level of earning in general. Accordingly, information about dominating occupation is such that about two-fifths of the survivor women's husband had been involving with daily wage labor as of their main occupation followed by involving in foreign job, and driving, each representing about one-fifth of the respondent's husband. About seven percent of them are unemployed (Table 4.4). In the present situation the survivors of the husband are no longer following their parental occupation. They might think that parental occupation is not applicable to run their daily life. That's why they are shifting their traditional to the alternative opportunities.

4.5.4 Alcohol Consumption/Drug Abuse

It is generally believed that an alcoholic husband will not take care of his family, spends all his income on alcohol, and ask his wife to give him money to buy alcohol. If she refuses to do so, she will have to face severe violence. Alcoholics justify their violence against their wives by saying that he was drunk or that he did not remember and thus avoids responsibility. Most of the interviewees in this study also reported that they were abused and beaten by their husbands when they were drunk. Due to this situation, the relatively fair family relationship in *Dalit* families has been shaken (Sujatha, 2014).

It is worthy to state here that most of the survivors women's husbands were found drinking alcohol. Accordingly, about half of them drink alcohol daily, and about one-fourth of them drink alcohol once or twice a week. Information about drinking alcohol is such that- about one-tenth of them drink alcohol occasionally, or 1- 4 times in a month. About seven percent of respondents, they are not aware of the frequency and quantity of alcohol that their husband consumes as some of them are dead, and some live separately or are divorced (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4
Socio-demographic Information of Survivor Woman's Husband

Characteristics	Number (n)=43	Percentage	
Age (in years)	< 25	1	2.33
	25-29	2	4.65
	30-34	5	11.63
	35-39	10	23.26
	40-44	11	25.58
	45-49	4	9.3
	50-54	4	9.3
	> 55	3	6.98
	Died	2	4.65
	NA	1	2.33
Educational status	Literate	4	9.3
	< 5 class	6	13.95
	5-8 class	13	30.23
	9-10 class	13	30.23
	11-12 class	4	9.3
	Died	2	4.65
	N/A	1	2.33
Occupation	Daily wage laborer in construction building	18	41.86
	Foreign employment	9	20.93
	Driving	8	18.6

	Unemployed	3	6.98
	Private sector service	1	2.33
	Died	2	4.65
	NA	2	4.65
	< 10000	1	2.33
	10000-15000	5	11.63
	15000-20000	17	39.53
	20000-25000	7	16.28
Monthly income (Rs.)	> 25000	6	13.95
	No income	5	11.63
	Died	2	4.65
	Daily or	21	48.84
	Once-twice a week	10	23.26
Alcohol/drug abuse	1-4 times a month	4	9.3
	Occasionally	5	11.63
	Died/Divorce	3	6.98

Source: Field Survey, 2019

4.5.5 Monthly Income

The findings of this study well revealed that about two-fifths of the survivor women's husband had a monthly income of NRs. 15,000 to 20,000 whereas about fourteen percent of them had monthly earned of NRs. 25,000. About 17 percent of the survivor women's husband had a monthly earned of 20,000 to 25,000. Very few (<3%) of them earned less than NRs.10, 000 per month (Table 4.4). It shows that there is not enough income for their family expenditure, they have problem in fulfillment of the basic needs also, when they have four to six family member's in average at per-house. *Dalit* men and women works in low a level of income in daily wages constructions and these women earn a very low salary.

4.6 Socio-Demographic Information of Survivor Women's Family Members

4.6.1 Family Type

The most common family types are joint families and nuclear families; this is common in Nepal. A joint family is a group of people who usually live under one roof, eat food on a stove, have a common property, participate in common worship, and have relatives with each other (Dhungel et al., 2017). If a family has a generational depth, that is, three or more members are related to each other in terms of property, income, mutual rights, and obligations, then the family is a joint family. On the other hand, a nuclear family usually consists of a man, his wife, and their children, although in some cases one or more additional people may live with them. Table 4.5 presents facts and figures considering family type, occupation, members per household, and their income level as revealed from this study found.

Findings showed that about one-fourth of the members of the survivor women's family had adopted nuclear type of family whereas less than ten percent enjoy joint family (Table 4.5). Likewise, gender scenario of the members other than husband and wife clearly reflected the similar proportion of both male and female members; each nearly represented half of the composition (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5
Socio-Demographic Information of Survivor's Family

Characteristics		Number (n)=43	Percentage
Types of family	Nuclear	33	76.74
	Joint	10	23.26
Number of family member	< 3 member	3	6.98
	3-4 member	19	44.19
	5-6 member	16	37.21
	7-8 member	4	9.3
	> 8 member	1	2.33
Gender-wise population	Female	106	52.74
	Male	95	47.26
The main occupation of the family	Wage laborer	26	60.47
	Foreign employment	8	18.6
	Small business	6	13.95
	Service	1	2.33
	Others	2	4.65
Family monthly income (Rs.)	Below 10000	5	11.63
	10000-20000	11	25.58
	20000-30000	16	37.21
	30000-40000	9	20.93
	40000 over	2	4.65
Ownership of Property	Husband	26	60.47
	Survivor's own	5	11.63
	Father-in-laws	4	9.30
	Mother-in-laws	3	6.98
	No property	5	11.63

Source: Field Survey, 2019.

4.6.2 Survivor Women's Family Members

The findings of this study clearly revealed that the majority (about half of the respondents) of the households have 3-4 members followed by 5-6 members (37%) per household. About seven percent of respondents reported a member size of less than 3, and about one-tenth reported the status of members per household as 7-8 members (Table 4.5).

4.6.3 Occupation

Occupation plays a vital role in determining the socio-economic status of the family. It is an indicator of the living standards of a person and her/his family. The findings from this study also reflected the fact that in the case of the rest of the family percent of the members are members as well about three-fifth of them had been following wage labor as their main occupation followed by a foreign job as reported by about one-fifth of the respondents (Table 4.5). Findings revealed that about fourteen involved in small businesses. Involvement in the service sector is very negligible (Table 4.5).

4.6.4 Ownership of the Property

Regarding the ownership of the property belonging to the survivor's family, most of the respondents had the case where their husbands are legal owners of the household property (60.47%) of these 26 cases, fifteen owned their homes in the slum areas. Five of the survivors reported about the ownership of their property, and all of them owned houses in the slum areas. This was equal in number to those who did not own property, and such women are living either in the rented house/room, or stay with their maternal relatives. About one-tenth of them reported that father-in-law own the property whereas

about seven percent of them reported the fact of owning property by the mother-in-law (Table 4.5).

4.6.5 Household Members' Income

Findings of this study revealed that one-third of the respondents reported about households' monthly earning of NRs. 20,000-30,000 followed by one-fourth of the respondents with their monthly household earning of NRs. 10,000 to 20,000. One-fifth of the respondents also reported about the comparatively higher monthly income of NRs. 30,000 to 40,000 whereas about one-tenth of them reported about less than NRs. 10,000 earning each month (Table 4.5).

4.7 The Survivor Women

The survivors for this study are forty-three married *Dalit* women who participated to give their experiences of living in domestic violence in family relationships. Their age was between 19 and 61 years old, most of the survivor age was 35 to 39. Overall, the survivor in the study had been married for between sixteen to twenty years of age. The majority of the women had suffered from physical violence and psychological/emotional and sexual violence mainly from their counterparts, and in-laws in the family. A general profile for the interviewed survivors can be built. Most of the survivors are at the age of their 30s. On average, they have one to three children. They have studied up to grade five. They are of the caste group such as *Sarki, Damai, Kami and Gaine*. Most of the survivors follow the Hindu religion and some are Christian (*Sachhai*). They work as daily wage labor, with a majority engaged in house construction. Their income source ranges from five thousand to ten thousand rupees per month. They are mostly married and live

with their husbands, with a few separated and very few widowed or divorced. Nearly two-thirds of the survivors had an arranged marriage, while a few had a love marriage. On average, the age difference between the age of wives and their husbands was five years, and they are married since 16 to twenty 25 years. Most of the survivors are facing abuse for about five to ten years. Five survivors had no homes, five owned houses in slum areas while the rest are dependent on family members who owned property. No one is aware of the Domestic Violence Act, and the laws. At the time of the incident of violence, most of the survivors kept living in their homes, some return to their maternal homes and a few seek help elsewhere.

4.8 Survivor Women's Stories

There are several stories related to survivor women in the Nepalese society that prevails here and there. Most of these survivors are related to domestic violence. Several factors can be linked to the events and incidents with their severe impact on the family environment, family wellbeing, welfare and overall aspects of the members' in such families. Besides, a low level of education, ignorance, lack of responsibilities, and low level of economic resource synergized to the stories related to the survivor (s). Let's take a case story of a selected participant woman described in this study for detailed knowledge and information (Appendix 3).

4.9 The Perpetrators

The findings of this study clearly revealed that most of the perpetrators in all the case are husbands; in-laws (father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law), and other members or relatives, half-siblings, co-wife, step sons, who are related to the marital

family. Some cases had multiple perpetrators. Most of the perpetrators had an age range of 35 to 45 years. In general, the perpetrators had a comparatively higher level of education than the survivors, averaging around grade 10. A majority of the perpetrators worked as wage labourers, with some working abroad, as a driver, and some are engaged in other occupations related to the wage-earning. It was also well revealed from the interview, analyses, and observation that almost all of the perpetrators got drunk daily, or twice or thrice in a week. Often situations are such that in cases where the son (survivor's husband) had gone for foreign employment, the perpetrators are the in-laws (father-in-law/mother-in-law/sister-in-law/brother-in-law). These perpetrators are generally the property owners, whether they are the husbands or the mother and father-in-laws reflecting a root cause of conflict turned to torture to the woman due to property reasons.

While violence in the domestic relation is worring, husband, in-laws, and husbands' relatives are perpetrators of violence, in descending order, the pressure exerted by marriage and family has led to female fetus and infanticide. In fact, husbands are also the main perpetrators of domestic violence, followed by mother-in-law, and women are other relatives, father-in-law, and other relatives of her husband. As we all know, *Dalit* women's married families are very poor; daily struggles for survival, caste and gender oppression often translate into frequent violence against married untouchable women in the family.

4.10 Chapter Summary

The excerpt of the case history taken out of 43 perpetrators revealed the fact that most of the perpetrators are a husband (28), followed by other family members (7),

dominating by the mother-in-law (5), and the rest in the family. The coverage of perpetrators included father-in-laws; often son and step son.

Findings revealed the fact that the socio-demographic variation of those perpetrators varied in terms of age, education, and livelihood options. Findings also showed that the age of the husband perpetrators ranged 35-44 years and they had a strong belief on the way of their living that treating their wives is the fundamental right to take help, to satisfy their inner desire, and to take support for a variety of living options as of their assistant. When counter actions are exerted, the results would be a violent situation, in most of the cases, women would be the survivors.

It was also learned that the education level of all the survivors was limited to below high school degree; most of them had attained only up to Grade 10 school education. It is interesting to note that the occupation of the perpetrators might have some kind of relation to their behavior as occupation reflects the level of earnings, and low level of earnings would mean some kind of constraints in running family, including spending money in education or for health service. Once income level turns low, that may lead to quarrel, disputes, and case of the survivor would be more prominent. This is supported by the fact that most of the perpetrators' occupation was daily wage labourers, meaning a low level of earning NRs. 15,000 to 20,000 maximum. On the top, they would be addicted to either form of alcoholism or spending money for extra-marital affairs. Domination of occupations daily wage laborer (18) followed by foreign employment (9) and driving depicts the scenario to support to this logic.

Besides husband as the main perpetrator, findings revealed the involvement of survivor women's mother-in-law, or father-in-law. This was visibly reflected in the sense

that in the absence of their son (mainly due to their involvement in the foreign job for employment), obviously mother-in-law and father-in-law would have enough time and environment to deal with their daughter-in-law, often with the view of suspect that in the absence of their son, daughter-in-law might have been making extra-marital affairs, or concealing the truth about their present situation with their husband in abroad. This suspect behavior results in doubt and lots of quarreling that leads to several consequences of perpetrating. Likewise, several cases are revealed about property dealing since most of them have a very low level of land or monetary resources, and when it comes to the questions of dealing on that property, debate arises, leading to the event of perpetrating to the women.

Several research reports are depicting similar situations about women's violent acts and the perpetrating husbands elsewhere. The reasons behind such violence act are diverse. In my study I found a significant association of level of education, income, and husband's behavior in perpetrating their wives; often polygamy was a severe case where extra-marital affairs has prevailed, especially when their wives would bear couple of children and there would be a long gap in their physical existence, either due to foreign employment or due to their involvement in the jobs outside their family reach. Study findings from West Bengal, India, however, reported the fact that among the socio-demographic variables, age, education, and marital status would be significant while associating the violence against women (Sarkar, 2010). In my study as well, household income and nature of jobs-whether it would be casual wage labor or that involved with casual in nature with a low level of earning would have its direct impact in rendering violence against women. The findings of my study also clearly spelled out the fact that

the degree and level of violence to the women was associated with the level of education- whether the perpetrating husbands were educated or not. For instance, maximum cases of the prevalence of violence were observed among the illiterates followed by those just literates or had earned education degrees below primary level.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS, FORMS, AND CAUSES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

5.1 Introduction

This research primarily focused on generating the empirical evidence of qualitative data that are largely analysed by employing an interpretative version. Qualitative research is important in many aspects of socially sensitive issues such as in the case of this study where I tried to deepen to explore the facts and ground reality of domestic violence that have been facing by the married *Dalit* women of Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski. Qualitative research can only understand a lot of things that matter of domestic interaction of everyday life and dialogue which is not possible only quantitative research. Through the qualitative way, we can find a comprehensive answer, including the textures and weaving of daily life, understanding of the dimensions of the social world, in the context of domestic violence, the experiences, and imaginations of this research participants, mainly included social processes, institutions, discourse or relationship of events.

Survivor women usually encountered various forms of injustice such as *Dalits*, impure and untouchable, economically poor, illiterate, and lower down in the social status as they are blamed uncultured and uncivilised in terms of the dialect they use, food habits, and dress up. The caste system claims that *Dalit* women are impure and inaccessible, which sanctions social exclusion and exploitation. The vast majority of *Dalit* women are poor, they have no land, are employed labourers, and have no access to basic resources. They are governed by the patriarchal structure, both in the household,

community, and society. Violence and inhuman treatment, such as sexual violence, marital rape, verbal abuse, physical violence, psychological torture, and so on, serve as a social mechanism to maintain *Dalit* women's subordinate position in society. They became the target of mainstream castes as a way of humiliating the entire *Dalit* community. Most human rights violations against *Dalit* women go unpunished. Police officers often ignore or deprive *Dalit* women of their right to seek legal and judicial support. In many cases, the judiciary failed to implement laws that protect *Dalit* women from discrimination (FEDO, 2013). According to the Nepal Census (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011), *Dalit* rural women are one of the most vulnerable groups. Most *Dalits* have no land and earn one dollar a day. Due to geographical or economic constraints, many *Dalit* families living in measurable lives cannot send their children to school. In addition, young women often get married very early and are unable to continue their education, resulting in high illiteracy rates, inability to support themselves, and weak economic contribution to the entire family. *Dalit* women scored the lowest in most social indicators in Nepal, such as literacy rate (12%), longevity (42 years), health, and political participation. *Dalit* girls are particularly disadvantaged and suffer disproportionately from malnutrition, infant mortality, and lack of education. Although this opinion paper mainly draws on the survey results of India and Nepal, it is found that *Dalit* women and other South Asian countries and other regions of similarly affected women in communities, including Yemeni women, face similar human rights violations and challenges just like in Nepalese society. The caste system is severely affected by rural women, who face several challenges, including lack of access to resources, land, basic services and justice (Government of Nepal, 2006). This chapter presents the analysis of the findings from the

data which are taken from their lived experiences of survivor women. Study findings are based on qualitative investigation mainly the in-depth interviews with the forty-three survivor women of *Dalit* community and learn about the existing status and forms of domestic violence that they are suffered in the name of women as labeled male's property after having married. I was keen to learn the real stories of survivor women with their fresh experience of domestic violence thus proper care was employed during the interview. All the themes that emerged from the interviews with the 43 survivor women have been organized in a manner that encompasses as many of the important elements of each woman's fresh story as possible. These themes have been discussed in an interpretative manner, using women's own words to illustrate identified forms, patterns, causes, and consequences of domestic violence.

I began the analysis of the findings after reviewing the transcript of each interview several times, to foster clarity of thought and to become familiar with each woman's story, based on the findings of these reviewing three research questions. Those research questions are:

- a. Who are the most likely perpetrators and survivor of domestic violence in the *Dalit* communities?
- b. What are the main forms and causes of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women?

During these readings, the relevant text was sorted out and kept for the analysis while the irrelevant texts were dumped, which made me it easier to manage a large amount of qualitative data within the scheduled time. For instance, when analysing the survivor's story of domestic violence, it was learned that there are several forms of violence.

During the interview, survivor women were not only sharing their experience of domestic violence, but they also spoke about prevailing social norms, values, and customary practices that supported the promotion of domestic violence. For example, most of the survivor women are reluctant to share about the incident of abuse as they have been socialising in a way that keeping silent and tolerate every violent related abuse is their fate. Maintaining reservation is only the solution for survivor women in these situations thus they are often reserved to speak about violence-related issues and divorce, general thinking is that opening of violence-related abuse is against the socio-cultural norms of society. Thus the problem of domestic violence is undermined due to the pressure of social and cultural factors in the *Dalit* community.

This chapter presents the analysis of the findings from the data set taken from the abused survivor women's lived experiences. In the first part, the analysis of the data set from the abused women and describes the lived experience of domestic violence against them. The qualitative research method was utilised to examine the women's experience, views, and understandings of domestic violence in their life. The second part of this chapter covers major contributing factors related to survivor women and interpreted the findings. The forms, impact, hidden causes, and disclosing barriers show detail (Appendix-4)

5.2 Forms of Domestic Violence as Experienced by Survivor Women

5.2.1 Physical Violence

Physical violence includes the use of physical violence against others, such as hitting, scratching, biting, restraining, shaking, suffocating, burning, drinking alcohol to

relieve tension, using sharp weapons, and other attacks. Physical violence refers to intentionally causing bodily harm or pain to another person through physical contact (Australian Government, 2018). In many cases, children are survivors of physical abuse, but adults can also be survivors of domestic violence. Alternative terms used, such as physical assault or physical violence, may include sexual abuse. Physical abuse may involve more than one abuser and more than one survivor, for example, hitting, pushing, biting, restraining, kicking, or using weapons. Physical violence may also be prohibited or impulsive, including physical harm. These attacks can affect and cut injuries, from stains, burns, and stab wounds to internal injuries, rib fractures or broken bones (WHO, 2012b).

Another form of physical abuse leaves no physical evidence, such as when the head is forced into a toilet or cold bathtub and locked. Physical negligence, such as withholding or canceling food, shelter, and clothing, is common in families. Physical abuse includes throwing things, kicking, slapping, pushing, scratching, suffocation, strangulation, and causing head injuries. These are common practices of physical violence (Slabbert & Green, 2013). For some women in abusive relationships, death from physical injury is a terrible result (Andersen et al., 2005). Physical abuse refers to contact designed to cause fear, pain, and injury, another kind of physical pain or physical harm. In the context of compulsory control, physical abuse is to control the survivor. The dynamics of physical abuse in relationships are often complex (Rakovec & Felser, 2014). Physical violence may be the result of other abuses, such as threats, intimidation, and restrictions on the survivor's right to self-determination through isolation, manipulation, and other restrictions on personal freedom, denial of medical treatment, sleep,

deprivation, and forced drug or alcohol use. It is a common form of physical abuse. Physical harm to other targets (such as children or pets) to cause emotional harm to the survivor are some examples of physical abuse commonly practiced by financially poor *Dalit* families.

Analysis of the data collected from 43 women who had often encountered and well experienced with the incident of domestic violence reveals the experience, impact, and shaping the way women understand, and interpret domestic violence. It is important to understand how women conceptualise domestic violence, because this conceptualisation may in turn influence their approach to seeking help. The finding of this study is in line with the above facts. The direct and accurate source of information regarding survivor women's experiences of violence is from those who experienced it and is primarily based on how they define the term 'violence' depends. For the accuracy of collected data, women's direct quotes are used such as the forms and causes of violent behavior that their husband/family members exercise power over the women with families. There are different forms of violence reported by the survivor women. These include physical, psychological, and sexual violence. The study finding revealed that some of the survivor women discussed their husband's extramarital relationship/affairs, which are also associated with the violent behavior they endured from their counterparts. The frequently occurring incidents of violence reported by survivor women are physical violence especially encountered by their husbands. Of those survivor women, who reported the incidents of physical violence covered as slapped or having something thrown to the body of survivor woman, pushed, shoved or had their hair pulled by their husbands including mothers-in-law. Often junior brother-in-law and husband's sister are

involved as a perpetrator and committed a crime and or have done something pretty bad to survivor women in the study. Survivor women reported that the evidence of life experiences on forms and patterns of violence as they have encountered such as emotional, financial abuse, husband's extramarital affairs, and so on. This study gathered some of the survivor women's reflective cases that could explain the existing situation of domestic violence in the

For married *Dalit* women the themes and patterns of violence as perceived and explained by the participant women are directly quoted without any alteration in words that they have spoken during the interview. The following are some of the stories of survivor women related to physical violence:

This study found that 21 survivor women out of 43 reported that they have been facing physical assaults regularly of domestic violence by their husbands. Survivor women have had a fresh experience of violence in the form of hit, slapped, kicked, and punched. Throwing objects, as well as burning firewood, are also practiced by the perpetrator (usual husband) who committed a crime to the survivor (usually wife), sharply injured, and tortured by physical pain. From the analysis, it was learned that out of the forty-three survivor women, 21 women are kicked hit, and slap by their male counterparts. Thus survivor women's husband or ex-husband was identified as the main perpetrator, who is usually involved in domestic violence in the name of the husband and exercises power over his wife. Study findings clearly shows that physical violence is the most common experience of partner abuse incidents.

Few examples, of quotes from the survivor women who are suffered from physical violence and thus highlighted below as a case for this study:

One respondent reported:

“At the age of 17 years when I was pregnant, I gave birth to a daughter. Instead of getting support from my family members, I was tortured daily, physically abused, at a violent level, and had to rush to the hospital several times. Often neighbors helped me in treatment, but I did not get any help from my husband and other members of the family. I could not continue my married life with my husband and thought to live a single life. Finally, I decided to leave the home.”

Of course, among *Dalits*, men are greater than women. There is no doubt that any family in which a wife controls a husband is considered illegal. *Dalits* also believe that sons are important because they inherit any property, take over the family and take care of elderly parents. But even so, it is rare to see parents regretting the birth of a girl. If they don't have a daughter, parents are often disappointed (Still, 2011) thus these feelings are becoming more valid in the general perception of even women.

“In the first year of my married life, my husband showed me unusual behavior instead of sharing love. In the early days of the marriage, I started to get beaten up even for small things. After 10 months of marriage, he started sleeping in a separate room for no reason. He was always beating me up for not wanting to.”

One young respondent told that:

“My husband went to work in Dubai. For some months he did not send me money. At that time, I sold my jewelry (gold ring) for money...without asking for his permission. While he returned home, he got squalled off my body and pressed me. My skull was colliding with the wall and I was injured. Since then, it started

frequent headaches thus unable to work outside home...have been taking medicines since then.”

While her husband was in a foreign country, she sold her jewelry for food, but her husband did not understand this fact and beat her upon returning home. Ground touch reality is such that in addition, to bringing basic wages, without women, there would be no one to cook, clean, wash clothes, light a fire, fetch water and take care of children. *Dalit* men think that they have the right to beat their wives. Most of them go for daily wages in construction work and earn some money but most of the time, in the evening; they come from the hotel after drinking alcohol and beat their wives. The spectators are their children.

Survivor woman respondent reported:

“During one of the nights, my husband pushed me to the wall and knocked me unconscious without any reason. When I came to know that I was abused and got conscious... then it was noticed that the neighbors are visiting me... and my kids are crying with such incident, but my husband simply ignored it and left home for a while...”

Although women’s wages are about half that of men’s, it is often their wages that can bear the family's livelihood. Women’s income is usually used for food, clothing, and daily household expenses, while men spend a larger proportion of their wages on alcohol (Still, 2011). This fact is, however, poorly understood by the family members including a husband.

“My husband used to beat me when he was drunk...it was his everyday practice of beating to me. He first pulled the drawer out of the room and pushed me into the wall, he put pressure on my rift and started beating me with shouting very bad words.”

Separately residing respondents reported that:

“My husband went to a foreign country for seeking a job due to a shortage of income for survival. He had returned home after two years of stay in a foreign land. After a few months of his arrival, he started to beat me without reason. In the meantime, I had noticed that he had slowly been turning into an alcoholic thus quarreling without any logic was his kind of habit. He started to manhandle me several times citing my fault in behavior; often suspecting in my characters. Days passed slowly, I had maintained patience to survive my family life, thus I did not count on his misbehave. Meanwhile, I became pregnant with a second child, but we were not happy with this decision. I gave birth to my second child-baby a girl.”

Usually here include the image of living as a place to rest and relax, a place where she can freely enjoy harmonious moments away from the shackles of life, but if her husband is around, this is not the case for Kesu. Kesu commented that as soon as her husband returned home, the atmosphere at home was changed. Not only does she live in fear, but she also has her children. She said that it feels like living in a war zone where war may break out at any time, and bombs may break out at any time.

Above these cases highlighted the reality of domestic violence of how it occurs, where and when it occurs, and mainly who got involved in these cases. The findings

revealed that unemployment, poverty, and alcoholism are the main causes of domestic violence. Even in the case of love marriage, the existence of domestic violence is common that I have learned from this study. Physical violence is common in the most of the cases of domestic violence that I have studied has a long-term effect on divorce and separation. Patriarchy is the root cause of all this domestic violence against women where the husband exercises power over his wife (Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers of Nepal, 2012).

5.2.2 Psychological Violence

Psychological violence is agreed to control what the survivors do and who they talk to. Secular violence may be classified as a form of psychological abuse. It involves the exploitation of effective religious or spiritual values in society, or the use of authority and control over close partners, the use of the Bible to rationalise abuse or the cultivation of children in faith or spiritual practice, and it is not easy for spouses to approve (Winstock, 2014). Psychological violence is caused by acts, the pressure of acts, or coercive tactics, humiliation, controlling the actions, withholding information, deliberately doing against the will of survivors. Survivor women interviewed in this study have shared their bitter experiences about various forms of psychological abuse they received. Some of the survivors expressed feelings of shock, sadness, anxiety, and nervousness due to emotional blackmailing by their husbands. Few of the survivor women described the trouble of sleeping and eating together with their husbands, but scared due to the trauma and fear of having sex with their husbands. Others said that the thought of abusing her husband and family brought back brutal memories. Some survivor women have been mistreated perhaps due to the inability of giving birth to a son. Some

most of the respondent women reported that their mothers-in-law are responsible for the initiation of domestic violence because of the demand for dowry. Some respondents responded that if a survivor women's maternal home is rich, those women are less survivors.

Most of the married *Dalit* women were asked for money by their husbands, mother-in-law including her husband's junior brother, as an informal dowry. This sort of bargaining continued for years till the bargainer is financially satisfied with the survivor (the wife). The wife was usually pressurised to bring money from her maternal home.

The findings of this study showed that the respondents have been facing psychological/emotional violence by their male counterparts (n=17). Some of the survivor women did not recognise or not even feel that they were suffered from psychological abuse by their husbands or in-laws. Furthermore, in terms of abuse, psychological/emotional behavior is regarded as non-physical and is not often overlooked by people. During the interview, survivor women were asked few questions such as Did you ever experience abuse like naming you with abusive words, threatening, jealousy, insulting, and criticism of your physical appearance?. The name-calling, as stupid and bitch was not easily acceptable words thus felt embarrassed and humiliated if they named it in front of their children and other family members. The followings are some of the quotes of survivor women' stories drawn from the in-depth interview:

One respondent stated:

“I have struggled a lot to join my hands and mouth for survival. When he (my husband) got married to his second wife, I was a bit shocked by that news and thought of it as a big accident in my life. My son was also apart from me and

taken away by his father. My husband, mother-in-law, and his second wife kept aside and started living together...but he gave torture to me even if he remained, and his co-wife also came to abuse me.”

One of the survivor women stated that:

“Eventhough I was isolated by the family members, but still not convinced to disclose these unacceptable and emotional abuses...Sometimes, I felt little comfort by sharing these unique patterns of deserted married life...thinking that, sharing discomfort with a close friend would ease my internal pain...I feel a bit relieved. My son also started becoming offensive and did not even support me, because the boy was in favor of his father which is a shocking experience of my life, thus often blamed my fate. Due to these unpleasing family environments, I have been continued sufferer of violence.”

Different scenarios of psychological violence can be understood by the pattern and forms of violence. In this context, I tried to quotes Seti's story which was different from the story of others.

“During my pregnancy, I was emotionally disturbed because of my husband's repeated torture, as he started blaming me for extramarital relationships with another man...My husband started listening to his mother and unexpectedly he used to beat me. Additionally, my husband started to criticising my characters and looked me indifferently...this made me I feel humiliated. After nine months, I gave birth to a baby boy and thought that the little boy would bring change the scenarios of family quarrel, with the little hope of getting love and affection from my husband and family members including mother-in-law in the presence of a

cute baby boy. My husband was not changed rather started abusing me regularly and taunted me that this boy is not mine. He started to chide me every day and humiliated me in front of his parents and other families, again they were supportive of their son. In these circumstances, I did not have choices thus compromised with the situation and lived together with the hope of a better future which never turned into the reality of my hope.”

According to the above quotes reported by the abused women, it has been learned that inter-personal harmony and family coherence has an important role in the survival of family and peace. If we disrespect the value of family and forgot about the individual role and responsibilities, that family will not survive rather collapsed. In many patriarchal societies, a married woman is taught, bound to be loyal and adjustable to her husband's new home, and must be obedient to the household norms and values system, even when she is insulted by all family members including her husband. Similar cases are in existence with the married *Dalit* women in Nepali society. It is a bitter truth that the main perpetrator of the domestic violence against a married woman is her husband, and is supported by mother-in-law and families. When husband shall listen to his mother and suspected that his wife is not matched able. In that background, he (the husband) started to look next wife and would engage in extramarital affairs with other women. It was learned that woman who were survivors of domestic violence often said that they have endured violence and kept quiet just for the sake of children's future.

The stories of survivor women are different in terms of age, social status, level of the economy, family status, level of education, and so on. The following are some of the typical stories of survivor women stated:

“I was harshly beaten by the husband until the blue scar appeared around my neck and eyes. I was scared of such an incident and never tried to go to the hospital. Scenarios looked like my husband did not like me and kept me and my kind completely away from him. My husband and relatives left me alone, even friends were reluctant to talk with me...thus I often felt humiliated with their hate... following their inhuman behavior, I maunder depression since then. At present, I am living with my maternal home and felt lonely. These incidents of inhuman treatment of my husband and families brought her into depression thus sometimes I have blamed for my own fate (*mero bhagya yestai hola*).”

When a woman's financial position is weak and depends on the husband's income, and the family situation deteriorates and she becomes helpless. Instead of helping people in the community, they start to despise. For example, one of the participants reported that:

“I was much worried, and anxious about my living, and kept idle for a long time. My blood pressure was very high because of the irresponsible husband's brutal behavior. I was unable to visit the hospital and seek medical help. I visited the doctors...when I had realised the situation of my mental stress. I was unable to work as wage labor as before and not even earn money.”

Survivor women have to struggle a lot to survive. Even though they have the responsibility of children also, nobody help them. For example, one survivor woman said that:

“I have tried to forget the terrible violence that I encountered in my life several years back by my husband, but I have still fresh memory of that brutal incident. I always cried and I felt that death might be the best option for me. I thought that I

have only two choices- either die or live with abused life. I was a bit emotional and attempted suicide several times... and for that I often went to Seti River. I have saved my life even I was in a painful situation, but because of the love of my children..., I have changed my mind and I have been living with my children hoping for their better future. At this moment, I thank the almighty God..., I am still alive...”

Factors associated with “lifetime” and “past year” IPV experiences include women who witnessed parental violence in childhood, husbands who often get drunk, women who fear their husbands most of the time, and women whose husbands exhibit marital control behavior. Women suffering from IPV are more related to husbands than to women’s empowerment indicators. Reducing IPV requires a commitment to change the norms that promote husband control of wives and wife-beating (Gautam & Jeong, 2019). These facts are also closely related to the results of this study.

“My husband always insulted me when he spoke abusively about me in front of his family, around here and there. He wanted to humiliate me for no reason and hurt me. When I gave birth to a daughter as our first child, my husband was unhappy and started beating me... saying that why you give birth to a daughter, I need a son! It is not the decision of choice of either daughter or son. My husband was just mad and brutally hurt me. My life was damaged by his behavior. To end with abuse... he got second marriage to a woman of a nearby village.”

When a woman gave birth to a child, she is bound to take care of her child and obviously, she should spend much time for the newly born feeding baby and for taking

care of the rest of her family members. In this way a wife with a feeding child is emotionally closer to her child, quite often husband is jealously observing that my wife is not giving me much time for romance rather she is always busy in her childcare and other associated work. She forgot to look after me and my desire... and often begins to abuse his wife as if she is her puppet! This is one case story of a woman, whose violence started with emotional blackmailing and usually blamed her by the husband for not giving enough time after giving the birth of the child.

“When I remembered those past days I had no plans to marry him, but my father has suddenly accepted the proposal of that man to marry me. My father agreed to marry me to that man at the early age of 16 years. After he got married to me I was quite frustrated and embraced of his behaviours. After a few months of marriage, he traveled to a foreign country and stayed for three years... till then I was waiting for his arrival and expecting love from him...thus patiently waited for long. Unfortunately, he did not return rather started to live with another woman and waited for legal marriage with her (*Afno karmai futeko; chhoriko janma hareko karma*)... blamed to the fate.”

Similarly, another woman reported that:

“I know that violence disturbed family union often occurs without reason. Sometimes, when an argument starts with a small issue that could lead to the bigger argument, and the partner gets fighting each other, mostly women are physically weaker and become the survivor of violence. Usually, such incidents occur... when the husband came home drunk and on drugs, he normally starts an argument and ended up violent. If it continues there will be no choice of leaving

separate. A divorced woman remembering those horrible days and cries with emotion in front of ... Now I am living alone... Saying that my life is ruined.”

It was learned that many of her neighbors and friends are not happy with her decision to divorce. They all blamed her as she is not good enough for her ex-husband. Thus women are always suffering from all kinds of social blames, though she is always the survivor of psychological and emotional violence.

5.2.3 Sexual Violence

Sexual violence involves the violation of an individual's physical integrity (sexual assault), including coercive sexual contact, rape, and prostitution, as well as any unwelcome sexual behavior, including the treatment of someone in a sexually derogatory manner or any other behavior of a sexual nature, whether it is physical, verbal or non-verbal (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). Sexual violence also includes acts that restrict reproductive rights, such as preventing the use of contraceptives and forced abortions including many forms, such as physical and psychological/emotional forms of domestic violence against these survivors. Sexual violence continues to undermine women's human rights and ignores social progress because of its invisible panorama (Acharya et al., 2019).

This includes undesired vaginal, oral, or anal insertions that are completed or tried, forced, or promoted by alcohol/drugs. Forced penetration occurs through the use of force by the offender on the survivor or the threat of physical harm to the survivor. The survivor was forced to infiltrate others. This includes completed or attempted, coercive or alcohol/drug-assisted incidents that force the survivor to sexually assault the offender or

other person without the survivor's consent. Unnecessary penetration of non-physical pressure. This includes incidents where the survivor is subjected to verbal pressure or through intimidation or abuse of power to consent or acquiesce in infiltration. This includes deliberately touching the survivor without the survivor's consent or allowing the survivor to touch the perpetrator's genitals, anus, groin, breasts, inner thighs, or buttocks directly or through clothing.

This includes unnecessary non-physical incidents that occur without the survivor's consent. Examples include unnecessary sexual contact (such as pornography); verbal or behavioral sexual harassment; threats of sexual violence for other purposes; and/or unwelcome shooting, shooting, or dissemination of pornographic photos of others. Domestic sexual violence normally exists when husbands are considered as authoritarian to their wives, and thus thinking rightful power over the sexuality of their wives. Sexual abuse occurs when the perpetrator demands sexual activity without the permission of a woman. It is also known as marital rape. The man thinks it is his right and permission to have masculinity in any form he wants at any time he wants, without deliberately pleasing the feelings of his female partner (Hirachan & Limbu, 2016)). Sexual violence is most often committed by people the survivor knows, and this includes intimate partnerships. There are many different forms of sexual violence in intimate partner relationship, including; intimate partner sexual violence, domestic violence, marital rape. No matter what terminology is used or how this relationship is defined, it is absolutely impossible to engage in sexual activity without someone's consent (Garcia et al., 2013).

Sexual abuse is defined as any sexual act that proposes sex, teasing, spreading sexual jokes, and performing bizarre behaviors, while sexual exploitation is defined as

contacting, inducing, coaxing, or forcing sexual relations. According to a baseline survey conducted by the Minister of Justice (2008/09-10), more than three-quarters of the interviewees had heard of sexual abuse and exploitation, with Rautahat (82%) relatively more, followed by Bara (80%), Doti (75%) and Jumla and Dhanusa (72% each). These incidents often occur in homes and workplaces. Therefore, the baseline research report shows that 62% of survivors of violence occur at home, while only about 25% occur in the workplace (Annual Report of the Office of the Attorney General, 2008/09 and 2009/10). Therefore, the family is the main site of domestic violence against women.

Physically forced to have sexual intercourse against their partner's wishes, to have sexual intercourse out of fear, or to be forced to do degrading or insulting things are all forms of sexual violence. Five of the 43 women who are survivors spoke candidly about sexual violence. This is a form of violence, and it is harder for women to report to others physically or emotionally. A female survivor reported their story during the interview:

“When my husband got drunk, he started to have sex with me, at the time of pregnancy which I did not prepare and refused due to my physical condition. He simply ignored my refusal of sex, rather continued... The more I refused, the more I faced physical abuse... I was quite nervous with his inhuman behavior”.

It seems that sex is an integral part of the survivor husband's movement to ensure that she will use every miniature of her survival, every bit of her strength to meet his needs. His anxiety about sex is not much different from the dinner she is going to make. Her life is focused on doing the right impossible feats. Her husband is the one who defines right and wrong. So much energy is spent on making the husband happy. And other important factors, such as gender power equations, moral values, attitudes to

violence, etc., can lead to sexual violence. In this case, one of the participants reported that:

“Most of the time, he used to force me and make physical contact. When I rejected his sexual desire, he came to me as wild and almost killed me. When I was physically weak, he began to beat me and wanted sex. He was always demanding sex even when I was not prepared. My husband did not even permit me to share a bed without sex.”

Over time, she learned to anticipate the needs of her husband. She made sure that he always got everything he wanted, even before he had to ask for it. She knew that when he was angry, she would be beaten, but she couldn't think of when he would be angry. She tried it anyway.

“My husband wanted to have sex with me, but I told him I had menstruation and simply ignored his sexual demand. At that time I better opened the door and left the room. One night, it was heavy rain outside, so I returned to the room and sat down a chair. He slapped me, beat me, and had sex with me. He hit my eyes and forced me for unwanted sex. It was brutal; I was under period, thus heavy blood flew due to the sexual intercourse. I felt so sad with the everyday demand for sex... He began to refuse for giving me money to spend for my household expense; the reason was that I did not allow him for sex. Alternatively, he has started abusing me like beating or insulting me and annoying me with vulgar words...”

Gender-based violence is rooted in norms, socialisation practices, structural factors, and policies, which are the basis for men to abuse married women elsewhere, and

alcohol can exacerbate these outbreaks of violence. The intersection of domestic violence, childhood alcohol exposure and depression, can lead to consumption and its consequences, including enforced sex (Berg et al., 2010), resulting in unpleasant consequences between husband and wife.

Sexual violence in married life is a kind of social taboo in Nepalese society. The socio-cultural practices did not allow all married women and men to broach their sexual life outside the household fence. Hence, sexual abuse is still being treated as a personal and private matter and confined within society (Puri & Tamang, 2008). It is believed that sexually abused women have regards to their sexual issues, which was still a challenge. Nonetheless, the entire participant informants of this study reported that they are well experienced about the incident of sexual abuse, saying that it has mainly been caused by a husband or often ex-husband. Out of forty-three respondent women, only six are admitted about unwanted sexually abusive relationships including marital rape. They did not well elaborate on the pattern and practices of sexual abuse. Most of the women are unable to speak frankly about the matter of sexual abuse encountered by their husbands. They wanted to hide the existence of such sexual abuse, thinking that these issues are a personal matter. Most of the respondents reported that these are quite sensitive issues thus inappropriate to disclose with others.

Some respondents were initially hesitant to talk about the issues of sexual violence, but with the proper counseling by me, they were prepared to share their lifetime bitter experiences of a pattern of sexual violence that many of the married women are encountered with the unwanted sex with her husband or ex-husband. Few of the respondents claimed that when their husband came home drunk, tried to have sexual

intercourse even when the partner was not ready for sex. In case if the wife denied sex, they were forced or sometimes were beaten by their husband simply because of denial of sex. In some cases, the husband wanted to have sex with his wife, which is natural in the normal situation, but if the husband desires sex during pregnancy, with a small baby or sickness could lead horrible to acceptance by the partner, and the consequence often could be violent. None of the woman used for this study knew about the word 'marital rape', thus they are if denied sex with their partner would become the survivor of domestic violence. Moreover, all the studied women are not familiar with the legal act and its official procedure for filing the case. These scenarios further worsen the life of married *Dalit* women in general.

5.3 Causes of Domestic Violence

There is no single factor that can explain violence against women. The focus of this research is to understand the forms of domestic violence, and its relationship with each factor that is thought to be influential for the initiation of domestic violence in the context of married *Dalit* women. Accordingly, cultural context, several complex and interconnected institutionalized social and cultural factors such as social and cultural norms, value system, and associated belief in each situation makes women vulnerable to violence against them. Moreover, all these factors directly or indirectly support the historically unequal power relations between men and women. The factors that lead to these unequal power relations include socio-economic forces, families, institutions where power relations are enforced, fear and control of women, female sexuality, socio-cultural beliefs and cultural sanctions on the inherent advantages of male favors, and traditional supreme legislation that denies women and children equal legal and social status with

men. The lack of economic power in the prevailing social and cultural norms makes women vulnerable to violence, and it is difficult to get rid of deep-rooted masculinity (UNECE, 2012).

As we all know, the economic production of *Dalit* women has an impact on the self-sufficiency of husband and wife. Divorce, “love marriage” and remarriage of widows are more common among *Dalits*. Although unpopular, *Dalit* women may survive on their income. This allows them to choose in their preparations for marriage and enables them to get rid of abusive marriages (Still, 2011). However, these critical issues are not all the time considered in society.

History showed that *Dalits* are socialised in a manner that they are the suppressive and oppressive group in the entire Nepalese society simply because of the existence of a hierarchically caste-based system. The practice of discrimination over *Dalits* had continued for a long and was followed by the so-called upper caste people, the state of caste-based supremacy has been transferring from generation to generation (Rathod, 2017). This kind of evil practice-led subordination especially to *Dalit* by non-*Dalit*, men to women, senior women to junior women, are the common prevailing practices of our society. Men are more likely to perpetrate violence if they have low social status, a history of child maltreatment during childhood socialization, witnessing to domestic violence due to broken home, undermining mother's value in the family, uncontrolled use of alcohol, unequal gender norms, including attitudes towards the acceptance of violence, the entitlement of inherited property in the name of women, all are contributing factors to domestic violence.

Women are more likely to suffer from intimate partner violence if their education level is low, their mothers are abused by their partners, and are abused in their childhood, the attitude of accepting violence, the traditional supremacy of male privileges, and the subordinate status of women are more likely to suffer from intimate partner violence. These are all women's obligations in the family and society. Factors related to intimate partners and sexual violence usually occur at the individual, family, community, and broader social levels. These factors are directly or indirectly related to becoming a perpetrator of violence and experiencing violence, and some factors are even related to becoming a perpetrator and a survivor of violence. The results of the study show that low levels of education, child abuse, witnessed domestic violence, harmful use of alcohol, anti-social personality disorder, multiple partners or suspected infidelity by partners, community norms give men a higher status, and lower the status of women ; women have fewer opportunities to obtain paid work, all of which are related to domestic violence. Marital discord and dissatisfaction, communication gaps between partners, men's control over their partners, and factors particularly related to sexual violence include; belief in family honour and sexual purity, an ideology of male sexual rights, and resistance to sexual violence Legal sanctions are weak. Gender inequality and norms regarding the acceptability of domestic violence against women are the root causes of violence against women.

5.3.1 Patriarchal Structure of Nepali Society

In Nepali society, men usually control women in various sectors. Male occupies superior position and women are merely his subordination, some patriarchal societies are also patrilineal societies, which means that property and titles are inherited by the male

lineage. Nepalese society is patrilineal, thus never recognised woman's self-identity rather she is known first with her father's title (*Falanako Chhori*); after marriage, she will be entitled with her husband's title (*Falanako Shreemati*); after the death of her husband, she will be known with her son's name (*Falanako Aama*). Men are known for being aggressive while women are considered submissive (Agrawal, 1994).

Patriarchy is a social system in which men usually have the main power and dominate political leadership, moral authority, social privileges, and property control (Sultana, 2010). Patriarchy is about the social relations of power between 'men to women', 'women to women', and 'men to men'. Patriarchy is a system that maintains class, gender, race, and heterosexual privileges, and the status quo of power. It relies on brutal forms of oppression such as violence; and subtle, such as the law; perpetuating inequality (Dabby & Poore, 2007). Patriarchal societies allowed rights to men and encourage their domination and exploitation over women. Explain domestic violence, especially domestic violence that has been systematically targeted at women in history. They regard wife-beating and other abuse of the inability of the family as the patriarchal structure of the family in the social system (Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

Patriarchy is a structural force that affects power relations, regardless of whether they are abused or not, power sets the agenda of patriarchy. There is always a conflict of power between men and women in every society, more often common in developing countries like in Nepali society. Culture is used to justify gender inequality and violence by evoking traditional cultural beliefs about how to treat women. To defend the culture of a place, country, and religion is to defend the patriarchal culture of that country, religion, and identity; and the ubiquitous culture of violence. It usually includes any social,

political, or economic mechanism that evokes the dominance of men over women.

Although patriarchy was established to benefit men, it can also harm men in many ways, because men have always been scrutinized by fabricated social norms established by patriarchy.

In Nepali society, certain cultural system norms and practices have lowered the morale of women's self-sufficiency and contributed to gender-based violence. Violence against women stems from patriarchal notions of women's physical and sexual rights. The deep-rooted thought of male superiority to female inferiority enables men to exercise unlimited power over women's lives and efficiency freely. Due to highly internalised patriarchal practices, violence is a tool that men continue to use to control women, and it gives men the right to use violence against their wives when they want (WHO, 2012a).

The Constitution and protective laws advocate justice and equality as goals, but established concepts and common understandings assign different kinds of resources, opportunities, and expectations to gender, each of which should be bound by its unique fairness and equality norms. Justice leads to serious injustices to women, which is the reason for their exploitation and low social status. Discrimination against girls began from the moment the child was born and continued to be maintained and strengthened through the differentiated socialisation process of her life. The difference in gender roles is evidence of occupation and education. It makes every woman believe in accepting subordinate status. Patriarchy combines direct, structural, and cultural violence in a vicious triangle. They circularly reinforce each other from every corner. Direct violence, such as rape, intimidation, and repression; institutionalised structural violence; and

cultural violence internalises this relationship, especially for survivors, namely women, making this structure very durable (Galtung, 1996).

The social power relationship between social members based on gender is called patriarchy. Patriarchy is a social system that transfers power from the father to the oldest boy. The main reason for the violation of women's rights in the patriarchal society is the lack of awareness and education. Educated women know better what is right and what is wrong. Patriarchal society is traditional and limits the ability of women to reach their full potential. In a patriarchal society, the son is favored and considered the most valuable entity in the post-mortem ritual (*Marepachhi sorga tarne*)

The finding of this study was corroborated in line with this common notion of son preference. Upon the religious, sons are those who hold funerals that opens the gates of the heaven. In addition, the male is the one who inherits the lineage (*Bamsadhaanne*), while the daughter is regarded as a temporary guest and will go to other people's homes. Houses after marriage (*Arkaako gharmaa jaani jaat*). These are the reasons that mothers' are emphasising their son and usually give importance to the daughter in Nepali society. This is an example of prevailing practices of patriarchy in Nepali society. In the patriarchal system male usually dominates in all kinds of decision and left-back women thinking that women are poor in decision-making. For example, man is considered as decision-makers thus usually involved in buying and selling of animals, determining the number of children to have, decisions for child health and education, decisions on determining children's marriage age, selection of bride/bridegroom, and the likes (Devkota & Pyakuryal, 2010).

This has limited women's power and women become subservient to men. One of the informants mentioned that after giving birth to the two baby girls, she was expecting the third baby which was diagnosed as a baby girl, and was forcefully aborted in the womb by the family pressure, including her husband. This case portrays incidents of violence related to son preference.

One survivor woman reported that:

“I got married when I was 16 years old with a 27 year-old man. His first wife had given birth to five daughters, but did not give birth to son. So, my husband got married with me as a second wife wishing that I would give birth to a son. At first, I didn't know about his demand for a son, but I gave birth to a baby girl after four years of marriage. I was also abused like his first wife simply not bearing a baby boy. My husband was always longed for son... After his torture, I left him and returned to my maternal home. Later, he apologised and convinced my parents to return me to his home. Again he repeated the same type of violence and kept on bargaining for a son. After a few years of struggle, I gave birth to a son, and finally, I was escaped from that kind of violence. With these ups and downs in my life I started to drink and smoke even though these practices are badly injurious for health...”

In the above case, violence was simply due to the preference of son and, negligence of daughter. In this case, the husband had married another woman, as his second wife, because of having several daughters instead of that he never thought. His preference was always a son. He even did not know the biology and genetics contribution and always gave pressure on his wife and blaming her why you did not give birth to a

son? For this reason, the wife is always the survivor of different forms of violence such as psychological, physical, and sexual violence, especially in the *Dalit* community. After the deep pain and struggle of a wife, she used to develop bad habits of drinking and smoking, that never thought of it. Not only these forms of abuse that women struggled but equally when there are huge age differences between husband and wife, the husband often died and she will be a widow at an early age, in that case, the wife may also be blamed as 'witch' thinking that she killed her husband (*Lognetokuwai*).

5.3.2 Low Financial Situation

Poverty affects all members of so-called untouchable families, but due to gender discrimination, poverty affects women and men differently. This is because traditional property ownership practices favor sons and husbands rather than wives and daughters, or because they favor sons and spend money to educate boys. The combined effect of caste and gender means that poverty has a disproportionate impact on *Dalit* women. Compared with historically privileged groups, married *Dalit* women's higher levels of poverty lead to lower levels of resource endowments (including education), which leads to the inability to obtain more productive occupations (FEDO, 2015).

Women's extreme dependency on men to fulfill their financial needs always exists in poor families. As the interviewee described it, this is especially true in the *Dalit* community. Poverty is the major factor causing the imbalance of power between men and women in the entire society. As the interviewee described, when there is a financial crisis, individuals will suffer in the economy, education, skill, and employment and the life of poor people would be vulnerable. This further deepens those vulnerable people, and finally entering into the poverty trap.

Most of the respondents were confined only to household chores and rearing children and the elderly. Fewer respondents also engaged in off-farm activities such as wage labor for survival. In this way, most of the poor and vulnerable women were fully dependent on husband in economic favor. Due to low income, it is hard to fulfill all the desires of each family member. Hence, the initiation of an argument begins between the earner and non-earner, simply for money and resources. A woman's economic dependency on her man will limit access to, cash, and credit which would be one of the many reasons always remain women in poor and measurable life (Kabeer, 2012). Even though there are laws regarding inheritance, property rights, and maintenance after divorce or widowhood, but failure in the implementation part. There are some other limitations such as women often lack access to employment in formal and informal sectors, limited access to education and training for women. These factors limit women's economic autonomy and power. Poverty and related pressures are some of the main factors that increase the risk of domestic violence through the impact of the conflict between female power and male identity. Violence against women is not only regarded as men's dominance over women but also rooted in men's vulnerability. This vulnerability stems from society's expectations of masculinity, which cannot be realized due to factors such as poverty experienced by men (UN General Assembly, 2018).

One of the respondents shared that:

“When I ask money to pay for household expenditure, my husband often refused my offer and he used to start quarreling with me and got angry with my children. He always mistreated me and my children by shouting at me or insulting publicly,

and disgracing me. My husband began to blame me as and when I did little mistake unknowingly, he gets irritated.”

In this study, participants attributed women's experiences of domestic violence to the severe economic situation. It describes how the lack of income and resources make married women vulnerable to abuse. The participants also worried that poverty makes women vulnerable to various threats, including physical, emotional and sexual abuse. They reported that lack of economic autonomy makes women dependent on their husbands financially. When women continue to rely on their male counterparts, it often prevents women from making independent decisions about household chores, thereby increasing their vulnerability to violence. A similar situation was reflected in the case story of a survivor woman where she was neglected by her husband simply for asking for some money to run the household. For instance, the husband was refused with her proposal of asking money and made her irritating possibly for dilution of the topic avoid an argument.

5.3.3 Social Norms and Cultural Practice

Most cultures still tolerate contemporary and traditional forms of violence against women. This is the cultural practice and assumption that men dominate women, which is deeply ingrained in almost all societies, and the acceptance of violence as a means of maintaining this control and even defending one's masculinity (Bunch, 2018) has continued in society.

In this research as well, several social norms and cultural taboos are reflected through the experience of survivor women. It is true also because such phenomena are

well recognised within the frame of cultural attitude and dimension that exists in terms of inflexible customary gender roles leading to family separation mainly due to violence against married women. To construct women to be conventional to their apparent responsibilities in the family, men frequently used physical force and aggression (Klara & Bhugra, 2013). Indeed the cultural accent males's sexual rights allow husbands to control women's sexual behavior and sexual behavior. Therefore, women's experience of violence is related to the general belief that the husband has the right to have sex with his wife at any time without his wife's consent. This impression is reflected in the following comments:

“One of the survivor women reported that in general, men are in search of looking bride with lower status in terms of wealth, education and age assuming that after marriage men could dominate his wife due to feeling of supremacy. She further stated that she was younger as compared with her husband and her parents, were of lower economic status. Thus, her husband was agreed to marry her. She again recalls these scenarios and explains that due to the younger age and poor economic status of her parents her husband always felt superior in the family and started controlling her in every aspect. This is a general voice of survivor women among the *Dalit* community.”

The voice of survivor women was expressed in line with the customary practices of cultural norms. “In the Nepalese society, it is customary for a woman to obey everything her husband says. But if a woman does not obey everything her husband says, she is not considered good and acts of violence are done against her. This tradition has been followed from generation to generation.

Ideally, *Dalit* men believe that women must contain fearful respect for their counterparts. Since this is exceptional in practice, they should use a hard give to stay women to make sure. If a woman is not compressed for make fault after that she will ultimately control her spouse, when his honor is endangered, he must establish his manhood throughout the action to preserve control (Still, 2017). In Nepalese society, opinions are mainly based on the opinions of men, and they are always partial to men. To change society's norms and perceptions of women, society should first abandon the proverbs they use in daily life. There are some proverbs used by society to insult women, which also reflect society and people's views on women. *Dhilo hos, chhora hos*; (Let it be late, but let it be a son). *Chhoriko janma hareko karma*; (Daughter is doomed as soon as she is born). *Swasni bhaneko paitalako dhulo ho*; (Wife is the dust on her feet). *Pothi base ghar nashinchha*; (The house ruled by women will definitely be destroyed). These perceptions often make a barrier to women working toward a better life; perhaps lack of educational opportunity is the critical factor to push women back in society.

It was also learned from the study that several cultural norms and values exist as a tradition that are directly related to causing domestic violence. For example, ignorance of science about sexing and a genetic constituent of 'X' and 'Y' gene bearing chromosome to determine baby's sex; preference for sons, the cultural dominance of males, the inheritance of property and lineage by males, gender discrimination, marriage system, rituals such assured color cloth ban to the widow- are some cultures that seem as strong factors affecting domestic violence. In many parts of Nepal, traditional cultural practices (isolated and deprived of resources during menstruation) still exist. Traditionally, women and girls are considered inaccessible during menstruation. In some parts of western

Nepal, women cannot even stay in houses. They are often forced to enter cowsheds or other huts that are not suitable for humans living outside. Although prohibited by law, other traditional forms of exploitation of girls, such as *Deuki* (dedication of daughters to temples) continue (FEDO, 2010).

Culture and traditional norms and values are still widely accepted in Nepali society. Domestic violence against women is a serious social problem because it has long-term harmful effects on women's health and well-being. Findings support the interpretation that culture is used to justify the violence against women, therefore violence against women is normalised, tolerated, and accepted as social behavior, and nobody question it. Men have the right to manhandle their wives, but if a woman commits such abuse on her husband, society rejects her, and nowadays the media makes the case viral. Tradition has been mentioned, and traditionally, it is part of our mentality that men should use violence against women. Women have relied on men since they are young. Inheritance of property will also be passed on to men, which can lead to more violence.

5.3.4 Extramarital Affairs

In the study, the survivor women reported about their husbands having extramarital affairs-as another important reason why women suffer from domestic violence. This is because the wife suspects or knows that the husband is involved with extramarital affairs involved in physical relations outside the relationship, often refuses to make love with their husband due to jealousy, frustration, and anger. However, when they resist physical contact or comments about the wrongdoing of their husband, often

they ended up with forceful lovemaking and battery. The following quotation illustrates the individual stories of one interviewed woman:

“...He sometimes insists on making love despite my continued refusal against this proposal, especially when he gets frustrated when he comes from outside work, and if he did not get a chance to make love with some other women. Under such context, he pretends that, he loves me and tries to win my heart to make love. I have a feeling that making love is a one-way process where pleasure goes to husband and I just need to comfort his feeling and physical behavior.”

It is the greatest powerful matter for wedded beings' involvement in an extramarital affair because gratification is still a key phenomenon in maintaining physical relationships. Lack of sexual satisfaction will eventually lead to a gap in expectations, and married couples are very sensitive to this issue. Another interviewed survivor woman reported that:

“When my husband came home from Saudi Arabia, I was very unhappy because he was already involved with another woman, perhaps with the use of social media. Often I noticed that he used to visit his woman in the market-somewhere and would return home by making love with her.”

Similar belongings can occur in the incident of male persons in terms of their desire to fulfill sexual dissatisfaction by making a new affair and obtaining an extra responsive partner.

5.3.5 Unemployment

Unemployment is a major cause of violence against women (Bhatt, 2017). Some men just cannot see other men doing well if they are unemployed, or underemployed. When the family encounters difficulties, if people lose their job, or they have financial problems, it will aggravate the stress and lead to alcohol or drug abuse. In this case, violence often occurs (State Planning Commission, 2005). Men often blame women for their failures; they hold grudges against them and commit crimes against them to eliminate their frustration. Found unemployed man beating his wife on very trivial domestic issues. One survivor woman reported that:

“...My husband is unemployed. If he ever earns money from wage labor occasionally he can eat and drink outside at hotel, but ignores to pay children's school fees, instead insist me to ask children for the job. When I talked about the financial problem, he beat me always. I can't even afford to buy a pen for my kids, but I want to give them better education, thus struggling hard.”

The real core of the scene is such that several participant respondents and their husbands are unemployed in the true sense. The findings revealed that some of the respondents' husbands were engaged in foreign employment in Gulf countries whereas most of them were engaged in daily wage labor. Back home, very few were involved in agriculture as they did not hold sizable land to be involved in agriculture, mainly in the *Dalit* community. Unemployment leads to poverty, and alcohol abuse, which in turn leads to the abuse of women.

5.3.6 Alcohol Use

It has been well accepted that most of the crimes committed under the influence of alcohol or drug abuse are the evil effect of alcohols or drugs-the evil effect of alcohols results in heavy damage of the mind and the body, and perhaps expose them in susceptibility to crime (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2013). Excessive drinking of alcohol results in starvation for the family members, assaults and quarrels between husband and wife; between father and child desecration, beating, and cruelty. Indeed alcohol-related crime illustrates a reckless disregard of time-space and circumstances.

The common belief is such that men are made to drink, they starved their children, and they beat their wives and wasted their money. Why don't you let them close the store? We will die of alcohol. Some women tried to punish their drunk husbands by refusing to cook for them. But most people think that the wife should do her duty to provide her husband with rice, and if she refuses to feed him, she may be beaten. Women do not like the influence of alcohol in the community, but they accept their role as breadwinners and believe that their husbands can spend their wages as they wish, while their wages are used to support the family (Still, 2011).

Alcohol-related abuse and negative consequences are not only the drunkard but also the people around. There is a close relationship between alcohol and domestic abuse, violence, and sexual assault (Foster, 2014). As this research website reveals, almost all husband perpetrators drink alcohol. After getting drunk, they returned home and started arguing or abusing their wives. They tried to force their wives to have unwanted sex, and when their wives refused, there would be disputes. A lot of money is also spent on drinking, which increases poverty. One inter-caste married survivor woman reported that:

“...My husband often comes home mid-night, every day drinking alcohol, and starts giving me physical torture. His blames to me and talks things related to my character, but I respect to him as well as to his colleagues who visit my home for drinking alcohol.”

Traditional norms and values play a vital role in family life (Islam, 2014).

Cultural Male practices and frequent alcohol abuse are regarded as one of the main factors of domestic violence (WHO, 2015). Traditionally, violence is justified because the husband has the right to keep their wife within a defined boundary discipline. Despite all these inconsistencies in thoughts and behavior, if a woman questions, or suspect against his husband by learning about his extra-marital affairs, society wouldn't easily support her. Another young survivor woman stated that:

“... I have many female friends who receive their husbands at home quite late in the mid-night. They give excuses several times even when they come drunk and mistreat them. We often share this story among wives. Several bitter experiences are there with us. My husband even starts beating me when he comes home after drinking plenty of alcohol. Often I also take some glass of alcohol to relieve my pain and torture. Who knows, I might as well pick up the drinking habit.”

Several persons arrive at a wedding for incorrect reasons like pressures from Family and society. After a while, many people even agreed to get married without knowing each other. Individuals always looking for the best things for themselves is another potential factor leading to extramarital relationships. Regardless of the reason, even after marriage

5.3.7 Dowry

Dowry is a tradition, employed during the marriage in which members from the bride's maternal house offer certain cash, or kinds, or both to make the bridegroom side happy and to ease the situation for the bride to adjust to the new house environment (Sukumar, 2017). Often, dowry is demanded in marriage because it is considered to be the traditional right of the boy's family in our culture. It is sanctioned by custom and it is hard to be resisted (Devi, 2015). Dowry related conflict may arise in every family, sooner, or later, with varying degrees of disputes, but it may create tension in the family, and after marriage, perhaps in due course of time, due to hunch of dowry in mind, the husband might neglect his wife and search an opportunity of prostituting another woman. Slowly husband picks up the habit of drinking alcohols resulting in weak relations between wife and husband. Under such context, women can always prove at fault by a complicated logic and crimes can be committed against them with impunity (Reshma & Ramegowda, 2013). The following remarks are worthy to reflect to elaborate and justify the dowry-related survivor: One maternal home staying survivor women stated that:

“I am 29 years old. I had done an arranged marriage when I was 20. I have been blessed with one daughter, but now-a-day I live in my maternal home. My story is such that after a few months of marriage, my mother-in-law commented about negligible dowries. My husband started to listen to his mother. One and a half years after my marriage, I gave birth to a daughter, but slowly then after, my mother-in-law and husband began to scold me. My husband also started beating me with the consent of his mother. My husband was unemployed and one year ago he went abroad seeking a job. After that my mother-in-law and brother-in-law

both started to scold me. I complained about this to my maternal home, and my mother called to me stay with her in my maternal home, still I have to receive several calls from mother-in-law threatening me with words of torture.”

This case describes that the *Dalit* community also has a dowry system like other communities. Women who bring less dowry from the maternal home are sometimes tortured and neglected by the new family. This case is one such example. The mother-in-law and other family members are also regarded as the perpetrators. It also shows that even among the younger generation, traditional customs are flourishing and dowry is still one of the factors associated with married female survivors. In fact, *Dalits* also began to provide dowry by following the culture of the upper caste.

5.3.8 Jealousy

The violence of jealousy is predominantly vented on the partner rather than the actual or supposed rival. Men are responsible for the majority of the killings and serious injuries resulting from jealousy, though this may reflect less a quality of male jealousy and more the qualities of male aggression (Boyce et al., 2016). Many participants respondents in my study stated that their husbands and mothers-in-law get jealous when they go out, talk on mobiles, or spend money as per their wishes. When they talk with other males, their husbands get angry and abuse them. This is especially true for young women. One separated survivor woman reported:

“My husband has stopped me to support with money and he wanted me not to go to the outside communities/villages even to meet my relatives and friends. He wanted me to stay all the time at home. I didn't want to ask him for money even to

buy food items as he would like to control me from every perspective including cash support. Moreover, he did not allow me to talk to any male friends-even to his brothers. He spied at me while I received a phone call even from my maternal home. Indeed, all these are a kind of violence to me and I have endured all kinds of violence for society and my children. I do not have my personal earning, neither I am involved in any kind of job, and also feeling physically and mentally weak.”

A mother-in-law can also be supporters or even perpetrators of any kind of violence since they are the boss to control daughters-in-law and other family members as well. Especially, they dominate the daughters-in-law and try to exert control over them for resources, behaviors, and common sorts of dealing with the people-causing domestic violence in every sphere of living (Robins, 2009).

There are several cases related to such inferences. Some of the respondents who stayed with their mother-in-law reported that their mother-in-law would try to exercise power over them, scold them, and sometimes swear words to their husbands (Apter, 2018). This, in turn, caused the husband to abuse them physically and verbally. For example, some mother-in-laws persuaded their sons that their wives brought very little dowry, and they spent a lot of money, these are all cases of jealousy caused by the dowry.

One single survivor woman reported:

“I am single now; I have four children. One is the daughter and the others are sons. My husband passed away three years ago in a bus accident and I got some money from insurance. But I have no land or shelter for earning and caring for my

children. I have spent that money on my children's education, but my mother-in-law always tortured me for money which I didn't give her.”

Indeed, the causes of domestic violence against women are related to the complex social, cultural, economic, and legal processes that account for increasing violence against women (Fulu, & Miedema, 2015). There are various factors to contribute to domestic violence against married *Dalit* women in Nepalese society, among them jealousy could be one of them to consider.

5.3.9 In-laws Supporting Violence

Domestic violence is not the only husband involved in abuse in most cases, in-laws also abuse women (their daughter-in-law). The women in the present study live with their in-laws. Differences in daily life and cooking and cleaning methods are common causes of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. These differences resulted in several physical and verbal fits of abuse.

In-laws can also be supporters or even perpetrators of women survivors in Nepali society. Most of the time, they dominate the daughters-in-law and sister-in-law and try to exert control over them. Some respondents who stay with their mother-in-law and father-in-law reported that they would try to power them, scold them, and sometimes speak ill of them to their husbands. This, in turn, caused the husband to abuse them physically and verbally. For example, some mother-in-law convince their sons that their wives bring a very little dowry, and they spend a lot of money. One divorced survivor women told that:

“I am a divorcee, and I have a daughter. Now I live in a maternal home and my daughter also living with me. My husband and mother-in-law always tortured me

about to dowry. My mother-in-law always tortured me for money which I didn't give her in marriage; my father is less well-being, a kind of poor man so he could not offer much dowry during the marriage, but my mother-in-law and husband started to violence with me after some month of marriage.”

Mother-in-law tries to dominate and control the daughter-in-law which is a common practice in Nepalese society, especially in the joint family system. Respondents who are living with their mother-in-law said that their mother-in-law had tried to force them to abuse and sometimes to do bad things to their husbands. Consequently, husbands listen to their mothers and physically and verbally abuse their wives. One young survivor woman reported that:

“His parents never showed affection and love to me. They always told me to live by their rules. According to their rules, only the deaf should be dumb; I must always obey his mother, what commands she delivers to me. I should consider their words and say as law. All these things make me very sad.”

In this way, women continually rebounded between their marital (or in-laws') homes, often concluding in married *Dalit* women, themselves at the emotion of conflict among and between the families. On several times, the battered women are subject to the whims of their spouse and/or in-laws and did not have an actual voice in the decision-making.

5.4 Chapter Summary

Using qualitative in-depth interviews, this chapter presented results and major findings concerning domestic violence (physical, psychological/emotional, and sexual

violence) experiences by married *Dalit* women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Nepal. The first section outlined reasons for forms of violence against married *Dalit* women, while the second section presented the contributing factors of domestic violence against these women. The major contributing factors that I have considered in this study included- patriarchal structure of society; poverty, social norms and cultural taboos, child marriage, second marriage, extramarital affairs, unemployment, alcohol use, dowry, jealousy, and mother-in-law supporting violence. The findings revealed that domestic violence is common in the lives of married *Dalit* women, with harmful effects on their health and well-being. In this study, many married *Dalit* women are found subjected to physical, psychological/emotional, and sexual violence, and had faced severe consequences from their husbands, while other family members also appear to be abusing them. When they are exploited being women, on the top, poor, and *Dalit*, with so-called low caste- violence against married *Dalit* women should be considered a serious social crime indeed.

CHAPTER SIX

MAJOR CONSEQUENCES AND COPING STRATEGY OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on seeking the major consequences and coping strategies of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women. The information provided by the respondents, the survivor women, during the interviews were the major basis of the analyses. Accordingly, domestic violence consequences have been identified as a mental health problem, physical injuries, Gynecological problems, migraine, miscarriage, headaches and mental illness, suicide attempt, self-injurious behaviors (smoking, alcohol use), and transfer of these effects/consequences also to their progeny/children. The important coping strategies included-remained in deep silence; seeking help from neighbors and mother group to console; seeking help from the members at maternal home and friends, getting legal advice and action through police case, and legally splitting with the husband-divorce.

Domestic violence is deliberate and persistent abuse based on unequal power and control status (Rakovec, 2014). Domestic violence can include a series of behaviors that a person uses to control another person with whom they have or has had a close or family relationship (Kaur & Garg, 2008). Domestic violence can take many forms-physical, psychological, economic, sexual, and emotional, and it can usually be a combination of several of these forms. It includes various forms of violence and control behavior, such as physical assault, sexual abuse, rape, threats and intimidation, harassment, humiliation and control behavior, financial detention, economic manipulation, deprivation, isolation,

devaluation, and constant unreasonable criticism (Krantz & Garcia, 2005). In fact, domestic violence is an element of the overall problem of violence against women, including crimes such as murder, rape, sexual assault, trafficking, sexual stalking, and sexual harassment. Domestic violence often occurs in a certain time. Survivors of DV experience a range of emotions, including fear, reluctance, uncertainty, worry, and stress. DV can affect a person's self-esteem and self-confidence, all of which can make leaving an abusive relationship a daunting and terrifying step (Walby et al., 2014).

Domestic violence has an impact on the health and well-being of women both in the short and long-term. It often seems ongoing even after the relationship has ended. In these processes, it is thought that the emotional consequences of violence can be as serious as the physical effects. In fact, compared with women who have not experienced violence, exposure to violence usually leads to poorer physical health and increases women's risk of a series of health problems (Rakovec, 2014). Domestic violence seems in existence to the family, imposed mainly by husbands and other family members of married *Dalit* women whereas its effects on the survivor in terms of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse are commonly recognized. Some of the consequences resulting from domestic violence due to the misbehavior and physical torture by husband and in-laws include: Physical injuries, bruises and chronic pain syndromes, disability, gastrointestinal diseases, headaches, abdominal pain, burns, eye injuries, decreased physical function, chronic weakness, sudden changes in weight and more similar conditions (Sapkota et al., 2019).

The physical effects of domestic violence may include physical injuries such as cuts, bruises, fractures, etc. What is usually not so obvious is the emotional pain directly

caused by domestic violence. This emotional pain can have a devastating effect on the survivor, and this effect is widespread in the short and long term. Survivors of domestic violence do experience a range of emotions, including fear, confusion, uncertainty, worry about children, instability, and anxiety, all of which make it increasingly difficult to maintain this relationship (Women's Aid Federation, 2020). Research results show that domestic violence can cause lasting damage to the physical and mental health of survivors, affecting all aspects of their lives, including work, interpersonal relationships, social life, confidence and self-esteem. Recovering from the effects of domestic violence is a long and painful process.

6.2 Consequences of Domestic Violence

6.2.1 Physical Injuries

Physical injuries may cause different bodily harm to the survivors. Especially, if the series of physical harm or damage caused by perpetrators is huge, the consequence may last as long-term health impacts. The other part of the story is such that all various forms of violence can lead to different reproductive health problems. Physical and sexual violence can directly cause health problems, while emotional violence can indirectly cause problems. In the present study most of the survivor women had explained that they had been physically abused by their husband/ex-husband. Most of the survivor women reported that they suffer from long-term consequences and problems including migraine headache and backache due to physical torture and abuse. Likewise, they also reported the short-term consequences including physical injuries, bruised, hits, and hand fractures. Some survivor women are suffering from injuries even during the interview time (number recorded: four women having injury). One case was with a 29 years old woman who had

suffered from a headache problem and having a dark-blue sign on her body. The next-32 years old woman, whose left hand was fractured; the third was a case of a 28 years old woman, who had a blue a dark sign in the right eye, and 27 years old woman received a slap and was beaten hard by her husband. During the time of the interview, some survivor women are suffered from psychological problems as well. The following is the excerpts about the experience of one of the remarried survivor woman stated that:

“This is my second marriage; my husband tortures me almost every day by relating to this fact. He is a druggist and always drinks alcohol and hits me during night time at home. I found out later on that my husband was involved in drug abuse, and when he always used to come home, he used to get intoxicated and used to beat me to learn more about my past marriage history. Before a week he has beaten my left arm-which is now fractured. Meanwhile, our neighbors complained to the police about the incident and the police took him to custody.”

In most police cases, such tortures and abuse are not considered as domestic violence, but the event due to consumption of alcohol which is considered as a simple punishable offense that they keep the offender 24 hours in the custody and then release. These are equally related to the fact that survivor women are ignorant of existing rules, laws, legal provisions, and punishment against domestic violence. The following comment is worthy to note: Another remarried survivor woman told that:

“I got a second marriage, my husband is a driver, and he always beat me when he comes home drunk. Four days ago I was beaten by him onto my head and there was a blue stain around my eyes. Now I have left my children with his mother and

I live at my maternal home. I haven't lodged any complaint about this case to the police".

From the above case, it appears that possibly women having second marriage are at higher risk of torture and physical abuse by their husbands, and, or mother-in-law in search of the causes of breakdown, and scenario of her previous marriage. Most of the women who had married the second time knew that marriage is not a solution to them to live a decent life, yet they enter into the business due mainly to the responsibility of their children, by being a mother, and in many cases, they feel socially secured if they are married. The following is an excerpt of a case related to the story: One survivor woman reported that:

"When my husband returned to Saudi Arabia, I spoke to him that I knew he was in a marriage relationship with a woman nearby the village. In return, he started beating me up. Yesterday, he hit me with a hot pan and at my neck, my head, and scared the kids. Now I can't turn my neck around, and am feeling a severe pain."

Some of the cases of survivor women are also related to the adjustment in the family and power of tolerance as they kept quiet even when they are confirmed about the involvement of their husband in the extra-marital affairs. All these adjustments are possible to make a living place in the family and to safeguard their existence against the possibly bitter future, had they fought with this case and came into the debate with their husband. One chronic headache problem survivor women reported that:

"I have suffered from headaches thus was unable to take care for my children.

When I was sick, and asleep on the bed, my husband never asked about my illness and helped in household chores, caring for children and household

responsibilities. I am unable to go to the hospital for a checkup due to a financial crisis. I have never got economic and moral support from my husband that makes me upset”.

The cases of extreme violence are also learned from the study. For example, some survivor women reported that they had suffered from migraine headaches, back pain, and gynecological problem. Furthermore, there was a long-term effect on the body, related to the torture, and manhandling. The following statements experienced by the survivor women are noteworthy:

In the present study, the survivor women stated in the interview that they are being subjected to long-term and short-term bodily harm by their family members. There are migraines, headaches, reproductive health problems, and ruptured hands, eye injuries, hearing problems, and many more. Another survivor woman stated that:

“I have a migraine headache and I am unable to buy medicine from the medical shop. I have been using the cheapest drugs such as Paracetamol, Nimes, and Synnex, and so on, but the last time those medicines didn't work to relieve my pain. I consumed double doses at a time, but this did not work effectively. Even under this severe pain, my husband did not support me, instead, rather he used abusive words irrespective of taking care of me and my children. He was a kind of irresponsible man who did not behave faithfully, and with love and responsibility. Finally, I left his house because of such behaviours.”

Survivor women reported that they are abused by their husbands/ex-husbands common form of injuries included-hits, kicks, cuts, punches, and scratches, followed by a long-term physical effect on reproductive health, and gynecological problems along

with migraine, back pain, headache, and often the cases of prolapsed and left her home In this connection, one of the participants reported that:

“After returning from work my husband used to drink alcohol every day and usually fights with me. One day, he hit me on my face with a flaming fire from the burning firewood and attempted to burn me. I was shocked and astonished with that incident which I have never imagined. I even couldn't imagine the incident of that day. A few days later, my husband did second marries with a woman from a nearby village.”

An overview of the experiences of the above survivor women exemplifies the cases related to women and domestic violence. Upon understanding all these scenarios, it was not hard for me to gauge out the extent and magnitude of the effect related to the survivor women as several points of physical abuse are learned such as-burnt, cut, and injured. Therefore, the physical health problem of the survivor women felt in trouble. Indeed, the consequences of domestic violence can be seen in long-term and short-term harm. But while minor injuries can be considered, most of the survivors reported that disclosing the violence by counterparts was very much dependent on the severity of the violence perpetrated by the abuser, regardless of the duration they remained in that abusive relationship.

Some survivor women also reported permanent injuries and body damage due to assault by their husbands. The information is critical to infer that women to live in such a violent environment would have a tough time to maintaining a relationship. Therefore, it is now increasingly convincing that survivor women are unsafe despite of their herculean attempt to maintain a relationship with their husband, but are unsafe largely.

6.2.2 Mental Health Problem

The mental health of women survivors is generally affected, regardless of the pattern of violence revealed by these research findings. In this research, many interviewees seem to have mental health problems. They suffer from loneliness, depression, despair and fear, strange behavior, anxiety, and anger from the perpetrators. Some of these actions further provoke violence against women. In a study conducted by Ellsberg (1999) in Leon, Nicaragua, after controlling for other factors, I found that abused women are six times more likely to report mental distress than non-abused women (Ellsberg, 1999) . This may harm their children and other family members in due course. Violence against women and girls can have an important impact on health and well-being. It has recently attracted attention as a major cause of preventable morbidity and mortality. Research over the past two decades has begun to document the serious effects of violence on the health of abused women and their children. Studies have shown that the physical and mental health of battered women and their families is much worse than that of unbattered women (World Health Organization, 2005). Survivors of physical injury and sexual violence may suffer direct and long-term psychological and mental health problems (Josse, 2010).

In the present study, survivor women talked about how the violence they have experienced affect them not only physically, but in the psychologically and emotionally as well. Most of the survivor women experienced a stressful, brutal, and depressing situation following the end of psychological torture. Some survivor women shared their experiences in interview time; excerpt followed:

Unwanted events of forceful lovemaking by their husband were well expressed. This was related to early marriage and ignorance of the consequences. Their husband often pushed them hard to satisfy their sexual desire, beat them, and arranged for physical relations, despite of their refusal. The resultant consequences are severe in terms of their mental health. One survivor reported that:

“My husband used to consume alcohol daily when he came back from work; he scoled me at night-time always, he hit me with some objects to my head, and pulled my hair well. Now, I am suffering from mental disturbance and have forgotten so many things in my past life- what's happened in the past.”

They are disturbed by serious abuse. Moreover, due to low financial conditions, they are unable to cure their ailments as well. Other survivor women reported a similar type of violence experiencee and one survivor woman reported that:

“I could not understand why my husband was given a traumatised scenario to me when I was 17 years old only. Actually, my mother-in-law put me in great pain. I have been out of the house nearly three months after losing my mental balance.”

The evidences are such that some women are facing violence from their husbands and mother-in-law, but they felt very tortured that they are afraid to leave their children and their homes, but they are not in a position to live and care for them. They are not only physically assaulted, but also suffering a lot of mental torture, and they did not seem to be able to endure it and left home. From the above mentioned, they are not up till now in usual condition. As well, they have depressing experiences of the past and the loneliness of the current situation, and in actuality they are still depicting by their children; they appear to be in extremely nervous circumstances. Their little children have been very

upset with not being able to stay with their mother. They also seem to have had a significant negative impact on their socialization process. One respondent stated that:

“...He abused me frequently after three months of our married life. He charged me when I refused to have sex with him; indeed, he charged to me blaming that I was in a relationship with another man and he kicked me out of the house. I am unable to talk to anyone now. I have been humiliated in the society, and I have been blamed for my fate, and now suffering from mental pain.”

I acknowledged numerous types of relationships between domestic violence against women and mental health problems. I found violence as an inclining reason in some while in many a precipitator or conservation issue. From time to time, it was a plain cohabitation and not perceived as unusually troublesome by the women with mental disorders. Though, in many, it comes from as a consequence and frequently contributed to its maintenance.

6.2.3 Reproductive and Gynecological Health Problem

Violence against women increases the burden of health, disability, medical care, social service costs, and child protection service costs, thereby depleting public resources that could otherwise be allocated to other urgent social needs. In addition, because a large part of the working population faces violence, labor loss, and low productivity. This has adversely affected the economic security of the family and the wider community (Islahi & Ahmad, 2015).

According to Campbell (2002), “gynecological issues are the most consistent, lasting, and largest health differences between battered women and unbattered women

(p.20)”. Campbell (2002) Women’s findings on the direct and indirect consequences of violence on health and well-being may include physical and chronic health problems, mental health problems, and sexual health problems. Other possible risks that pregnant women who are subjected to violence may face include miscarriage, stillbirth, premature delivery and childbirth, fetal injury, fetal distress, prenatal hemorrhage, preeclampsia or perinatal complications. Women (Taft et al., 2004). Patel et al. (2007) studied violence against women in Goa and found that “women who have experienced physical and sexual violence are diagnosed with bacterial vaginosis, etc., compared with people who have not experienced such violence. The likelihood of endogenous infection is 70 percent and 90 percent higher respectively (Patel et al., 2007). Violence against women can lead to injuries and serious physical, psychological, sexual, and reproductive health problems, including sexually transmitted infections, HIV, and unwanted pregnancies (WHO, 2020).

As we all know, all forms of violence can lead to different reproductive health problems. Physical and sexual violence can directly cause health problems, while emotional violence can cause indirect problems. During this study, several women reported that they had miscarriages; the main cause of unintended pregnancy was the inability to use contraceptives or family planning measures. Some people are born prematurely and give birth to a low-weight baby. Some survivor women reported that they had abortions several times because of the reason that the family wanted a son. One women stated that:

“I am now 29 years old. As time passed, I gave birth to 5 daughters still my husband's desire is to have a son. Therefore, I had aborted twice, and finally, the

baby boy was in my womb, now he is 2 years old. At present I am suffering from a uterus problem, but my husband is not supportive of my treatment.”

Gynecological symptoms are found that related to sexual violence, the most the common symptoms are bleeding after sexual intercourse during non-menstrual periods, followed by abnormal vaginal discharge, painful miscarriage, abnormal Pap smear results, and a higher rate of prolapse.

6.2.4 Negative Health Behavior

Domestic violence consequences consider the social, cultural, structural, and political barriers to IPV-related patient-provider communication and help-seeking behaviors (e.g., medical mistrust, historical racism and trauma, perceived discrimination, immigration status) that can affect health outcomes. This integrated approach will mitigate the racial/ethnic and socioeconomic differences associated with IPV and related health outcomes and behaviors (Stockman et al., 2015). Both physical violence and sexual violence are associated with women’s increased risk of adverse mental health outcomes. The most common include depression, attempted suicide, post-traumatic stress disorder, other stress and anxiety disorders, sleep or eating disorders, and psychosomatic disorders. Physical and sexual abuse in childhood is also related to a series of subsequent dangerous behaviors, including early sexual activity; alcohol, tobacco and drug abuse; multiple sexual partners; choosing abusive partners later in life; contraceptive and condom use The reduction in the rate (WHO, 2012) further accelerates bad health behaviors. One respondent stated that:

“I was 15 years old when I married my husband who was 29 years then. Because his previous wife gave him only daughters, he married me longing to have a son. I also gave birth to a daughter, so I started being abused. I returned to my maternal home. Later, I returned to my married home and gave birth to a son. My husband died soon, and I started to drink and smoke as well.”

The results confirm the negative effects on the health of any type of DV on all of the groups analysed. The magnitude of the impact of violence on health is greater in women of younger ages. This may further increase survivor women’s troubles by threatening their bodies. The use of addictive intoxicants is very common in survivors of domestic violence.

6.2.5 Suicidal Attempt

In this study the survivor women described how they developed negative thoughts due to domestic violence, such as suicide. Develop some short-term physical and emotional problems, such as suicidal tendencies, violent tendencies, emotional withdrawal, irritability, feelings of hopelessness, or inability to adequately respond to the child's needs (Ambrosio, 2008). Here are the relevant remarks. One survivor woman stated that:

“Life is very hard for me, which is true because my husband is too bad. He gets very angry anytime with me and hits me with any object he gets. He had injured my body several times, and he never loved me. Then I had started to drink alcohol and smoking also. I am now addicted to alcohol, when I do not drink, I cannot sleep well”.

Most of the participants in the study can also observe this negative health behavior. It has been understood that almost all survivors consume tobacco-related products which has been attributed to the torture they obtained. The study results also show that about half of them (mainly elderly women) drink alcohol regularly. Some people also ignore their basic health problems. One survivor woman reported that:

“When my husband tortured and blamed me, I tried to forget most of his abuse with me, but those things could not end easily, and my financial situation was very bad too. I had given birth to 3 children. I got into a situation where my concentration was very weak towards the children. I had always cried and thought that death might be the best option for me several times, I even came back from a suicidal attempt because of the help of my friend. I thank God that I am still alive, and now I am cautious that my children are not grown up.”

Above stated that survivor women's self-neglect and increased risk-taking have also been concerned. The suicidal attempt among women arose from a sense of powerlessness situation, and a lack of control over their lives which impacted their well-being and quality of life. They are concerned about the violent behavior from their husband that made them depressed, lonely, and frustrated. Such uncertain circumstances came upon them, finally, they have faced financial problems also.

6.3 Problems Passed Down to Children

Domestic violence against women is not included in romantic relationships, it usually occurs in families with children at home. According to data from the American

Psychological Association (Kaur & Garg, 2008), an estimated 3.3 million children have suffered violence against their mothers or other female caregivers. Children also show the impact of exposure to domestic violence or direct experience of domestic violence on mental health. Effects include depression (Moylan et al., 2010) and other consequences. In fact, domestic violence hurts children in the family. They are still under the pressure of physical and psychological trauma. Children who have witnessed domestic violence may be affected in different ways. They usually have mental health problems and psychological deficiencies (Lloyd, 2018). Some people may grow up thinking that violence is normal and expected, while others may feel frustrated or angry.

Domestic violence can adversely affect children and young people and can cause trauma (Stanley et al., 2012). It can affect all areas of life, including health, education, and the development of interpersonal relationships. The impact of domestic violence on children is extensive, and each child will be different. A large number of studies have identified domestic violence as a potential theme behind social problems, such as dropping out and exclusion, homeless youth, and youth engaging in adventurous behavior. Children and adolescents have varying degrees of adaptability, and all agencies that come into contact with children and adolescents who have suffered domestic violence have the responsibility to build this adaptability.

Children whose mothers experience violence may be at greater risk for emotional and behavioral problems, such as anxiety, depression, and violence against peers. In a study of Nicaragua by Asling-Monemi et al. (2003), the children of women who are abused by their partners are 6 times more likely to die before the age of 5 than other children (Monemi et al., 2003). Abused women share their feelings about their children,

become nervous, irritable and scared, perform poorly in school, and are often physically abused by their fathers or women themselves. Today, children who witness violent behavior are also considered “abuse children” because they exhibit the same psychological symptoms as the direct survivors of abuse (Jaffe et al., 1986). In this connection, one of the participants reported that.

“There is always conflict at our home, so my kids don't even want to come home in the evening. They try to sleep there at a friend's house at night because every day, my husband comes home comes home drinkng alcohol, and quarrel with me. My kids have a very weak performance at school and negative attitude towards their father.”

Children's experiences of domestic violence are believed to have a negative impact. Children involved in violence, directly or indirectly, with their close friends, or relatives, begin to do the same there. Therefore, domestic violence affects children to abuse their parents. Another woman in the study reported that:

“He hit and kicked me so hard that I collapsed, then he banged the door and went out, screamed, and my children cried a lot. The neighbors came over and asked my husband what had happened, but he remained silent. And then, he went to his uncle’s house. Anyway, my children were always afraid of him at home, as he started to quarrel with me and hits my children as well. My children do not sleep well at night and they are unable to study well so they are very weak at school, in gaining knowledge.”

This is why some children who witness domestic violence have behavior problems. Because they do not accurately express the wrong skills, they end up using

other ways to express that they are being hurt or disappointed (Tsavoussis et al., 2014). Children living in families full of tension and fear will suffer emotional and psychological trauma due to the effects of living in domestic violence. These children will see their mothers being threatened, degraded, physically or sexually assaulted. They will overhear conflict and violence and see the consequences of violence, such as their mother's injury and her traumatic response to violence (Edleson, 2010). Children may also be used and manipulated by abusers to harm their mothers. In this study, most interviewees believed that their children are affected by some kind of violence. They worry that their future may be hindered by the circumstances of forced growth. Some women also admitted that they sometimes scold or abuse their children because of the violence they face. Domestic violence affects children in the following ways: aggressiveness, disobedience, poor performance, low self-esteem, sleep disturbance, and dropout (Izzidien, 2008).

As we all know, when an incident occurs, children are usually seen as witnesses. They may see slaps, punches, beatings, or other physical abuses to their mothers, or they may see noisy opinions and explosive bursts of inanimate objects (Pressman, 2007). In some cases, the children tried to interfere, often defended their mothers, and felt uneasy during the procedure. With the overview of the women's reported above, I found that domestic violence escalates and worsens over of period. The violence was initially started with a small cut, injuries, and escalates. Thus, the consequences of domestic violence to the survivor women's physical and psychological health can be seen in short-term and long-term effects. The result of the study shows that survivor women had reported that they are abused physically by their husbands. The most of the common type of

consequences reported includes cuts, fractured, hurts, and scratches, followed by long-term physical injuries, mental health problem, gynecological problems, problem passed down to children and suicide attempt. It demonstrated that the situation of the severity of the violent behaviour commenced with small wounds and gradually escalated over time. Apart from those the study found common immediate injuries the effects of domestic violence can occur even after abuse had ended. It is believed that long-term consequences of abuse may well limit the physical functioning of survivor women.

6.4 Coping Strategies

Domestic violence is not the newest issue for every society, but for developing countries like Nepal, this concern has to turn out to be an enormous societal problem—women who are despite age are the survivors of violence in different forms. Violence against women starts even earlier than a girl inborn, which has been exposed by an imbalanced sex ratio at birth. There are 106 male babies born for every 100 female babies (NDHS, 2016). This tilted sex ratio reveals that cases of sex-selective abortion are occurrence in Nepal. Most of the women are survivorized by domestic violence. The domestic violence act (2009) has recognized violence against women as a crime with punishment for perpetrators. But rarely such crimes are reported to concerned agencies. In the fiscal year 1996/97, only 336 cases are reported. However, in the fiscal year 2016/17, this increased by 34 times to 11629 reported cases.

It is important to understand that the actual number of domestic violence incidents greatly exceeds the number reported, so this number is much higher; there are many reasons for this. First, many women worry that reporting such cases will damage their family's reputation or their desire to protect the family unit. Another reason is that many

women don't even know that domestic violence is a crime and that the perpetrators will be punished. Few women know the laws related to domestic violence. Therefore, the increase in the number of reported cases is not due to the increase in the number of domestic violence incidents. However, at the same time, despite the increasing female literature and public awareness, most of the reported cases ended in the signing of a mutual agreement document. Women are pressured by the abuser, family, society and even the government and signed a mutual agreement (Rakovec, 2014).

In this research, personal, contextual, and social factors may play a role. If a woman does surrender to her partner and/or take care of housework, her family members will also admit it in the event of violence (Cerrato & Cifre, 2018). It is based on unequal relationships. From a social perspective, women should assume a transparent and subjective role. This theme depicts the inner reality that describes how women deal with domestic violence. Survivors of violence experienced how they deal with violence. On the one hand, their internal resources reflect a fragile state; on the other hand, they are fighting and protecting themselves and their children, but they also reflect their internal resources. A powerless self, affected by internal recognition, need to be a good wife and a good mother while maintaining family harmony. Most women who are survivors of domestic violence did not report their experiences with anyone. It is important to remember that leaving is a process and not an event (Wexler, 1999). Society has a responsibility to support women who make difficult decisions. In the process of seeking help for women and children, all agencies can play a role in providing support. A positive initial response is essential. It is necessary to believe, support, and encourage women and children to take positive measures for their safety and well-being (Kaur & Garg, 2008). Unfortunately, leaving does not always stop the violence and many women are still exposed to abuse when they leave the relationship. Research findings have shown that

women can be at higher risk during this time. The British Crime Survey found that 37 percent of women studied who had left their abusive partner, reported that, the violence continued (Walby et al., 2014). Women are at greatest risk of homicide at the point of separation, or after leaving a violent partner (Burnett et al., 2016). Violence against women perpetrated by husbands and male partners occurs worldwide, and an increasing number of surveys indicate that it is widely condoned (Schuler & Islam, 2008).

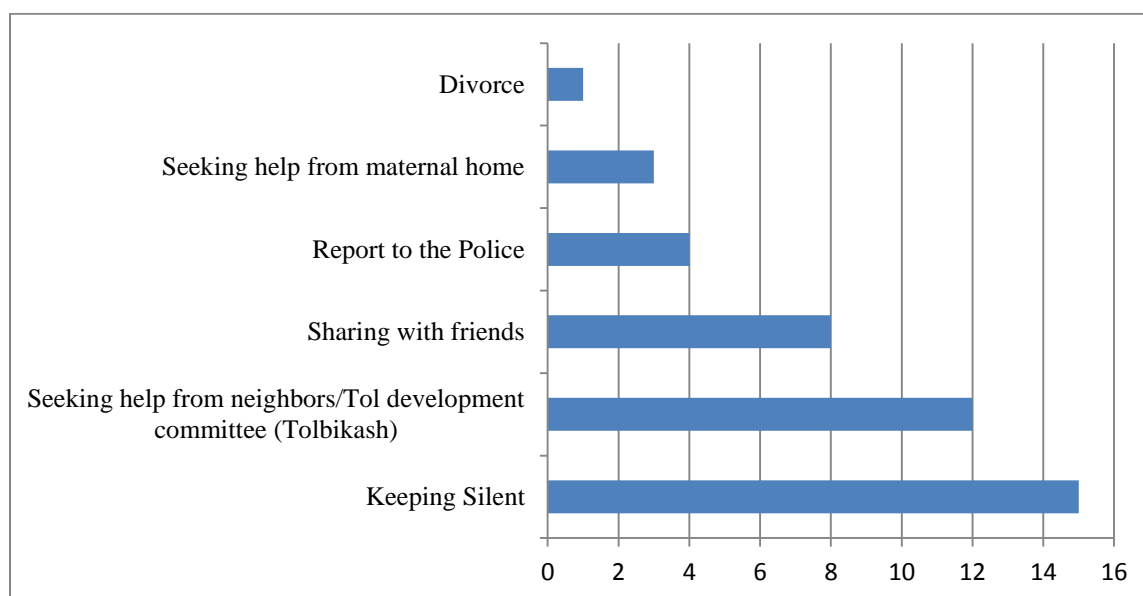
There are legal provisions in Nepal against violence, but due to social, economic, and emotional instability, survivors aren't able to initiate a case against their perpetrators. Different institutions are established to aid in this matter. The women said that they have different ways to cope with violence. Some women reported the situation of violence to their maternal families but could get no help. A few told their friends and neighbors, but to no avail. None went to the police or related institutions. Most women interviewed stated that they only had the measure of keeping quiet. Some felt that violence was natural and justified, and they could not escape it. More of them felt that violence was wrong, but no institution or person could help them. They also kept quiet because they thought about their prestige and social pride. Even their friends, family, and neighbors would provide no help to them. As in other patriarchal societies, men are the controllers of their wives (UNICEF, 2000).

In this study, survivor women reported that they have experienced various kinds of unpleasant incidents during their help-seeking attempts with the stakeholder. It was reported that these negative experiences had contributed to a decrease in the use of the intervention provided as well as making disclosing abuse even more challenging for battered women. The results of this study indicated that the survivor women lost their faith in local authorities such as the police, the courts, and the judiciary committee of Metropolitan City which is newly formed and that they received help from informal

bodies such as neighbors, friends, parents, etc., rather than from formal bodies. Most of the women reported that they had tolerated the violence silently, although others said that they had sought help from friends, neighbours, parents, and even police and divorced.

The information reported by the survivors' women is categorized as follows.

Figure 6.1
Coping Strategy by Survivor Women



Sources: Field Survey, 2019

6.4.1 Staying Silent

Domestic violence can have short- and long-term consequences for the well-being of the victimized woman and her children (Wathen & MacMillan, 2013). Due to related physical, psychological, socio-psychological, and economic obstacles, women's personal lives have been destroyed by long-term violence. These long-term stress factors cause women to obtain external and internal resources to form coping strategies. Both external and internal factors promote the conflicting impulse to seek support, namely to avoid and stay in the relationship. This strong tension leads to a coping strategy that implies a long-

term process of moving between active opposition to violence and surrender or tolerance, like a stretched elastic band (Hayati et al., 2013).

In this study some survivor women reported that they knew nothing about domestic violence law and the Act, they have no idea. 12 out of 43 survivors went to remaining about their violence. One survivor woman told that:

“My husband and mother-in-law always blamed me for abusing me, beating me and calling me badly. I had a painful condition that is not right. I am always their survivor because it is not in my favour. For my children also, I can't stand their violence. Hence, now, I have been living in a maternal home for my children's love. I am very worried about my kid's future. I can't defend against my perpetrators so with my parents and I sit safely.”

The above report gives that due to her children's futures she was silent concerning their violence. And reported that their spouse hurts more when their maternal home is weak to support her. Because the law does not have a strict policy on domestic violence, the perpetrators are always abusing them. Another woman reported that:

“I never really told anyone about what was going on with me because no one could do anything about it. Even my maternal family cannot do anything. Local police didn't help, to me three times I went to make complain there about my husband explaining everything, but they told me to remain silent. So I have been living in the same house again but in the same previous condition.”

Some of the women wanted to act against violence, but could not do so out of fear for themselves and their children. They also feared that their situation could not be changed. Yet, another woman reported that:

“I never reported about my husband's violence because I feared that it would come back to hurt me. I was scared that he was going to come back and hurt me, and I didn't want him to hurt my kids. I wanted to protect them and thought what kind of mother I would be if I had their father arrested.”

Survivor women do not know anything about the Domestic Violence Act and they do not know about the prevailing law and its consequences. They had not complained about their problem anywhere as they tell others that their problem will not be solved. However, another woman reiterated that:

“I know about my husband's character, what he wants, and expects from me, and to neutralise the situation, I prepare to answer correctly and ask for forgiveness. My family knew about the beating that was not the only time my husband beat me but he beat me again and again. But they refused to help me, I did not ask for help from anybody again, because I was still scared.”

The husbands and mothers-in-law of the survivor women accused them of abusing them, beating them, and calling them badly. Which was a situation that is not right. But they are very worried about the future of their children and can tolerate such violence.

6.4.2 Divorce

Some of the women interviewed in the study suffered years of abuse, insults and criticism from their family members. They repeatedly told themselves to be responsible for the violence and abuse until they believed it was true. As a result, they felt that they cannot escape this abusive relationship. This view is not uncommon among abuse survivors, which suggests that intelligence does not necessarily equate to power (Baker, 2008).

One survivor woman reported that she was unaware of the laws and the Act. One woman had a divorce. She has one daughter, but she did go to break after their 15 years of married life. According to her, a few months after her marriage, her mother-in-law started stalking for dowry. The woman also accused her husband of not loving his wife who always listened to his mother only. Her remarks were that:

“People made rumors about me and blamed me of being characterless, but I could not bear it and thus decided to divorce. But it would be difficult for my daughter to be separated from her father. It was difficult for me to do so, but I ended up divorcing myself by not tolerating the psychic violence I had encountered.”

Women often have the wisdom to know that they should not stay in this relationship, but they often lack the power or material resources to escape. Therefore, learning from these all situational reflection is that women often keep quiet, do not want to express their views to share with people, yet there has been a big concern about the level of torture that they are facing and the way out society should think about the better living of survivor women.

6.4.3 Reporting Police

It is an important issue for women who are survivors of domestic violence to cope with the violent behaviors that continue to occur in their lives, especially why women maintain a battered relationship for a while. Personal, environmental and social factors may play a role (Dare et al., 2013). Four survivor women had reported the cases to the police, or related institutions. The police help was not effective because the Nepalese law regarding abuse is not strict. Some survivor women reported that the major deduction is the occurrences of physical violence, sexual violence, emotional violence, economic violence, and traditional violence-that are traditionally rooted. As Nepali society is patriarchal, all social institutions act to serve the interests of men. Four women reported to the police after failing to cope with the violence, but their husbands are released after 24 hours in the case of alcohol abuse. There are no reports of domestic violence cases and no action was taken by police. Again repeated cases of violent behaves are known. But, according to the police, the survivors do not register domestic violence cases, they are accused of being drunk and beaten, and the administration has to leave after 24 hours of detention. There are no reports of domestic violence cases and they are not ready to fight with them. One survivor woman reported that:

“My husband, who always used to get drunk and beat me up, pushed me out of the house after a big whip, and I was knocked unconscious, and my neighbors gave me treatment at the hospital and handed him over to the police but he left after 24 hours.”

From the above report of survivor women, it is understood that, the police, the law, and the justice court all seem to be not serious about domestic violence justice

whereas most of the survivor women and their dependent children are in great pain. Survivor women lose their faith in police and judicial authorities.

6.4.4 Seeking Help from Maternal Home

Most of the parents of Nepali society do not have to take responsibility for their married daughter. These parents are thankful when their daughters are kept by their husbands in their homes; most of them do not share their problems with their parents. However, the place to seek ultimate help after suffering, for married women, is to visit their maternal home. In this study, some survivor women shared their problems with their parents about their maternal home. One other participants reported that

“My parents married me to the boy of their caste at the age of 16. I have two children but my husband got married to a Rai woman of another caste three years ago. After that my husband and his co-wife started abusing me, I was frustrated with that situation so, now I am living in a maternal home with my parents because, I was unable to stay husband's home but I also left my children because I could not afford them a for food and education. But I did not report my problem anywhere, and unfortunately, the law does not help the women like us in society. My children are now crying without their mother at home.”

Above cases survivor women do not consider it a crime to have multiple marriages; in fact that it is known that their first wife and children are being cruelly tortured. This study also seems to have a similar situation in the case of polygamy. In Nepali society, it is traditionally easy for a husband to have a second marriage. Due to the

patriarchal social structure, the law of polygamy does not appear to be strictly enforced for men (Nepal Government, 2012).

One separated survivor woman reported that:

“I got married to an upper-caste man when I was a teen age girl as, there the boy was working in the same place thus it was an opportunity of getting closer to each other and we fell in love. We had two sons, but after 15 years of marriage, my husband left his home and did not return. Due to the caste problem he left me. Now my oldest son died and a small son is in a foreign country, I had to live with my mother, but my mother also passed away, and now I am living with my brothers. Unfortunately, my elder brothers also started to abuse me verbally”.

The above case shows that women have got inter-caste marriages, but the results aren't that good enough. Several instances are such that in the end, their husbands made many excuses and had cheated. And they had stopped caring for their children as well. In this investigation, most of the women got married to high-caste men, but later their husbands cheated on them, and married other women.

Nevertheless, several of such inter-caste marriages are broken. When a daughter's house is demolished, her parents will suffer a lot of pain and also their children (NHRC, 2016). As a result, both the survivor's mothers and the children are very sad. From this analysis, it can be inferred that even though the caste system is prohibited in Nepalese society, but it appears to be sociologically permissible.

6.4.5 Seeking Help from Neighbors

In this investigation, survivor's women did not talk about their problems anymore, but their neighbors have always seen the perpetrator, being hurt them, and when a dispute arises in their home, it also affects the neighbor's impact badly. Their neighbors always support the survivor in her time of distress. Besides, now-a-day, women are also starting to report their violence cases to the neighbor or *Tol* development organizations. The majority of the survivor women had reported that they are seeking help from neighbors/local development organizations (*Tol Bikash Santha*). They are witnesses of women's violent situation always, and they have also sought helped them to solve their problem to report the cases to the police; their maternal home, and other relatives. One survivor woman reported the fact during the interview time that:

“My husband and mother-in-law abused me after two months of marriage due to the lack of enough dowries, and my husband fought and fainted with me during the 4 months of my pregnancy. At that time, my neighbor's sisters also helped me, and they informed my father about the incident. Immediately, my parents came and took me from there to my maternal home. For the last 14 years, I have been living with my mother and father.”

Nepalese society is having several unpredicted situations because of such circumstances. Often, married women are considered a success if they manage to stay with their husbands, but sadly, many women are unable to live in their husband's home due to violence and are forced to live in their parents' home. Cases are related to dowry, physical appearance, and their capacity to bless a baby boy. Failure to meet these conditions would mean a break out from family-divorce. In case of opposing to meet this

condition, there would be a series of violence including physical and mental torture.

Another survivor woman reported the fact during the interview time that:

“When my mother-in-law takes the elderly allowance given by the government, she comes out drunk and speaks abusive words to me. And she is always looking for something that hurts me-blaming that her son as a breadwinner and I, as a beneficiary of his earning. I have reported against her several times in toll, she apologizes when everyone is gathered, but then a few days later, the abuse starts again.”

Analysis of the above cases and facts reveals that resolving conflicts related to family cases is dependent on the situation. In the case of neighbours, dignitaries, decide to follow a distinct manner with their family members, elderly women often at the household would agree to follow the norms and practice, but in their absence, they do the same behavior as they are echo with the family norms and tradition, deeply rooted with the societal structure and function. Until the development of one's consciousness prevails in practice, such a situation continues in society.

6.4.6 Sharing with Friends

Domestic violence is an injustice to women, but not all survivors are aware of their rights and duties. In this study, most of the survivors have never reported the violence happening to them. When investigators ask, why didn't they report the case? They answered that-they should share their pain with friends whereas people simply ignore helping people in crisis, including poor, *Dalit*, and illiterate women. One survivor woman reported that:

“My husband did not give me money to treat my ailments while I was pregnant, because I could not go to work. It made me sad and had told about this fact my friend Deepa. She lend me some money, but my husband knew about this. Immediately, he started to manhandle me charging me that I had cheated him. I was a bit nervous, and saved myself against further on toward consequences”.

From the above scenarios, it is known that *Dalit* women suffer a lot because their husbands often do not have the required sum of money to entertain their desire whereas women are to work hard to tackle this situation if a relationship has to be maintained, and if children are taken care for their better living and educational support. Another woman reported that:

“Have a disability because one of my right legs is not working well, and everything is difficult for me to carry out. But my husband always tells me to go to work, whereas he never seems fit and alright as he keeps on drinking always. Moreover, he constantly abuses me on the lookout for money. I am always in a baffled condition-if I give him money, how would I be able to take care of my children?”

6.5 Chapter Summary

The findings of this chapter revealed that there have been visible consequences of domestic violence mainly to the survivor women and also to their children and members of their broader family. The severity of the survivor was evident in terms of physical injuries, their mental health effects, gynecological problems, anxiety, Suicide attempts, problems passed down to children. I found rather a deprived situation of coping strategies followed by the survivor women as reflected in this study. It is mainly because they

respond to domestic violence by keeping silent, seeking help from neighbors/*Tol* development committee, sharing with friends, report to the police, seeking help from maternal home, divorce and not defense with perpetrators, and tolerate all kinds of torture. The physical injuries are linked to torture and manhandling, often those cases are hospital treatable, but several consequences are aftermath as of their physical and mental health problem. Despite all these-tortures, I found women involved in reproduction and child-bearing activities the forceful result of sexual violence to satisfy the desire of their husbands. The long-term impact included gynecological and reproductive disorders, most of the women are silently coping and bearing health hazards. I found several attempts of survivor women to commit failure suicide attempts, but it is important to note that all these are a reflection of the ineffective bearing of torturous effects.

Obliviously I found the effect of such torture consequences to their children that are reflected in bringing up, rearing and their education. Interestingly, I found several coping strategies adopted by the survivor women just to survive, but largely they are ineffective. The majority of the survivor women used to keep silent and often they used to share the incident with mothers groups, or like-minded women of their neighbours. I did not find many cases of divorce in terms of adopting coping strategies neither they felt easy to report their cases to the police, seeking justice. Thus coping strategies are very feeble and we assumed that all these are perhaps linked with a low level of education and their knowledge about getting justice as the provision in the Acts and laws of the country.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine and describe the experiences of married *Dalit* women, who are the survivor of domestic violence. This chapter present discusses the major findings, theretical link and conclusions. The discussion that follows is meant to connect the answers to the research questions that are stated earlier in the section.

This is important to note that these sections of discussion that I tried to link major findings of the research are crucial from an applied theoretical link. Under this context, the core idea behind this discussion is to analyse the survivor-married *Dalit* women's understanding and experiences of domestic violence in the context of Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. Accordingly, the discussion is mainly based on the feminist standpoint epistemology, related to the gender, caste, and socio-economic status related issue of married *Dalit* women. The study is mainly focused on *Dalit* married women's experiences of domestic violence, understanding, and explanation of their circumstances. It is based on survivor women's subjective reality, as survivor women's have the pertinent experiences necessary to get rid-off of the domestic violence situation. This study emphasized women's knowledge and experience on the specific locations and real situations of family interaction, where the environment and the series of factors have a significant role in influencing women's violent situation.

The feminist theory guided this study to relate the sector of gender inequality, woman's subordination, caste discrimination in society, socio-cultural norms and belief

that could be well reflected in narrating findings as well. This theory could explain the social problems and overdominance of power to the women that honestly analyse the ground touch reality. Therefore, realising the context of domestic violence and response that I have generated during this study is related to the perspective. Thus, feminist theory is more appropriate in explaining for this issue in the sense of caste, gender and socio-economic situation as revealed from this study. In general, this study emphasises the gender and power inequality in family relationships, which reflects well in the Nepalese context as well. Social norms, values, cultural practices, access to resources, caste, gender, socio-economic condition, and historical process of patriarchal family structure are some of the dominating factors that support domestic violence against married *Dalit* women along with the weaker implementation of government policy. Similarly, survivor women's age at marriage, husband's education, occupation, income, age differences between husband and wife, number of children, family size, property ownership, and alcoholism are also considered causes of domestic violence. With these scenarios, feminist theory is closely related to the power relation between men and women.

Feminist theory mostly concerns the social history and structures and institutions that help maintain it (Collins, 2017). A patriarchal society is defined as one that is male-dominated to the women. In the patriarchal society, both boys and girls are socialized to expect and accept males' supremacy on ruling to his wife. Strict gender roles defined permissible activities and occupational opportunities for men and women, but even under such scenarios, the woman falls behind a man in the most spheres of life that often leads to poverty (Saeed, 2013). Patriarchal society demonstrates, a man is assumed to be powerful, confident, intelligent, fearless, unemotional, and sexually dominant, but a

woman is expected to be submissive, fearful, and physically, emotionally, and intellectually fragile (Smith, 1997).

According to Collins (1997) male dominance can often be predicted by premarital demonstrations of gender disparity. These perspectives supported to study findings in the sense that what has been happening to the married *Dalit* women to create violence situation are more of family power that is well constructed in the gender and is transferring the same from one generation to the next. Likewise, when talking about domestic violence among married *Dalit* women, it is also important to consider the socio-cultural context, which has also been highlighted by women interviewed in this study. The analysis of survivor women's case history revealed the fact that the existing violent situation of *Dalit* women are facing is related to traditional beliefs and practices concerning marriage and family construction. Belief and thought might influence individual actions, especially to the perpetrators, and these could be easily reflected in survivor women's responses in handling social expectations as women are supposed to be submissive and tolerable of any kind of torture created by her husband that helps to exert pressures, resulting in the creation of domestic violence.

7.2 Major Findings

The major findings of this study revealed that the perpetrators in this study (husband) had an age range of thirty-five to forty-four years. In general, the perpetrators had a comparatively higher level of education (grade 10) compared with the survivor woman. The perpetrators worked as daily wage laborers in constructions, foreign employment, and driver of an institution. I found that most of the perpetrators are addicted to alcohol consumption.

The demographic variables of those perpetrators varied in terms of age, education, occupation, and livelihood options. Findings revealed that the age of husband perpetrators ranges 35-44 years whereas their respective wives are lower age. Thus perpetrators husband had a strong belief on the way of living that treating wives is the fundamental right to take help, to satisfy their inner desire, and to take support for a variety of living options as of their assistant. When counter actions are exerted, the results would be a violent situation, in most of the cases, women would be the survivors. The educational status of all the survivor women was limited to below high school level compared with her husband. When there is difference in the level of education between husband and wife, obviously wife is reluctant to have a low level of bargaining power. Thus lower level of education brings women into subordination and oppression from her husband that facilitate the emergence of domestic violence. The religion-related fact was skewed only to the Hinduism followers as all of them are Hindus, followed by very few Christian. There was no direct relation and consequences concerning the religion that they followed to the level of torture that the survivor women faced in their daily life. Occupation of the perpetrators has some kind of relation to their behavior as occupation reflects the level of earnings. A low level of earnings would mean some kind of constraints in running a family, including spending money on education or for health services. Once income level turns low, that may lead to the family conflict leading to quarrels, disputes, and case of the survivor would be more prominent. This is supported by the fact that most of the perpetrators' occupation is daily wage laborer, meaning a low level of earning. Most of the perpetrators are addicted to alcoholism or spending money for extramarital affairs.

In addition to the husband, as being the main perpetrator, and mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law or brother-in-law also participated in the violent action against the married woman. This was visibly reflected in this study, mainly in the absence of her husband (involvement in the foreign job for employment) mother-in-law and father-in-law would have enough time and environment to deal with their daughter-in-law, often with the view of the suspect to their daughter-in-law might have been making extra-marital affairs, or concealing the truth about their present situation with their husband in abroad. This suspect behavior results in doubt and lots of quarreling that leads to several consequences of perpetrating to the survivor woman. Likewise, several cases are revealed about property dealing since most of them have a very low level of land or lack of resources, and when it comes to the questions of dealing on a property, debate arises, leading to the event of perpetrating to the women. It was evident that depending on the income level and extramarital situations of husband and his behavior in perpetuating their wives. Often polygamy was a severe case where remarriage of perpetrators and survivors also had extra-marital affairs prevailed, especially when their wives would bear a couple of children and there would be a long gap in their physical existence, either due to foreign employment or due to their involvement in the jobs outside the family reach.

The number of child-bearing and existing family structures both are important in terms of rendering violence. In a joint family system, especially in the absence of a husband, mother-in-law would pose several questions to the bride, and ultimately suspect for a variety of reasons including her background status in terms of wellbeing; dowry that she would bring during the time of marriage, and her contribution to the family through economic means. In the situation where the daughter-in-law's maternal side is if

economically poor she obviously could fail to provide economic support to her in-laws then slowly the whole family members eventually start mistreatment to the daughter-in-law. In these situations the daughter-in-law has low bargaining power with her parents-in-law and thus suffered from domestic violence. This is a kind of common practice in the patriarchal society and also families of the *Dalit* community.

Findings revealed that there have been visible consequences of domestic violence mainly to the survivor woman and also to her children and members of her broader family. The severity of the survivor remained evident in terms of physical injuries, mental health effects, gynecological problems, anxiety, suicide attempts, problems passed down to children. Domestic violence is common in the lives of married *Dalit* women and has harmful effects on their health and well-being. In this study, I found that many women who are survivors and suffered from physical, psychological/emotional and sexual violence and faced severe consequences from their husbands, while other family members seemed to be abusing them. When they are exploited as women, the lower class, the poor and the untouchables, the so-called low-caste-violence against married *Dalit* women should be regarded as serious social crimes. Despite of all tortures, women have involved in reproduction and child-bearing activities a forceful result of sexual violence to satisfy the desire of their husbands. The long-term impact included gynecological and reproductive disorders, most of the women are silently coping and bearing health hazards.

Several coping strategies are adopted by the survivor women just to survive, but largely all of the strategies are ineffective. The majority of the survivor women used to keep silent and often they used to share the incident with mothers groups, or like-minded

neighborly women. Very few of the divorce case was reported in terms of adopting coping strategies neither they felt easy to report such cases to the police for seeking justice. Thus coping strategies are very feeble and I assumed that all these are perhaps linked with a low level of education and knowledge about getting justice as the provision in the Acts and laws of the country. There are several attempts of survivor women also commit failure suicide attempt, but it is important to note that all these are the reflection of the ineffective bearing of torturous effects. Obviously I found the effect of such torture consequences to their children that slowly reflected in brought up, rearing, and child education. Low level of education, societal discrimination, a poor financial status that causes economic burden to run the family, including educating children and living with the minimum standard of survival are the major cause of domestic violence in the study area. In addition, I discovered several complex and interrelated institutionalised social and cultural factors that make women vulnerable to violence against them. These factors are directly or indirectly related to becoming a perpetrator of violence and experiencing violence, and some factors are even related to becoming a perpetrator and a survivor of violence.

History of child exposure to maltreatment, witnessing family violence, alcoholism as well as an antisocial personality disorder, and those cases related to the having multiple partners, or the case when women are suspected by their partners of infidelity coupled with their poor earning are well associated with domestic violence related to the factors impacting to have such consequences. Marital discord and dissatisfaction, the communication gap between partners can create a violent situation.

I have found several important facts related to domestic violence against *Dalit* women that are empirical and evidence-based. The following are the excerpt of them:

(a) Divorce, 'love marriage' and widow remarriage is more common among *Dalits*.

This is mainly because both perpetrators and survivors are having a low level of education. The family economic situation is often quite poor in terms of resources and earning opportunities that has a direct impact on education and child-rearing. Often, girls are allowed for early marriage and are not get matured in thoughts thus slowly entered into domestic violence knowingly or unknowingly.

(b) Existence of history of childhood domestic violence and intimate partner

violence: often men feel women as their property that allows them to act for any sort of violence as if it is their birthright. On the other hand, women are grown often thinking that they do have no or low level of right to talk with their male counterpart in the family probably because of low bargaining power. Fatalism is another reason that pushes women to bear all kinds of torture and manhandling. They resist all kind of sexual abuse and husband's torture.

(c) Both men and women do have a common perception about re-marriage, multiple marriages, Elop and other forms of physical contact-even to the level of extra marital affairs that has seriously hindered maintaining peace and harmony in the family resulting in torture and violence to the women.

(d) Findings of KII- Many *Dalit* women's are suffering from domestic violence for a long time. Especially lack of source of income, lack of access to education for *Dalit* women and the male-controlled structure of society, the practice of still treating women as second-class citizens, and the inability of women to be

financially self-sufficient have led to the exploitation and violation of women.

Many women are still silently enduring violence against them. Survivors of domestic violence, as well as the police, experts, and service providers, have the same views on agents of violence.

They pointed out that domestic violence is mainly committed by the husband and his family (mainly mother-in-law), especially when the husband is drunk. The police, who handle domestic violence reported cases, also confirmed that the most common causes of violence are committed by the husband while he was drunk.

Regarding the use of the “Domestic Violence Law” pointed out by the Key informant, there are many shortcomings in the practice of mechanisms and resources in domestic lawsuits, which need to be properly implemented. In addition, the response strategy to such violence is very weak. Survivor cases involve maintaining discipline and sharing such survivor incidents with like-minded friends nearby; often they do not even share their stories completely with relatives and people in their mother's family, mainly because they are afraid of disclosing the painful event simply survivor woman wanted to live with her children. The general impression of the survivor woman is that her children did not grow up in vulnerable families. In this study, I discussed all these relevant facts and findings in the chapter description and clarified the measures to be followed in the long run.

7.3 Discussion

In this study, I found three forms of domestic violence such as physical, emotional/psychological, and sexual that have been experienced by survivor women.

There are many factors associated with domestic violence such as the social order and structure of the society, like class, caste, gender discrimination, and husband with low financial status, lower level of education, alcoholism, extra-marital relationship all displayed women's low level of cash earnings, the financial burden to raise and educate their children. Husband's and the in-laws are major perpetrators, their cruel behavior to dealing with married women and polygamy appeared the most crucial risk factors of domestic violence. On the other hand, comparatively better-educated husbands, equipped with economic resources, women's ownership of the property, and women's participation in the household decision-making process are measures to protect against domestic violence. In this sense, the findings of this study could be a major contribution to the field of intimate partner violence situations of the Nepalese context (NDHS, 2011).

Survivor women witnessed parental violence in childhood, and alcoholic husbands are major conditions that wives are afraid with husbands most of the time, and women whose husbands exhibit marital control behaviors to his wife are related to domestic violence experiences (Herman, 2015). I found similar responses to domestic violence- associated conditions in this research as well as explained by Herman (2015). However, aged women, uneducated husbands, women with no economic power, and women who think it is reasonable for her husband's right to beat his wife are more likely to report lifetime intimate partner violence experiences, on the otherhand, richer women with earnings are involved in family decision-making. In this situation women do have more bargaining power due to their higher level of economic status (Gautam & Jeong, 2019). My study findings is also corroborated with the findings of Gautam & Jeong (2019). Power theory clearly explains the power relation between husband and wife. Here

again, women who is economically rich have higher bargaining power in household affairs compared with women with no or low economic status.

This study clearly envisages that the main perpetrators is a husband who is supported by his parents to initiate the domestic violence to his wife. Power theory is closely linked with this study. Moreover, our social structure is patriarchal and male are considered as a breadwinner. This society has given bargaining power to the male counterpart compared with his wife. Gender discrimination starts from the early age of girls and continued to her married life. Women are always considered vulnerable due to oppression and subordination by her male counterpart because of her low level of education and lower economic status. Under these situations women are reluctant to have bargaining power thus always survive with men's control. These powerless and vulnerable women are thus victimized by their husband and in-laws and entering into the vicious circle of poverty. It is hard for those survivor women to escape from domestic violence. Unless and until we resructured our society from patriarchal to equalitarian society women could always be a survivor of domestic violence in the family, community, and society.

This study explored three forms of violence such as physical violence, emotional/ psychological violence and sexually abuse. The acts of violence are initiated by the husband and his parents including other members of the family. Our society has structured several castes systems. According to this caste structure males from so-called lower caste are discriminated against by so-called upper caste people. In this scenario, males are also discriminated against in terms of economic opportunities compared with other so-called upper caste people. This type of caste discrimination is usually practiced

by those so-called *Dalit* men to his wife as it starts from frustration and feeling of societal discrimination. The emergence of family conflict and discrimination brings disharmony and conflict at the household level. In general *Dalit* women are suffering from multiple levels of violence, for example, as *Dalit*, as poor and as a woman. In these scenarios, feminist theory tries to explain the reality of women's discrimination across society.

This study tries to identify major causes of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women. Social structure, social norms, traditional customs and intergenerational poverty are usually the prevailing situation in the *Dalit* community that accelerate to the family survival. Usually married *Dalit* women have no earning opportunities due to low level of education and are dependent on their husband and his family. In these circumstances, women are treated as men's property and are considered as slaves and labourer. She is obliged to satisfy every desire of her husband and his family members including her parents-in-law. She is never freed from family bondage due to her no or low bargaining power, possibly it is the reflection of multiple levels of violence-social class, caste and gender. Violated women often lose their work efficiency due to physical and mental torture. Similarly, if her body and spirit are not good, her health will deteriorate; often she will not receive the care and love of her husband. If the husband turns to another woman, gets involved in an extramarital affair and destroys the overall situation of the woman, the situation may be even worst. Domestic violence is to some extent related to resource control (capital, economics, surveillance), which often leads to physical harm, acid attacks and more physical crimes (Ghimire & Samuels, 2017). All these possible situations force the victimized women into fragile traps, even if they are psychologically hurt, they often remain calm. Due to domestic violence, psychological

torture and trauma can also affect women's productivity in all aspects of life (Kabeer, 2014).

In the case of domestic violence against women, all possible facets and scenarios lead them to maintain a distance from their husbands and other family members an intimate relationship. Their sexual life is often badly affected due to physical as well as psychological torture. Here learned some of the facts in which fewer survivor women also filed a divorce case, and tried to live an independent life, but it wouldn't be so easy to follow this path mainly due to deep love, responsibility, and motherhood against her children. Moreover, these all scenarios of imbalance household affairs of parents ultimately affect the lives of children. On the top, some of the survivor women are further exploited due to a lack of proper awareness of the domestic violence Acts and laws of the constitution.

According to a research report by Alkire, Conconi, and Seth (2014), more than 700 million women in the world today get married before their 18th birthday. More than a third (approximately 250 million) joined a trade union before the age of 15. Boys also marry early, but girls are disproportionately affected by early marriage. In this research, child marriage is also very common. In addition, child marriage is a manifestation of gender inequality, reflecting social norms that have long discriminated against girls (Alkire et al., 2014). Child marriage of girls is most common in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Niger has the highest rate of child marriage in the world. However, Bangladesh has the highest marriage rate for girls under 15 years of age. South Asia has nearly half (42%) of the world's child servants; India alone accounts for one-third of the global total (Alkire et al., 2014).

Feminist theory and power theory are explaining about the domestic violence of *Dalit* married women. The feminist theory states that it is the imbalance of power relation between men and women that is the root of males creating violence to their intimate partners (Collins, 2017). Males are considered physically more powerful than female, and violence is also related to the physical strengths that have their root cause in mental thinking (Yodanis, 2004). A patriarchal society is defined as one that is male- dominated and controlled. In the patriarchal society, both boys and girls are socialized to expect and accept male domination and his ruling to women in general. Strict gender roles defined permissible activities and occupational opportunities for men and women, but even under such scenarios, a woman falls behind a man in most of the sphere of life that often leads to poverty (Saeed, 2013). In a patriarchal society, a man is understood to be powerful, confident, intelligent, fearless, unemotional, and sexually dominant compared with women where women are expected to be submissive, fearful, and physically, emotionally, and intellectually fragile (Kaufman, 1987).

This study mentions the important reasons related to domestic violence, the sense of masculinity and low income of women is one of them that strongly relates to the occurrence of domestic violence as it becomes hard to meet the basic needs in the family (Cohen et al., 2014). This can create stress and pressure which is eventually released by adopting the violent act against his family members (see Chapter 5 for detail). Lower financial status usually increases dependence on breadwinners and lower defense capabilities, which may cause tension and stress in family life. These conditions further deteriorate the survival of the family, so the breadwinner, who is mainly male, will

eventually begin to rule his wife and children, which will eventually lead to domestic violence.

The study findings revealed that there was a weaker kind of coping strategy as practiced by survivor women. The majority of survivor's who respond to domestic violence reported that they would cope with the situation by keeping silent; not even speaking with perpetrators, even they wouldn't ask them the reason for violence, or even wouldn't ask why they have been tortured? Instead, they would rather cry and make themselves comfortable. Often it was also learned that survivor women would like to keep busy in household chores. Survivor women usually tried to maintain family harmony even she is sexually tortured, physically and emotionally abused. She kept silent just to see the future of her children. The narratives of the survivor women reflect multiple worries and dilemmas about marriage choices and violence. In the process, a deeper understanding of agency, voice, and gender relationships are generated. These relationships are fluid, dynamic, and intersecting in response to changing experience, status and subjectivity (Rao, 2014).

The variety of ways survivor women would survive had a kind of similarities. For example, most of them would go for wage labor and earn some money. Even under the situation of torture, survivor women would join the work as wage labor, or be involved in *Tol Bikash Samitee*, or Mother Group, and would share their story with whom they would feel safe to share their story. Such sharing could be done with someone in the neighborhood, friends, or that trustworthy people/relatives involving in the Group. Under such context, some of them had sought help and tried to get justice by complaining their case to the security people, or other concerned stakeholders, however, there are very few

instances of listening of their cases. This is a good reflection of the fact that even if tortured under extreme circumstances, women who are survivors are forced to endure violence. Many of them are survivors of harmful practices adopted by the perpetrators, which can be defined as persistent discrimination based on gender, age, and caste (CEDAW, 2014). Although these perpetrators have obvious responsibilities, as the husband told his wives in this study, they do not know their role and rarely try to manage the situation or reduce the violence-related environment in the family. In this case, the survivor women are more willing to adopt problem-centered strategies, such as divorce, separation, or seeking help from doctors and lawyers. Despite this, most of the survivors still want to maintain their marriage at all costs. The sanctity of the family, the inability to earn money independently, the loss of social status, stigma, and the social pressure to maintain family integrity are factors that hinder women from leaving violent relationships. Most of the women who are survivors are fully aware of the adverse effects of divorce. They tend to think that divorce can reduce violence, but it will not provide adequate protection or realistic choices for their lives after divorce (Hajjar, 2004). Those women who plucked up the courage to get rid of the violent relationship (leaving their husbands) succeeded in getting rid of the violence. However, it is foreseeable that they will have to pay a heavy price. In their struggle, the formal and informal systems still did not respond. In many cases, they did not get any cooperation but accused them of creating a so-called conflict situation in the family. This situation may lead to women's reluctance to seek help from formal institutions. To reflect this situation in this research results, it is also possible to study and evaluate women's coping strategies within the broader institutional and legal framework of other societies (such as Pakistani society).

Generally speaking, in Pakistan, women's decision to openly confront their husbands is forbidden and culturally inconsistent (Khan & Hussain, 2008). Patriarchy, driven by gender politics and discriminatory laws, puts women at an extremely disadvantaged position (Shaheed, 2010). In Nepal, this is also a common practice, but I think that the social background keeps the survivorized women in Nepal to the extent that the victimized women fall into a trap due to the deep-rooted traditional patriarchal system similar to Pakistani society. This situation can be best described by power theory. The power theory deals with the background of the power relationship between men and women in family dynamics.

The power theory explains well the background that is more relevant to domestic violence for women. According to the power theory, domestic violence is the result of power differences within the family (Finkelhor, 1981). As power differences, the family will naturally exist through age and gender differences, which may eventually isolate women's status as resource-poor. They may become weaker than men. This is also because, traditionally, in the family, due to social status, age, body size and strength, men are usually granted the power to other members, especially women (Finkelhor, 1981). As a result, children are at increased risk of abuse, especially at a young age. In addition, sexual abuse of subordinates and young women by older adult men in a dominant and authoritative position is a common form of abuse. Similarly, compared with her husband, the less power a woman has, the more likely she is to be abused. I have also reported similar cases in this research, in which women are mainly survivors, mainly because of their low authority status in the family. If they have less power in finance and another type of property management, the main reason is due to the low literacy rate, knowing

and believing men is paramount in the family. Violence against *Dalit* women clearly shows that in a patriarchal society, these women who are subordinate to men in power relations are generally exploited and discriminated against, and they are also targeted at their caste-based communities. This social mechanism is to maintain *Dalit*. An important social mechanism of the subordinate status of litter women in society. Society is the core result of gender-based inequality shaped and exacerbated by the caste system (Irudayam et al., 2006). My findings are very consistent with the scene described by Irudayam et al., (2006) explain more clearly the facts, basis, and consequences of violence against married *Dalit* women at the family level.

One of the many reasons why survivor women are unable to reveal their brutal relationship is that they are trying their very best to guard the children's best wellbeing. The findings of his study revealed the fact that the women typically fear that such disclosure could turn the situation worse, especially concerning to the children's wellbeing. For instance, the children may be taken into care (under informal/formal support custody), the husband could be detained, and there would be the situation of leaving the children with no father-figure in the house. Moreover, social stigma arises concerning children from broken family background, and this entire scenario would push them to resist the violence for the sake of financial survival for the children (i.e. basic needs, schooling, and accommodation) (Walby & Allen, 2004). Thus coping strategies that survivor women would adopt did not have a strong implication as revealed from my findings. Lack of implementation of act, rules, and regulation push them either speechless or make them hardy-enough to resist the violence and torture, at least for the sake of rearing their children with the limited use of resources, but by preserving the societal

values and norms that they are dignified and would like to take care of their children to the best they can.

Domestic violence is a serious problem, directly, or indirectly it has several consequences to human beings and society. This study particularly, envisaged the form, causes, and impact of such violence, being focus on the married *Dalit* women. In this respect, I found several pertinent reasons against domestic violence-most of them are related to gender inequality, poor financial resources, and economic burden to run the family, including educating children and living with the minimum standard of survival.

Moreover, I found several complex and interconnected institutionalized social and cultural factors that have kept women vulnerable to the violence directed towards them. These factors are directly or indirectly associated with being a perpetrator of violence, experiencing violence, and some factors are even associated with being a perpetrator and survivor of violence. These facets of violence-related acts are well depicted in the chapter and common points are described in this summary. I have well described the fact that history of child exposure to maltreatment, witnessing family violence, alcoholism as well as an antisocial personality disorder, and those cases related to having multiple partners, or the case when women are suspected by their partners of infidelity coupled with their poor earning type of employment are well associated with domestic violence related to the factors impacting to have such consequences. Indeed, I found several cases of erupting domestic violence due to the fact related to marital discord and dissatisfaction whereas communication gap between partners can further worsen the situation quickly.

7.4 Conclusions

Dalit married women are usually treated as working women in Nepal. These women are considered as the means of satisfying their husband's wish and desires. In this context, the research results revealed the fact that the important causes of domestic violence are closely related to the husband's behavior, including his characters, such as masculinity, alcoholism, unemployment, outside exposure, and his attitude towards women. This findings have aided sociological studies, particularly those focusing on married *Dalit* women's domestic violence issues. Some of them are reflected in the findings, which are supported by a feminist standpoint theory and provide a description of women's experiences with domestic violence in the context of victim women in Pokhara Metropolitan City, Kaski, Nepal. The socioeconomic and educational status of women and their perpetrators has a direct impact on the extent and types of violence women face. The findings emphasize the importance of social order and structural approaches to changing norms as well as improving women's status, because the coping strategies in place provided by legal provisions do not appear to be effective in the survivor of domestic violence. Gender discrimination is still prevailing in the *Dalit* community in Pokhara Metropolitan City due to patriarchal social structure. Study finding also supported the fact that patriarchal social structure, established social norms, values and unequal power relation between husband and wife are the reason of domestic violence across the married *Dalit* women. Findings of this study are thought imperative in formulating appropriate policies and implementing proper planning.

7.5 Knowledge Contribution

The findings of this research have contributed in sociological studies, particularly focusing on married *Dalit* women's issue. To reflect some of them- the findings are underpinned by a feminist approach of standpoint theory whereas these findings offered a description of women's experiences about domestic violence in the context of survivor women in the Pokhara Metropolitan City of Nepal.

The major contributions are:

- a. This study provides feminist methodological insight to sociology discipline readers.
- b. From an empirical and theoretical standpoint, the dissertation contributes to the types, causes, consequences, and coping strategies of outbreaks of violence against married *Dalit* women.
- c. Not only Nepali *Dalit* women, but women all over the world, are victims of domestic violence. At this point, it is suggested that the topic of domestic violence against women be researched further.

7.6 Recommendations

1. To reduce domestic violence against *Dalit* women, the government should develop plans and procedures to develop strong laws/policies and education programs.

2. Establish institutions for domestic violence against women in each municipality, and provide legal treatment facilities in each ward.
3. Create an enabling environment for women and girls to report cases of violence against women. The police, judicial committees, and mediation committees must actively stop violence and ensure access to justice to the victims of violence.
4. Local governments should encourage women and girls to report violence against women. To ensure the constitutional right to live without violence, support mechanisms should be continued through the adoption of safety measures, such as need-based safe shelters, counseling, health, and legal support.
5. Local agencies should arrange for the restoration of hotline services to provide complaints and reports, feedback mechanisms, required support and referral services for women in difficult circumstances or affected by gender-based violence.
6. Considering the possibility of violence and vulnerability of women and girls, separate isolation spaces should be provided.

APPENDIX-1
Checklist of In-depth Interview

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Religion:
4. Address: (i) Ward no. - (ii) *Tol* -
5. Social status: (i) House wife (ii) Service holder (iii) Wage labor
6. Marital Status:
 - (i) Married (ii) Divorcee (iii) Separated (iv) Single
7. Number of children: (i) Male children (ii) Female children
8. Education:
 - (i) Literate (ii) Class I-V (iii) Class VI – VIII
 - (iv) Class IX- X (v) Intermediate (vi) Graduate
 - (vii) Post – Graduate (viii) Vocational training
9. Survivor's occupation:
 - (i) Agriculture (ii) Government service (iii) Business
 - (iv) Wage labor (v) Others
10. Sources of income:
 - (i) Agriculture and livestock (ii) Business (iii) Poultry
 - (iv) Service (v) Wage labor (vi) Pension
 - (vii) Remittance (viii) Others
11. Family size: (i) Number of female member (ii) Number of male member
12. Husband's occupation and monthly income:
 - (i) Agriculture (ii) Wage labor (iii) Government service
 - (iv) Business (v) Others
- 13 Husband's education:
 - (i) Literate (ii) Class I-V (iii) Class VI – VIII
 - (iv) Class IX- X (v) Intermediate (vi) Graduate
 - (vii) Post – Graduate (viii) Vocational training
14. Type of Marriage:
 - (i) Arranged marriage or Negotiation marriage (ii) Love marriage
 - (iii) Love followed by arrange marriage (iv) Temple marriage
 - (v) Court marriage

15. Age at marriage:

16. Was there any demand of dowry at the time of your marriage? Yes/No

17. If yes, what was the demand for?

.....

18. Are your parents able to fulfill the total demand of dowry at the time of marriage?

Yes/No

19. If yes, how many

20. What is your opinion about dowry system?

(i) Bad and should be banned (ii) Not bad if it is within one's capacity

(iii) Social custom and mandatory (iv) others

21. Do you know about domestic violence? Yes/No

22. Do you have any experience of domestic violence? Yes/No

23. If yes, what kinds of violence are you suffering from?

(i) Physical (ii) Psychological (iii) Sexual

(iv) Financial (v) Verbal

24. Who is the main perpetrator?

(I) Husband only (ii) Mother-in-law (iii) Father-in-law

(iv) Sister-in-law (v) Brother-in-law (vi) Son

(vii) Daughter-in-law (viii) All the above person

25. What are the main causes of violence?

(i) Demand for dowry (ii) Alcoholism (iii) Incompatibility

(iv) Extra marital relationship (v) Ego conflict (vi) Sexual unsatisfaction

(vii) Other reason (mention).....

26. What consequences have you faced as a result of violence?

.....

27. What do you think about your perpetrators?

.....

28. Did you ever protest by your husband during in-laws started to torture you or you are remained silent all the time?

.....

- 29. Do you defend yourself against violence?
.....
- 30. Did you report the case anywhere? Yes/No
- 31. If yes, where?
- 32. Did you get any help from your neighbours/mother groups/friends/ maternal homes at the time of torture?
.....
- 33. How do you feel about violence upon you affecting your children?
.....
- 34. Where do you reside?
(i) With family (ii) Husband (iii) Alone
(iv) Maternal home (vi) Others
- 35. Do you have any property? Yes/No
- 36. If yes, how much?
- 37. Has anyone helped to stop violence upon you? Yes/No
- 38. If yes, who and how?
- 39. Do you know about the Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act, 2066 (2009)?
- 40. What do you think should be done to minimize violence?
 Do you feel criticized or controlled by your husband?
 Have you ever tried to leave your husband or home?
- 41. Do your children witness serious arguments between you and your husband?

APPENDIX–2
Key Informant Interview Checklist

Name:

Designation:

- Are you aware of the situation of domestic violence against married *Dalit* women?
- If yes, are the survivors the most women or men?
- If women are survivors, what are the main causes of violence?
- How to analyse the current situation of domestic violence against *Dalit* married women?
- Are you interested in serving them?
- Is the service facility provided by the state to the survivor's women now adequate or not?
- What is the biggest priority of the survivors, how to address their safety and give them access to justice?

APPENDIX-3

Survivor Women's Stories

Bina Sarki

Bina was a 37-year-old, she is an illiterate woman, but her husband is just literate, and can only read and write. When she was just 14 years, she got married to her first husband at the age of 17 years. Now she has left her first husband along with her two daughters, ages 7 years and 5 years; and 3 years old son. To survive and continue her life even in the miserable situation she had no option other than marrying a second time. Fortunately, she found a man (age 36 years having married a woman of two children) who agreed to marry her and settled with him. They started their life in a rented house and lived for some years.

But the story turned into another mode-after having two daughters and one son; she found a lot of changes in her husband's behavior. All those are related to personal violence and physical torture and sexual abuse. She had a very hard time raising her children. Slowly he used to go off the house and started to refuse to support his family in terms of household expenses. Physical torture, negative suspect about her former married life, and comment about her characters are the major concerns. Her situation was so worst that she has no hard time raising three children from the first marriage whereas she is not now able to send her three children to school. She is surviving based on daily wage labor.

What Bina has been facing today's life did not develop abruptly. She was happy with her second marriage and the husband's behave was also responsible and supportive to run the family. The situation got slowly worst once she started to bear children and the economic crisis grew to support the family. They did not have other means to survive other than the daily wage earning from casual labor. She was getting older and physically unfit, perhaps also to satisfy her husband's desire through a physical relationship. The frequency of violence-related activities increased one after another. The means of survival are measurable; both are uneducated and earnings went down due to several of these factors. This is an extreme case story related to women's violence as she is trying to cope with these situations as a woman and a mother by bearing all those tortures whereas

her husband seems least caring and responsible. Finally, he left the home and she came to know that he got married to another woman leaving that entire pity situation to her. Bearing all these tortures and violence, she is unknown about the domestic violence-related Act and other legal procedures. She has not reported all those problems and the survivor related concern anywhere.

Sabi Pariyar

Sabi is 22 years old; she was just two years old, when her mother left home, her father decided to get married to another woman. Then she started to live with her step-mother and her father as she had no other alternative, as she was so little and innocent. At the age of joining a school, she had to support her stepmother in the domestic household chores including firewood collection, fodder collection, and as a shepherd. When she was 14 years, someone of her relative arranged her marriage with a 22 years guy. She did not know him; neither had she had any idea about the family situation of her husband. After her marriage, she knew the fact that unfortunately, her husband had a mental-related problem, and then she faced several unexpected behaviors including a desire for physical contact at any time and events of unexpected torture if she goes against his wishes. She did not have any space at her maternal place as she has to face her step-mother. Slowly, she got tortured also by her all family members including her husband, commenting about her poor resource situation in her maternal home and also blaming her characters.

Under this worst condition, she was pregnant when she was just 17 years old and gave birth to a daughter. Instead of getting support from family members, she was tortured daily; she used to abuse physically at the violent level and had to rush to the hospital several times. Often neighbors helped her in treatment, but she did not get any help and support from her husband and other members of the family. She could not continue her married life with the husband and thought to live a single life. Finally, she decided and left the place and continued to live the street life, facing several mental and physical tortures along with the street violence and abuse. During her street life, she was daily tortured and isolated from society as well. These situations further worsen her health. Meanwhile, one of the social institutions tracked her and started to take care of her health for the last two years, and got relieved for a while.

Later on, she met a 28 years old guy in Pokhara, who was arrived in Pokhara from India. Thinking about the need for support and security, she has now started to live with him recently in a rented room. The guy had a bitter history as well; his wife also had eloped, and his daughter is supported by his parents (girl's grandparents) in India. He can simply read and write and does not pose any specific skill to survive, except wage labor. Sabi is still not well but only surviving. Bearing all these tortures and violence she is unknown about domestic violence-related Acts and other legal procedures, rather blaming for her fate. She has not reported all those problems and the survivor related concern to anywhere to date due to her ignorance.

Shila Sunar

This is a story of Shila Sunar, 44 years of old survivor woman who is literate and lives at her maternal home. She has two sons, one daughter, a daughter-in-law, and a grandson, but she is becoming a survivor of her husband, sister-in-law, and father-in-law, both physically as well as mentally. This interview was taken in her residence for about an hour.

Shila Sunar's life is measurable and full of tortures. All these happened because for a long time her husband was absent as he went to India in search of a job. In his absence, she was living with other family members including sister-in-law (husband's sister) and father-in-law. In the absence of her husband, she faced several incidents of a suspect and was born in charge of unsocial behaves with neighbors, other ladies in the villages, and many more. She was innocent and had survived her days in taking care of family members. One day, after the arrival of her husband in Nepal, she was beaten heavily with a broken head and was left unconscious due to the merciless beating of her daughter-in-law (husband's sister) and husband. Upon receiving treatment, she left the house and started to live with her family members on the maternal side, but has not lodged a divorce application. She can't go to the husband's house as she fears other possible incidents of domestic violence whereas she feels pity for her children. She is now helpless, but says, culprits of domestic violence must be punished. She has never complained about these all incidents to the concerned authorities. It looks like Shila

Sunar's case is also associated with ignorance, illiteracy, suspect of unsocial activities, and low level of income.

Kali Pariyar

Kali Pariyar was 37 years old, her husband, aged 38 years-he was in Qatar, engaging in an unskilled job. Kali used to live with her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and her two daughters. After 2 months of an interview with her, I knew that she was dead. The reasons behind death are not clear and are full of suspects and mystery. Since the interview was completed, I thought it is better to include her case in this study. This interview was taken in her residence for about an hour with the help of a local mother group's chair.

Kali Pariyar was just 16 years while she got married to 22 years old guy. She did not get a chance to join school mainly due to poverty and the pressure of several siblings to manage their food and shelter. Her husband had studied up to Grade 8. Kali had two daughters at the time her husband went for a foreign job. Slowly then she was tortured by her mother-in-law and brother-in-law blaming her for a poor, measurable and vulnerable situation. She was blamed for not managing dowry money/kind to support her in-laws and considered from a too poor family. In such circumstances, she had no choice, but to listen and digest as it was her regular practice. However, upon returning to her husband from a foreign job, instead of listening to her how she was surviving in the absence of her husband, he ignored Kali fully and got married to other women. Nobody helped in managing her way of living through legal and other means of support but was kept aside alone in the society. One day she was found dead in a room. A police report says, it was a suicide, but people are not well convinced about it.

Kala Sunar

Kala Sunar is 40 years old; she had studied up to Grade 5. Her husband is 46 years old, who had passed Grade 8. She is currently staying with her children in her husband's house, however, separated from her husband and managing her shelter on the top floor of her husband's house. It has been 12 years of this arrangement, with her husband and mother-in-law staying on the ground floor. She has three sons and a

daughter, of which a son and a daughter have been married, and she has a grandchild as well.

This interview was conducted in her residence, with the help of a *Dalit* women representative alongside her son and daughter-in-law, and lasted for two hours. It has been 25 years since her marriage when she had been 15 years old. Two years after, her mother-in-law started harassing her and harping about her misdeeds to her husband. Her husband also started drinking alcohol and making excuses to beat her. This kept on increasing, and her husband and mother-in-law restricted her from going out of the house, going to her maternal home, and the alike places outside the house. With the help of her family and neighbors, an arrangement for her and her children to stay on the upper floor was managed – however, sometimes her husband still badmouthed and manhandled her. As a result of this, she started suffering from a disease- bringing headaches. Later she found that her mother-in-law had taken all the property away from her whereas her husband kept a mistress. He had the mistress listed as wife in the voters' list. Nowadays her children have grown up. One time her older son and husband had a fight and came to blows, this escalated to a police case after which the neighbors bailed the parties out.

Kala has been survivorized quite a lot by her husband and her mother-in-law. Nowadays she has thyroid, diabetes, and blood pressure-related health conditions. She explains that she is often sick due to physical and mental violence. Her husband and mother-in-law declare that they will not provide the rightful inheritance to her and her children. They want to sell the seven ropani (one ropani equals 0.05 ha) land and two-storied concrete house. She reported that she is not aware of the legal procedures, her children are not clever, and no one will go out of their way to help her.

Kala is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any other legal measures. She has reported her experiences to her locality, mother groups, and relatives. She laments that it is difficult to get help from other unconcerned people, and she cannot fight the legal battle herself for her and her children.

Dhana Gayak

Dhana Gayak is 45 years old woman. Her husband is 50 years old. Currently, she is living in a small two-roomed corrugated roofed house in *Gandarvatol* of ward 16. She

can do basic reading and writing, same as her husband. Currently, she has a daughter whom she lives with, whereas her husband has re-married and lives separately.

This interview was taken in her residence for about an hour with the help of a local mother group's chair. The excerpt of the interview is such that it has been 29 years since her marriage at the age of 16 which was a family organized marriage. However, after marriage, she has been a survivor of mental violence due to her husband's polygamy. She could not join the formal school during her childhood due to poverty. Her father was a Gandharva, meaning those who earn their living by singing songs in the communities, or at the common places with the use of the specially crafted musical tool, called sarangi. She also went traveling with her father in the course of following the life pattern of her father, but not to school, as a result of which she is now turned into an uneducated woman. After marrying at a young age, her mother-in-law started berating her for not being good at housework. She gave birth to a son and a daughter, after which she got sterilized. For a while, the family was functioning well, running a small teashop away from her husband's parents. However, her son suddenly fell ill due to heart disease and passed away. This brought a storm into the family, and Dhana took years to recover from the shock of her son's death. She had to suffer from another pain, as her husband remarried with Gurung woman, and left Dhana along with her daughter. She and her daughter still run the small tea shop and make a living with a measurable condition. Her husband did not care about Dhana and her daughter. Dhana is in bad mental stress due to her son's death, and her husband's remarriage, these situations create the difficulty of making a living. Dhana is not aware of any legal measures including the Domestic Violence Act. She has also never reported her problems to practically anyone previously.

Sun Maya Nepali

Sun Maya is 49 years old. She is currently living in a two-roomed small house in the slums with her children. Her husband is 53 years old. He has re-married and is separated from her. She has two sons and two daughters. She is completely illiterate whereas her husband is semi-literate.

Sun Maya married at the age of 17 years. She was married in her village. Due to her young age, she was not good at household chores and so received scolding from her

in-laws from time to time. Four years after her marriage, she and her husband came to Pokhara and rented a room. Her husband's wage labor supported them at first, but after having children, it became more difficult to survive. She also started working, but due to her two miscarriages, she was weak and started having health problems.

Sun Maya's husband used to come home at late night drunk and usually started fighting. Her husband continued abusing children, thus children are suffered in education due to their father's violent action at home. One day her husband threatened her with a weapon, she came screaming out into the open. It was ten p.m. and the neighbors came out who berated her husband. Her husband stood there without a word. The next morning he left without saying anything and didn't come back home for many days. She searched everywhere and was resigned that he was gone to India.

Currently, it has been four years since her husband left home. It has been heard that he has remarried and settled there. Her sons are at the adolescent ages, and their company is of drunkards. Her daughters go and do manual labor, earning a livelihood. She is sick but has no money for treatment. Sun Maya does not have any idea about the Domestic Violence Act or any other legal measures. She has not told anyone about her problems. Her stance is that she has endured it all due to society and for her children's future; also it would be futile.

Kamala Darji/Pariyar

Kamala is 35 years old and her husband is 40 years old. She has a three-room house in the slums, she has two sons. Her husband is currently chronically ill. Kamala married at the age of 16, at a time when it was the societal norm to marry daughters early. She never attended school and does not know how to read and write. Her parents, after marrying her, moved to the city and built a small two-room house in the slum. After giving birth to two sons, her husband began to force himself upon her to make love, at times when she was not ready. Upon her refusal, he began accusing her of infidelity. He began to drink alcohol daily. One day after her refusing his advances, he tore off all her clothes and tried to force her out into the street. Her sons, who are sleeping, started crying and shouting. She grabbed a shawl to cover her body and ran away to a neighbor's sister's house. In the coming days, she began to either lock herself or her sons when her husband

came home late, or go sleep in a neighbor's house. But in the recent six months, her husband's kidneys have been damaged. She also has the problem of uterine prolapse. However, she has no money for treatment. Her sons have started working as conductors and have left home. In the past, she suffered from physical and sexual violence whereas now she has mental torture to face. Her son did not take care of her. Kamala has not even reported her problems to any institution. She felt meaningless to show the problems to anyone else and blamed on fate.

Chameli Pariyar

Chameli is 35 years old whereas her husband is 39 years old. She lives with her one son and one daughter in the slums; she is doing a small business currently. But her husband has re-married and lives separately. She earns a livelihood by involving in wage labor. Chameli was married at the age of 18. She does not know how to read or write while her husband had studied up to Grade 5. Some years after their marriage, they moved to the slums and built a small house. At first, the family functioned well. Her husband earned their bread. After giving birth to five children, however, it became increasingly difficult to sustain life. Her husband started coming home drunk and picking fights. She would stay quiet, while he began hitting her with whatever he could find. One day he hit her with a pressure cooker which caused a serious wound on her head. Due to this, she started getting headaches and forgetting things. Two years ago, her husband married again and moved to another slum. He is not in contact with her. It is difficult for Chameli to rear and educate her children. Her husband's new wife sometimes comes and picks fights. After help from the neighbors, this has stopped nowadays. Chameli's parents have passed away and she has nowhere to go for help. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or other legal measures. She has not reported her case anywhere, neither to any institution nor to other people. She is afraid of societal reputation and her children's future.

Sonu Nepali

Sonu Nepali is 32 years old, while her husband is 38 years old. She has one daughter and one son. In a three-room house in a slum. Sonu's mother passed away when she was quite young. Her father brought in a new wife and this stepmother used to make

her work a lot in the house. Sonu did not get a chance to attend school and is illiterate. Her husband has a basic level of reading and writing. When she was 19, her father married her off to the next village. A few months after the marriage, her mother-in-law started harassing her. Since she was not adept at housework, the situation escalated to her not being allowed to stay in the house even. After their son was born, she and her husband came to Pokhara and built a small three-room house in a slum land. Then she gave birth to a daughter. Her husband became a driver while she started doing wage labor.

Sonu's husband started going far away from his job, so their relationship suffered. After getting wind of her husband's outside affairs, she confronted him but instead, he hit her with a log-used to bar the door. She lost consciousness and her children ran for help from the neighbors. With the neighbors' help, she was taken to the hospital but her husband did not follow. The next day, her husband was jailed with the neighbors' testimony, but he was released after two days. He began getting worse. He usually came home drunk and started badmouthing to Sonu. He gave threats of killing her and re-marrying. After a year, he married a Brahmin girl from Khudi and moved to settle there. He is not in contact with her now. Her children are grown up and it costs a lot for their education. She works as a cleaner at a medical shop to earn their livelihood. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act or any other legal procedures. She is of the mind that she has tolerated it all due to society and for the sake of the betterment of her children.

Sita B.K.

Seti is 28 years old while her husband is 44. She has a son. She is currently living with her children in a two-room house in the slums. Seti has suffered physical and mental violence from her husband. She got married at the age of 16. At first, the marriage was going well, but after the birth of their children, her husband started using drugs and alcohol. He started going off the deep end and would come home and even beat children. No one knew where he would go outside, and when inquired, he would raise hands upon her. One time he hit her with a piece of wood and her neighbors took her to the hospital.

Now it has been three months since her husband is out of contact. It is heard that he has gone to Mustang. Her son is also in police custody due to drug abuse.

She is not aware of any legal measures or the Domestic Violence Act. Seti has not reported her troubles to any bodies or persons. She has kept silent due to societal expectations and for the sake of maintaining social dignity for her children, she says.

Kanchi Pariyar

Kanchi is 38 years old while her husband is 42 years old. She has one son and five daughters. She is currently living with all of them in a three-room corrugated roofed shed in the slums. It has been 23 years since her marriage at the age of 15. Her parents married her off at a young age, from a big family. She is sad that her entire life has consisted of being a proper daughter-in-law. Due to the societal view on daughters and the need to have sons, she has had four abortions and finally gave birth to a son a year ago. However, she is now having gynecological problems.

Kanchi has been a survivor of physical and sexual violence from her husband. Nowadays, her husband comes home in the evenings drunk and tries to initiate physical relations. But, she is weak, and has gynecological problems, she lacks money for treatment. When she refuses his request for physical relation, her husband physically abuses her. One day, her husband pushed her off the bed and slammed her head against the wall. She cried and screamed out of pain and her children took care of her. Still, she is in a lot of trouble due to her husband's worst behavior. She has not reported these incidents to anyone or any authorities. She is not even aware of any legal procedures or the Domestic Violence Act.

Sani Nepali

Sani is currently 61 years of age, and her husband passed away two years ago. She has three sons and three daughters. She is currently living with her youngest daughter in a three-room corrugated roofed shed in the slums. She cannot read and write. It has been 45 years since her marriage at the age of 16. Her parents married her off young, and she had many in-laws. She had a nearly 15 year age difference with her older husband, who had a previous unsuccessful marriage. Sani only knew this after giving birth to her

firstborn, and it made her sad. She gave birth to six children successively. In the village, a lot of manual labor needed to be done. Since they had no property in the village, she and her husband descended to the city and occupied a piece of land in the slums to raise their children. Currently, she is sick from uterine prolapse disease and lacks money for treatment.

Looking back, Sani feels she has not had the chance to do anything in her life but act out the role of an ideal daughter-in-law, wife, and mother, which saddens her. She has had to face a lot of pain and challenges throughout these phases.

Sani is a survivor of mental violence from her son. Her husband passed away due to asthma recently. Her sons had separated. Her eldest son returned to ask for an inheritance. Currently, she resells vegetables and also takes care of a mentally challenged daughter. Her eldest son asks for the property, but she has no papers of her slum land and nothing else to give him. He tends to come to her house drunk and pick fights. She feels bad about her child coming to fight. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act or any other legal measures. She has not reported her problem anywhere. She is of the mind that it is her child, so she has to get through it herself.

Santi B.K.

Santi is 40 years old while her husband is 45. She has a son and two daughters. She was married at the age of 15. Her mother passed away when she was quite young, so she was married off by her relatives when she was attending school. Her step-mother thought that she should marry and run a house, so she had to leave school even when she desired to learn. Her in-laws had expected some dowry, but her maternal home had nothing to give. After the marriage, her female in-laws started harassing her for not bringing dowry. Her husband also started listening to their words and scolding her. When Santi became pregnant, her sister-in-law brought up conflict saying unjustly that it was not her brother's child. One time when it was raining, and she was seven months into the pregnancy when her husband and sister-in-law picked a fight and pushed her out of the room. She collided with the door and had a wound in her stomach; although later her child was found unharmed. They did not let her in even though it was raining outside. When she stayed in a neighbor's house, her in-law berated her in the same house.

After giving birth to her first daughter, she and her husband came to stay in the slums of the Bus Park. They built a small three-room house, and it was easier for a while as the in-laws are away. Afterward, she gave birth to another girl and a boy. She and her husband both performed wage labor to feed the family. Later her husband became a driver and used to going out of the house often. One day she raised the issue of why he was not home often. He got mad and came to lay hands on her. He shut the doors and windows, tore the clothes she was wearing, and also started ripping off other clothes. It was nighttime and the children are sleeping, so she ran away to a neighbor's house. Currently, her husband is out driving an ambulance. And she got wind that he stays with a woman outside in a hotel. When he comes home, she cannot mutter a word or get comes to beat her.

Santi says that two women from the neighborhood have spread rumors about her husband. She has attempted suicide on the bank of the Seti many times but always returned because she was concerned about her children. It has been nearly a year that her husband only comes home two or three times a month. He only comes to pick up his clothes and does not provide any earned money. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any legal measures. She has not reported her situation anywhere, due to concern for her children.

Biba Nepali

Biba is 52 years old and her husband is 55 years old. She has one daughter and one son. Currently, they all live in a small house in the slums. She had a love marriage at the age of 16. Her mother passed away when she was very young. Her husband tricked her into marriage as it was later known that he had a wife and child already. She only found out about this fact only after a year of her marriage.

After this, Biba became disillusioned with her husband. She gave birth to a son and a daughter and for a while things are fine. But then her husband started returning to his first wife, which sparked fights. One day her husband pushed her into a wall and she fainted. He had already gone to his first wife when she regained consciousness. Her older step-son has grown up and he visited her house to give death threats to their family.

In Biba's maternal home, there are her brother and brother-in-law only and they treat her badly as she eloped from home. Nowadays too, her husband and step-son give a lot of trouble. She has not reported her problems anywhere or to anyone. She thinks that she has to endure it because it is the way society is and it would be fruitless to do anything else. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act or other legal procedures.

Keshu Nepali Shrestha

Keshu is 53 years old and her husband is 56 years old. They have three daughters. Currently, she is living with her three daughters. Her husband also stays with them in a separate room. She and her husband have basic literacy.

Keshu has had an inter-caste marriage. When she was at her maternal home, her now-husband had come as a craftsman. He had lied about his caste, but later it turned out that he was of *Dalit* caste. Her husband also did not take her home as it turns out he already had a wife, a son, and a daughter. Later, they started staying in the slums, building a small house. There she gave birth to three daughters and they would earn their livelihood with wage labor. Later, she kept a small water tank in her house and started selling meat. But things went in the wrong direction as her husband started to come home drunk, pick fights, and beat her. If anyone came to the shop and talk to her, he would get angry. He picked this as an excuse to beat her. One day he hit her with the door barricade and she fainted. Her daughters knew about the incident started crying. After that, her daughters insisted that they separate and her husband started living in a different room. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act or other legal procedures.

Roshni Pariyar

Roshni is 31 years old, while her husband is 34. She has a two-year-old son. It is her second marriage. In her first marriage, she was 18 years old when her relatives married her off. Her first husband was an addict and after a few days of marriage, she returned to her maternal home. After five years, she got a divorce. Three years ago, her relatives managed to find her another husband. But apparently, he was also a drug addict.

Roshni has faced physical and mental violence from her husband. She used to earn her livelihood from wage labor, but her husband would not work. He would ask for

money from her and spend it on alcohol, marijuana, and bad company. When she would not give him money, he would beat her. He would sometimes not come home and when at home, he would pick fights by citing the context of her first marriage as an excuse. One time he hit her with a piece of wood and broken her arm. During this interview, her left arm was broken and in plaster. She was desolate when giving the interview. When her neighbors found out about the abuse and her arms breaking, they alerted the police. During this interview, her husband was in Baidam police custody. Roshni relayed that when her husband returned home, she could not stay with him any longer so she would seek a divorce.

Tara Pariyar

Tara is 39 years old, and her current husband is 42. She did remarriage, her first marriage was unsuccessful, so she remarried, but now she has had to face physical and mental violence. She has a son and a daughter. At the time of the interview, she was staying at her maternal home, for about a fortnight.

When she was 21 years old, her relatives had married her off to Kathmandu. But her husband was having an affair with a woman of another caste. When she found out about this, she returned to her maternal home. In her parental home, she and her sister are running a business of sewing when her current husband and mother-in-law visited there. They like her and asked for her hand. After marriage, she gave birth to a son and a daughter. Her husband used to drive a hospital ambulance. At first, the marriage went well, however, when her husband started going away for more, it went slowly worse. He used to pick fights when at home regarding why she left her first husband and used to beat her. Eight days ago, when she found out that he was courting a married woman, he beat her badly and slammed her into a wall. At the time of the interview, she had a black eye and head bruises. She left the house and returned to her parental home. She has not reported her experiences anywhere or to any other relatives. Due to her frequent family problems, her mother is concerned. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or other legal procedures.

Sapana Pariyar

Sapana is 38 years of age. For the last three years, she has been separated from her husband and lives with her only daughter. She has been a *Dalit* woman representative in one ward of Pokhara Metropolitan City and currently operates a sewing business. She has been staying in her maternal home.

Sapana has faced psychological violence from her husband and mother-in-law. She was married at the age of 18. Her father had married her off to a seemingly good household. Her parents had given her a sizeable dowry, even some jewelry, but her mother-in-law did not treat her well from the beginning, blaming her for a poor dowry. One year after her marriage, her husband started to talk about his big expectation about visible dowry. Indeed, her mother-in-law and husband started giving her mental torture. Sapana gave birth to a daughter and she had returned to her parental home. Upon returning home, her mother-in-law had always had a desire of receiving gold, but she had not brought any. So her mother-in-law threw away whatever presents she did bring. She was saddened. Her husband also started neglecting work. Sapana used to sew at home, which they later did not allow her to. Then she started going to other people's shops to sew, but she never gets the support of her husband, instead started telling her not to return home at all. One day when she had gone to work at a shop, her husband told her to go elope with that store's owner. It was unbearable for her, so she took her daughter and went back to her parental home. She started a small sewing shop. Time and again her husband would come to persuade her to return, but she refuses. It has been three years since she has legally divorced him. She says that currently she has been relieved, but her daughter feels bad that she can't be with her father. Sapana consoles her daughter about her real-life situation. Sapana says that after her marriage for several years, it was a hard time for her, and feels a measurable life when her beloved husband turns to together.

Seti Pariyar

SetiPariyar is currently 39 years old and has one son. Mother and son live together in a small one-room corrugated roofed shed in the slum. Her husband has re-married and lives separately. She can read and write at a basic level.

Seti had a love marriage at the age of 17. They had been renting a room for a year when she gave birth to her son. She and her husband used to earn their livelihoods with wage labor during the earlier days of their married life, but she could not continue at the job once she had a baby boy. Three years after their son's birth, her husband eloped with a girl from where he worked. He did not return home for a couple of days, later she knows about he had re-married to that girl. She was shocked and devastated. It became difficult for mother and son to get everyday necessities. Her husband never returned and she has had no contact with him. Later she learned that he had gone to Kolkata, India. Considering her feeble situation, neighbors helped her to construct a corrugated roofed shed. Currently, she buys fruit wholesale and sells them from place to place.

Seti has not reported her problems to any institution. Even her relatives do not know of her predicament, and she feels alone with only her son as a company. In her maternal home, only her brother and his wife are alive, and often they ignore her, having eloped. She is concerned nowadays about her future. She has not said anything to anyone because she feels it would be useless and vexing to her son. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, the punishment for polygamy, or any legal procedures.

Deepa Sunar

Deepa is currently 35 years old while her husband is 40 years old. They have two sons. They live in a family in the slum. She has passed 10th grade, but being married young, she could not continue her education; neither could she seek any official job. Her husband has also passed 10th grade. They perform wage labor. Her story is such that she has faced mental and sexual violence from her husband. When she was 19, her relatives carried her off. For two years, her husband was good to behave. Slowly he started getting jealous. When she gave birth to her eldest son after two years of marriage, she went to her maternal home for a visit. He urged her to return soon, so she returned within a fortnight instead of the usual month. After she returned home he insisted to have physical contact whereas it was less than two weeks of her maternity, and was recovering slowly. This was the beginning of their feudal relation.

Deepa gave birth to another son, and this time she was not even permitted to return to her maternal home. When her youngest son grew up to be three years, she

started working in a hospital and started to earn a steady monthly income. Her husband would drive a vehicle and their earnings are good. However, he was not happy that she was working out of home and would pick fights daily. She could not take any calls, talk, or walk with other people. He would demand physical contact daily and if she refused, he would accuse her of infidelity. After much torture, she left her job. Deepa relates that having had earned and spent money, being deprived of that is a difficult experience. Her husband would not allow her to use a phone or Facebook. He would be very jealous, get drunk, and pick fights. He still demands to have physical contact even during the menstruating period and berates her of infidelity when she refuses.

She has now understood that she has had to face mental and sexual violence, but has not reported this anywhere. She has not even told her relatives or maternal family yet. She is of the mind that it has to be bearded for her children's sake. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or other legal procedures.

Janu Nepali

Janu is now 35 years of age while her husband is 39. They have one daughter and one son. Currently, she lives in a three-room house. She can do basic reading and writing. Her husband is working abroad in the Middle East. Her mother-in-law has passed away while her father-in-law is living with her.

She was married at the age of 19. Her husband used to do wage labor while now he is working abroad. She has been facing mental and sexual violence from her father-in-law. Her children are still small. Her father-in-law is 60 years old and has bad intentions regarding her. He is always trying to get close to her, going to roam in the mornings and returning home to harass her when the children are off at school. One day when the children had gone to school, she had finished washing the dishes and was sitting in her room when her father-in-law came to the room and sat close. He started talking about random things and snatched her hand. Then he grabbed her and tried to kiss her, then tried forcing her down on the bed. She barely managed to push him away and escape. She relayed this incident to her neighbor Rupa. She was terrified and asked for advice from her friend, who told her to forgive this instance and warn her father-in-law that she would complain to the police if this happens again. When Janu returned home, her father-in-law

was already gone. He would eat outside and not speak a word at home for a few days. Janu was mentally scarred, having a man of the age of her father tries to molest her, and is ashamed she could not muster any punishment for him. She has not publicized this incident due to a matter of shame. The interviewer knew of this from her friend Rupa and met with Janu. She has taken the stance that if this incident recurs, and then she will file a report with the police.

Sumitra Pariyar

Sumitra is currently 35 years old, while her husband is 40 years old. They have three daughters and live in a five-room house in the slum. She runs a small grocery while her husband is in and out of the country for foreign employment.

Sumitra was married at the age of 20 by the arrangement of her relatives to a good man. She had recently started college but did not continue as she was married. Within two years of a short span of marriage, she gave birth to three daughters. Once they grew up, she started a tiny grocery in her house. Her husband would work and bring money from the Gulf countries. For a time, the family was running well. Then, her husband started having an affair with a woman he met searching Facebook. When he was back in Nepal, the woman had gone to Kathmandu to receive him; Sumitra only knew it quite late. Her husband had boasted of having a house and business to the woman, who was a divorcee. This woman had three sons and daughters, so Sumitra's husband had promised to marry her due to this. Later Sumitra discovered that this woman had friended and talked to her eldest daughter on Facebook. When her husband returned home, a big fight ensued, including a talk with the other woman on the phone, and she and her daughters threatened to hand him to the police if he married that woman. These all made the relation weaker and dubious. Her husband started coming home drunk daily and beating Sumitra and her daughters. One day he hit Sumitra with an iron rod in the head and she fainted. Her daughters took her to the hospital. Nowadays, her husband has quit his foreign employment, while she is continuing her grocery. He frequently came home drunk and picks fights. She has heard that he does not have relations with that woman any longer, but she has been mentally suffering due to all these suspicious behave of her husband.

Seema B.K.

Seema is currently 38 years old, while her husband is 43. They have two daughters and one son. Both of them are simply literate. Seema had a love marriage at the age of 19. It has been 19 years since her marriage. They used to stay in the village, but after hearing about acquiring a piece of land to construct a house without paying any penny, they migrated to the city – as they had no land of their own in the village anyway. They earned a living working wage labor in house construction. After having two children, it became difficult to rear and educate them. She had started to do some physical labor of carrying loads, but later on, she could not continue as she had picked up with gynecological problems and could work no more.

Seema has faced physical and sexual violence from her husband. After having two children, her husband began to return home drunk daily and when she refused to be involved in lovemaking, he would beat her with whatever was possible to grab and charge. She has gynecological problems but lacks money for treatment. One day her husband tore off her clothes when she was asleep at night and forced himself on her. But she stayed silent. As this practice continued daily, one day he smashed her head into a wall when she resisted. She got a bruise and began getting nausea regularly. When their children witnessed this, they started going out of the home. Her son became an addict later, while her daughter eloped. Her son is in police custody now, while her daughter rarely comes home.

Currently, she is very weak physically and mentally; has no money for treatment, and cannot go to work. Her husband is not regular at his job but spends all the money on alcohol. Currently, she is desperately wishing that someone would bail her son out of custody. She says that the government should provide free healthcare for the poor and needy like her. Seema is unaware of health insurance. She understands that she has had actually faced physical and sexual violence, yet not reported about this anywhere. She has also not shared her story with any relatives or family members. She is keeping quiet for the sake of her children, and her son's addiction pains her greatly. She is not aware of any legal measures including the Domestic Violence Act, and possible ways to get justice.

Rama Nepali

Rama is currently 33 years of age. Her husband is 36 years old, and now a day he lives with his new wife, not with Rama Nepali. Rama has two sons. They all live together; include the new wife and a step-son.

Rama stays in a separate room from the rest of the family. Rama was married at the age of 18, and by that time her husband was a driver. At first, the family functioned well; Rama gave birth to two sons. But ten years ago, her husband married a Brahmin girl and brought her home. He did so because she was deemed unattractive by him, Rama says. After the Brahmin girl entered their world, she began to trouble Rama a lot. Her husband also started berating her. Later her husband persuaded their sons that their mother is not behaving well to the family members including him. Her sons also disdain her now. She has been troubled by her husband, sons, step, and step-son. Her parents are not alive at her maternal home, and her brother and his wife do not care about her much. The neighbors also do not help and she talks dejectedly. She has attempted suicide at the riverbank three times but her affection and responsibility towards her sons always brought her back from the ledge. She is pained by having another woman in front of her husband. She knows she is a survivor of mental violence and torture but has not reported it to any authorities. She has not even relayed it to her relatives, or family members. She is not aware of the Domestic violence Act, or other legal procedures.

Shital B.K.

Shital is currently 40 years old, while her husband is 45 years old. They have two sons. She has studied up to Grade 5 and her husband up to Grade 12. They had a love marriage, eloping when he was 18. They came to Pokhara from a nearby village, hearing rumors that she could own a piece of land free of cost in the slum dwellings where they have built a four-room house.

Shital's husband drove an ambulance in a private hospital; their family ran well during the earlier days of her married life. Later when their children started growing up and it became financially difficult to raise them, they agreed that her husband should look

for foreign employment. She borrowed a bunch of money in loan and sent her husband abroad. Meanwhile, two of her female neighbors talked to her husband on Facebook, commenting false gossip that Shital did not come home during the local elections, went with other men, and voted for a different party. Her husband returned within a year and could not pay off the loan. He began getting drunk, giving her a hard time and laying hands on her as he resumed his driving job. Her children started fearing their father and suggested her mother live separately. Meanwhile, her eldest daughter got married and for posterity's sake to the societal people, she stayed with her husband.

One day when Shital complained to her husband about his behavior, he bolted all windows and doors and urinated in her mouth. He then tore off all her clothes and started ripping clothes out of the closet, and cut them into pieces. Once she asked neighbors for help, her husband walked away from the home without a word. Later Shital discovered that her husband was having affairs with a divorcee from a nearby shop. Two months ago, she sent her son abroad after borrowing a required sum of money. Her husband still comes home at times to torment her. She has thought of suicide frequently, but cannot bring herself to do it for the sake of her children. She is aware that she is a survivor of physical and mental violence, but has not reported it anywhere. She has not talked about all that has been happening to her to the close relatives and is enduring it for her children. She does not have a clue about the Domestic Violence Act or other legal procedures.

Bhima Nepali

Bhima is currently 50 years old. Her husband was 20 years older at the time of marriage and has passed away. She has one daughter, while her husband's other wife has two sons. She is illiterate, the same as her deceased husband.

Bhima was 18 when her relatives married her off to a widower. Her aunt convinced her that she would be treated like a princess, and given good clothes and jewelry. At the time, she felt excited, but after marriage, she found that her husband was 20 years older than her and had two small sons with his former wife. She felt crestfallen and resigned herself to her fate. In the village, she and her husband would have to go work in other people's homes. Five years into the marriage, her maternal relatives advised her to move to Pokhara in the slum dwellings and they migrated; built a small three-room

house. Later she gave birth to a daughter. Ten years later, her husband suffered from heart disease and was in the hospital for a month. But having had no money for treatment, he passed away. Her step-sons did not allow her a proper funeral, trying to chase her away. She and her daughter lived in a room with the help of neighbors, but her step-sons would berate them regularly including death threats. Currently, her daughter has married off and she is alone. She knows that she is a survivor of mental violence, but has not reported to any authorities. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any other legal measures to proceed with.

Pampha Nepali

Pampha is 35 years old, while her husband is 38. They have one daughter and two sons. Currently, she is living in her maternal home in the slums. She can barely read and write while her husband had completed Grade 10. Her husband is re-married while she has lived in her maternal home for three years.

Pampha has faced mental violence from her husband and steps. She had been married at the age of 17. Her relationship with her husband was going well until she had three children, but after that, her husband went to work abroad. There, within two years, he met a Rai woman and had an affair with her. He brought her back home and Pampha was crestfallen. She could not ask for help anywhere so stayed silent. As time passes by, her husband and his new wife started to berate her and even threaten her, trying to get rid of her. The new woman started giving Pampha's sons money and persuades them to speak against her. She was devastated, so with advice from her brothers, she has been staying at her maternal home for a year. She understands that she has faced physical and mental violence, but has not done any reporting. She cites social expectations and the future of her children as the reason for her inaction. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any other legal procedures to be followed. She is silent according to the wish and advice of her maternal family members.

Sharmila K.C. Pariyar

Sharmila is 50 years old. Currently, she stays with her brothers in her maternal home. She had two sons, but one son got sick and passed away while her other son was

taken away by foreigners. Her husband should be around 55 years old, but he has not been in contact for the last 18 years.

Sharmila had passed tenth Grade, the same as her husband. They worked together in a social organization. Her husband was belonging to the Chhetri caste, but she was Pariyar. After falling in love, they married and lived together for 15 years, rearing two sons. But her husband never took her home and kept her from the family distance, as she was of a lower caste. Her eldest son was physically disabled, but he had a very sharp mind. He had studied till Grade 10 and was very good at singing. She wails that after her husband left them, it became very difficult for her to take care of and educate her sons; meanwhile unknown foreigner asked and took her youngest son with him.

Her husband never told Sharmila where he was from, only that it was in another district. He never returned after leaving the home. She was staying at her maternal home; one year ago, her mother passed away. After the funeral, her brothers started badmouthing her, saying she needed to work and earn for them. She has nowhere else to go. Her brothers come home drunk and threaten her. Her youngest brother is the worst, who brings new wives, beats them, and created the condition that forced her to leave them. She used to be happy that she married upwards in the caste hierarchy, and still feels she is different from others in her community. However, she is utterly alone now. Now she works at a hotel in Lakeside and earns a living.

Gita Nepali

Gita is 35 years old, while her husband is 38. They have one daughter and two sons. Currently, they live in a four-room corrugated roofed house. Her husband does wage labor while she also cleans in another house. She had studied up to fifth Grade while her husband had passed eighth Grade.

She had married at the age of 18. Her parents are poor, so they married her off quite young, like her many siblings. Gita had married simply, and one year after it, her mother-in-law used to complain that she brought no dowry – deeming her beggars' offspring. But she understood her parents are poor, so stayed silent. After her mother-in-law's death, it became difficult to run the family financially. So, they had to sell the small piece of land they owned. Even then it was a hard time for her to educate the kids and

support them as debt kept on piling. It has been four years that her husband has started returning home drunk and scolding the children for their expenditure. If Gita speaks up for them, he beats her. Three months ago, one day he came home heavily intoxicated and picked a fight with her, badmouthing the children. After she defended, he threatened her with a knife attack. Even while evading, he sliced her hand with it and blood started pouring out. The children called to the neighbors for help and took her to the medical. The police came and warded her husband off to prison, but he was free after 24 hours. He had again started to return home drunk within a few days of quarrel, and fight with her. She says that her fate is doomed and her children have suffered a lot. At present, her eldest son is a bus conductor and refuses to return home due to his father's behavior. Other younger children are still studying at the high school level of education.

Devaki Sunar

Devaki is 28 years old while her husband is 32 years old. She was married to a man from Syangja, but after having no children for years, she has returned to her maternal home.

When Devaki was 17, her relatives carried her off to a seemingly good household. But when she bore no child six years after the marriage, her mother-in-law tried all shamanic treatments. When all the measures failed, all the women in her new household started calling her barren. Her husband had gone abroad and would only return sometimes. Three years ago, when her husband was at home, she tried to convince him to visit a doctor to diagnose the cause of her infertility, but her mother-in-law dissented. Devaki's mother-in-law said that her husband would re-marry and prove her useless. She could say nothing whereas her husband also started listening to his mother's words. They had seen a woman for his re-marriage, and hearing this Devaki could not bear it any longer. She packed her clothes and fearing what others would say, stayed in a hotel in Pokhara for three days instead of visiting her maternal home. Later she relayed all this to the members at her maternal home, and her younger brother came to rescue her. With counsel in her maternal home, she started staying in a nearby room to not trouble the other women. She has started a cleaning job in a nearby hospital and earns nearly twelve thousand a month, some of which she gives to her mother as well. Her husband and

mother-in-law never contacted her again. She has heard rumors that he has married a new woman and is blessed with children. She knows she has faced mental violence but has done no reporting, fearing society's backlash and her maternal home's reputation. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any other legal process. She is silent now due to her maternal family's suggestion but thinks she should fight for her rights.

Babita Nepali G.C.

Babita is currently 22 years old while her husband is 26. She had an inter-caste marriage. Her husband was Sarki, meaning from untouchable caste, while she was Chhetri.

Babita had a love marriage when she was 18. She has suffered mental violence from her husband due to his polygamy. She and her to-be husband's houses are near when she was young. They studied at the same school and used to meet often. This led to a marriage that neither of their families accepted. They eloped to a hotel in Pokhara for a few days, and then returned home. Both of the families tried to split the marriage unsuccessfully. Three months after their marriage, her husband went to Pokhara for business while she stayed in the village. Slowly, his calls became less frequent, and later it was known that he had started an affair with a Brahmin girl. One year later, Babita found out that he was living with this new woman in a rented room. Upon hearing all about polygamy, Babita could not lodge any complaint as their marriage was not officially registered. She moved to a relative's house in Kathmandu, having had enough of the situation. Later her husband married the Brahmin girl and moved abroad. Babita returned to her parental house. She and her mother relay that females still have a hard time in society. Anyhow the males come out on top. They could do nothing against her husband, due mainly to any legal evidence. She is devastated that he cheated on her a lot.

Shova Nepali

Shova is 30 years old while her husband is 32. They have an eight-year old son. Her husband's home is in another district, but she has been living in her parental home for the last few years. Her husband is working abroad in the Gulf. Shova had studied up to Grade 8 while her husband had passed Grade 10.

Shova had an arranged marriage at the age of 18. At the time of her marriage, her family provided a simple dowry. Six months later, her mother-in-law started complaining about the dowry, picking fights. But her husband would say nothing. Her husband never talked against her, but he did not stop his mother either to talk against his wife. Three years after the marriage, she gave birth to a son and returned to her maternal home. Her mother-in-law was not happy with the presents she brought back. A few months later, her husband went abroad, her mother-in-law again started berating her. When Shova answered back, the criticisms escalated. Not able to stay there any longer, she informed her husband and staying at her parental home. Currently, she is willing to return to the husband's house on the condition that if her husband is back in the country. Her experience is that Nepali society still faces such problems related to dowry and those other women in the society, elsewhere, are facing this as well.

Jamuna Nepali

Jamuna is currently 35 years old, while her husband is 38 years old. She is staying at her parental home at present. She has earned a basic level of literacy while her husband had passed Grade 8. They have a son and a daughter, who is staying with her husband.

Jamuna had a love marriage at the age of 18. The relationship was good till they had two children. But afterward, her husband started doubting her. He would get angry when she would call someone, or receive phone calls, even from her maternal home. Slowly, this manifested in daily fights. Then her husband started drinking alcohol the way home from work with a mood to fights. As the fights escalated, he would hit her with whatever he found. One day he hit her near the ear and her eardrums burst. She began losing her hearing. Not being able to tolerate his behavior, she left the house and took sanctuary in her parental home. For the past two years, her husband has not returned to talk to her. She has started performing manual labor to earn a living and stays at her maternal home. She knows she has faced physical and mental violence but has not reported it anywhere. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or other legal measures. She is staying silent for now upon her maternal family's counsel but thinks she needs to start struggling for her rights.

Sarita Gayak

Sarita is currently 19 years old while her husband is 22. She has one daughter and lives in a village. She had eloped with a guy, now turned husband when she was just 14 years of age. Her maternal family members had tried for her to return and cancel the marriage, but she had continued evading them, moving from place to place. They only returned to the locality after a year. She and her husband both used to earn a livelihood by wage labor. The situation slowly took another mode. For the past two years, her husband started drinking alcohol and smoking on the way home from work. He then started picking fights suspecting her mobile phone use to the other callers. He scolds her for being unfaithful even when she texts or calls her female friends. One day he even threw and broke her phone when she had gotten a text from her friend regarding the next day's work schedule. Currently, she does not have a phone or the money to buy one. It is difficult for her to buy necessities since her husband spends most of his earnings consuming alcohol.

Sarita says that she cannot do anything in this male-dominated society. Her husband also has no shame regarding his behavior, she says. Her small daughter has also been mentally scarred by her father. Sarita knows that she has suffered mental and physical violence, but has not lodged any complaint to the concerned authorities. She also has not reported her feeble situation to the family members at her maternal house, thinking that they would not care as she had eloped against their wishes. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any other legal measures.

Sabina Nepali

Sabina is 32 years of age while her husband is 35. They have two daughters and a son. Her family currently stays in a two-room house near the forest of the village in half ropani land. Her younger daughter is fully disabled since her birth. Sabina is simply literate while her husband had studied till Grade 5.

This interview was conducted with the help of a ward *Dalit* woman representative in Sabina's residence. In her house, there are goats in a room where they have maintained a kitchen. In another room, the five members of the family live. Her marriage was at the age of 18, arranged by her relatives. But her husband turned out to be an alcoholic and a

few days after the marriage he started returning home drunk. He started harassing her to be physical. If she refused, then he would beat her. One year after the marriage, she gave birth to a daughter. Even when she was pregnant, he would pressure her for making love as and when he wishes. Two years later, she gave birth to a fully disabled daughter. She and her husband used to earn a living with wage labor. Now with the added burden of caring for a disabled daughter, she could not go to work any longer.

Her husband slowly picked up the habit of returning home drunk every day and beating her. His behavior worsened after she gave birth to the disabled daughter. Sabina still resigned herself to rearing her children to the best she can. One day her husband blamed her for only giving birth to daughters, that's too with an added burden of a disabled daughter, then beat her and pushed her off a nearby cliff. Her neighbor saw this and saved her. The local mother group alerted the police and jailed the husband two times. But the police arrested him for inebriation and released him after a day. He kept repeating his behavior, harassing her for not having a son. She had an abortion twice, and then finally gave birth to a son a year ago. Her eldest daughter has to care for her younger sibling, so the child's studies have suffered. Due to malnutrition, all three of her children look weak. She has to fetch drinking water distancing twentyminutes walk daily, and her eldest daughter has to go to school by walking for half an hour every day. But her husband does not help her with housework. Currently, after threats from the local villagers of locking him up for long, he has started returning home after drinking alcohol, but by not making any noises until he sleeps.

Harimaya B.K. (K.C).

Harimaya is currently 47 years of age, whereas her husband is 52. They have two sons and two daughters. Her husband has re-married and is now separated in living. Currently, she lives in a village in a small two-room house with her children, constructed in public land.

Her story is such that she married at the age of 18 with a craftsman who had visited her village. Her mother had a teashop and her to-be husband would come there to have tea and snacks. She eloped with this person. He did not tell her about having a wife at home, and they had differing castes. He kept her in Pokhara for some days, but when

they returned to his house, she discovered the existence of his other wife and a daughter. He had also lied about his caste. Later her mother-in-law and step started scolding her. But she resigned herself to this fate and stayed there. She could also not go to her parental home as she heard her parents had practically disowned her.

Her new family had very little land in the village and she had to go to another house to work, which was difficult as she had not done a lot of housework in the past. Harimaya got used to it soon. She gave birth to four children. Having all these children, her husband again married two other girls and stopped caring for Harimaya and her children. Again after being deceived by her husband, she tried killing herself twice by taking poisonous bet used to kill rats, but her children saved her. Harimaya also had a financial crisis as her husband would not give her money, and she had to rear and educate four children. Her husband has married a total of four women and lives with the latest wife now-a-day. She found that he used to snare girls as a traveling craftsman. Kids are getting grown-up. These days, her eldest son is working as a bus conductor in public transport and brings home money sometimes. Her other children are still young. She is earning a livelihood by working in other people's houses. She says that her husband ensnared her and left her desolate with so many children. She feels the authorities should be hard on such a person, but he is proudly walking free. Harimaya understands being a survivor of mental violence but has not reported it anywhere. She cannot return to her parental home, and she is enduring it for her children. She is also not optimistic about any outside help. Harimaya is unaware of the Domestic Violence Act, or any other legal procedures to be followed.

Sunmaya Sunar

Sunmaya is 41 years old while her husband is 45. They have two sons, one daughter-in-law and a grandson. She had studied up to Grade 6 while her husband, up to Grade 8.

When she was 16, her uncle and aunt convinced her to marry a man who was waiting on another marriage, but whose bride eloped. Her mother-in-law started verbally abusing her a month into the marriage. She was still young, so was not adept at performing housework. So her mother-in-law started badmouthing Sunmaya's parents as

well for not raising her up properly. She started running back to her parental home, but her aunt would again persuade her to return to her husband's house. Two years later, she gave birth to one son. Still, her mother-in-law keeps on complaining about the presents she brought back after going to her maternal home and berating about Sunmaya being a beggar's daughter. Her father-in-law would stay silent. Her husband also had started a habit of alcoholism. He would go out to work, then return home late drunk, and she would have to wait for his return late at night. Later her mother- and father-in-law passed early, which added the housework burden. She also gave birth to another son. Then she managed to borrow loan money of one hundred thousand and opened a small mobile repairing center for her eldest son. Sadly, he could not operate the center well, instead got married. But the debt kept on piling at home. Her husband would not go to the worker and would be drunk all day. He would have debts in many different shops and would berate her at home. So Sunday started planning to go abroad and went to Kuwait with other friends from her village. But there the work was harsh and the house owner treated her badly. One day when this man's wife had gone to the market, he shouted for Sunmaya to come to his room. She kept the child she was looking after in a crib and went to his room. He was naked there and started to grab her. She tried to run away in fear and hit his head. She ran away without her possessions from there. She found a Nepali person on the way, who took her to the Nepalese Embassy. Three months later, she was back in Nepal. But her husband had been preparing to bring another wife, whose husband had also gone to the Gulf. After knowing this, Sunmaya went to talk with this woman and scolded her. Instead, her husband started picking fights and hitting her. One day he hit her with a piece of coal from the fireplace, and she still has a scar on her cheek. She knows she has suffered physical and mental violence but has not done any reporting. 'You own your pain and no one can help you in that'- is her opinion.

Nanda Kumari B.K.

Nanda Kumari is 35 years old whereas her husband is 40 years old. They have a 16-year-old son. Her husband has remarried and now lives near to one town. She currently lives in the last 14 years at her maternal home. Only her old mother and father live there. Nanda had passed Grade 8. She works at a mushroom farm near where she is living. Her son studies at Grade 11.

Nanda Kumari married at age 17, as her aunt marrying her off. On the day of her entering the new home, her mother-in-law did not allow her to touch her feet because she did not bring gold as dowry. She only had three female siblings, so perhaps her in-laws had expected much more dowry. But Nanda Kumari's parents did not have much property, so they had married their daughter off simply. But her life suffered due to this dowry issue. After marriage, her mother-in-law started picking this issue daily. Her husband would stay silent. She had to go to the forest for collecting fodder and firewood daily. One year after the marriage, when she was five months with child, she was returning from the daily trip. Her mother-in-law had incited her husband against her and he pushed her down a terrace with the wood. Her sister-in-law went crying to her and the villagers gathered, but her husband lied that she had fallen by herself. Then, Nanda Kumari was scared to live in the house. She found that the reason for this attack was that her husband was having an affair with a woman in Butwal City. Indeed, her husband and mother-in-law had agreed that he would marry this new woman and move to Butwal city.

After this incident, she was spooked, especially at night that they might do something to her. She gave birth to a son later, but her husband and mother-in-law are not happy. One month later, she returned to her parental home for her post maternal care and returned in a month. But their behavior even worsened. One day her husband came drunk and picked a fight. Then he and his mother started heaping whatever they could find upon her. Her young sister-in-law started shouting and the villagers gathered. They took Nanda Kumari to Pokhara and alerted her parents. She says that she should have gone to the police at that time, but her father did not have any knowledge about reporting such a case to the police seeking legal action. So her father took her back to her parental home. Now she hears her husband has a new wife and children in Butwal City. He has not even inquired about his son. Now her son needs citizenship and needs to locate his father. She is aware of being a survivor of physical and mental violence but has not reported her problems to any authorities yet. She is concerned for her son's future and her family's reputation. She is also unaware of the Domestic Violence Act and other legal measures to proceed with. But now she feels that she needs to fight for her and her son's rights.

Til Kumari Pariyar

Til Kumari is 28 years old while her husband is 32. They have two daughters and one son. They are living with her mother-in-law. She had passed Grade 9 while her husband had passed Grade 10. Her mother-in-law is a widow, living with them.

When she was 16, a proposal came about her marriage, apparently from her would-be husband and mother-in-Law, by hiding the fact that the guy was already a married man. He had a wife but was back to her parental home. After Til kumari married him, he got a divorce from his former wife. The story was such that, her predecessor had also been troubled by the mother for dowry issues. One year into the marriage, Til kumari began being harassed too. She told this to her husband, who kept his mother in a separate room. Til kumari gave birth to two daughters and a son, consecutively, and then got sterilized herself. At first, her relationship with her husband was going well. But four years ago, her husband went abroad to work in the Gulf; the story started tilting to the other side. For the first three years, he kept on sending money and paid off his debt for going there. But in the last year, he began going off the rails. He found a married woman with children whose husband was abroad. One day he returned to Nepal, but straight went to Pokhara City to visit the woman with a bunch of gifts. Once Til Kumari talked about his conspiring role over the other women, he beat her senseless and greatly injured. Her sister-in-law took her to the hospital.

After this, her husband stopped going abroad. He would always be on the phone with this new woman. Til Kumari called a meeting with neighbors and pleaded to settle this issue, but her husband would stay silent on these occasions followed by beatings when they are alone. He would threaten that he would go with this woman and marry her, and she could do nothing. Two days before this interview, he had hit her with a utensil and she had bruises in her head and neck. She could not even sit straight, and the interview was conducted in a women representative's house. She was lying on the bed during the interview. Her children are scared for her life, and try to convince her to live separate.

Currently, Til Kumari works at a mushroom farm to sustain her living and to raise her children. She has suffered from physical and mental violence but has not done any

reporting elsewhere. She is not aware of the Domestic Violence Act, or other legal procedures. Upon her maternal family's counsel, she is staying silent for now but is getting ready for a divorce.

Siru Nepali

Siru is currently 35 years of age while her husband is 38. They have one daughter and one son. She had studied up to Grade 5 while her husband up to Grade 8. They have a small piece of land in the village and a two-room with a corrugated roofed shed. Her husband works as a craftsman. Sirius's one leg is impaired. She can perform simple manual labor sitting down, but cannot go very far.

Siru had a love marriage at the age of 19. For three years, her husband loved her much. When she gave birth to children, he started getting short of temper and feeling unappreciated. He would initiate making love at any time even when she was sick or menstruating. He started returning home drunk and scolding the children. He would finish all his wages on alcohol. Siru says that the village's drinking taverns have blossomed above all else. Her husband has a chronic heart ailment now and cannot even go to work. She is barely scraping to feed her family. They have no money to treat their husband and no place to ask for debt. He does not take his medicine regularly and asks for cigarettes and drink from shops in credit. Her life is difficult due to poverty, her husband's disease, and her disability. It is very difficult to rear her children. She has no parents in her maternal home and has not talked of her difficulties to anyone. Nowadays, many people talk about social help as she knew these from media, but she has not been helped by anyone, Siru relays.

Gambhira Nepali

Gambhira is currently 26 years old while her husband is 28. They have one son. Her husband is working in the Middle East for the past three years. She lives with her widow mother-in-law and a son. She is a survivor of mental violence from her mother-in-law. She had an arranged marriage at the age of 20. She has a step-mother back home, and her biological mother had passed away when she was young. After the marriage, her mother-in-law would insidiously torture her on the topic of dowry. Her husband has stayed silent till now, however. Her mother-in-law gets a widow allowance but spends it

all on alcohol on the way home. Then she comes home and berates her. Her mother-in-law picks fights with her saying that her son is working with his life at risk abroad while Gambhira is living an easy life here. Gambhira does not go to work as her son is small. Her mother-in-law keeps on harassing her day and night regarding her dowry, but Gambhira has not even relayed this to her husband. She talks about this to friends, but as she assumes this would raise the blood pressure of her husband so she does not want to keep in trouble by letting him all about her worsening situation.

Gambhira has attempted twice to gather local people and talk about her mother-in-law's behavior, which is apologetic for the short term. But she again relapses into her old ways, getting drunk on the way home and badmouthing her. Her mother-in-law even attempts to hit her with whatever she can find, and at the age of 55, she is still young and energetic to pick a fight. Her youngest father-in-law and own mother-in-law team up and say negative things about Gambhira.

Bindu Nepali

Bindu is currently 38 years old, while her husband is 40. They have one daughter and two sons. She can only sign her name after getting adult education classes whereas her husband had passed Grade 5. Her daughter has already married, is blessed with a son, and often visits her when she manages time.

Bindu Nepali was married off by her relatives at the age of 18. Her mother-in-law had picked an issue regarding jewelry in dowry from the very first day of her marriage even though her parents had provided whatever they could offer as dowry. One year into the marriage, her mother- and sister-in-law started pressuring her. Often they treat Bindu in such a way that they would not leave her enough food after she returned to work, and would throw her plate as they would do to a dog. But her husband did not comment and could not rebuff his mother. In the space of two years each, Bindu had three children. After that, she sterilized herself. In her community, it is believed that females should use family planning means as males become weak after sterilization.

Later her brother- and sister-in-law also got married, and the family separated. For a few years, things are going well. But her sons grew up and their education suffered. They could not cross the SLC exam, and her husband started blaming her for it. She

borrowed a loan from her village friends and sent her eldest abroad to the Gulf three months ago. Her youngest son has gone to Pokhara city to learn to drive. Her husband now-a-day returns home drunk from work and picks a fight. He attempts for lovemaking daily; when she refuses, he starts abusing her. She is astonished at his behavior at his age. One day he hit her with a metal pipe that blew into the fire on her head and bruised her. Her father-in-law has nearly seven ropani of land in the newly-classified municipality which is quite valuable. But he has not distributed it to his children. So her husband fights with his father and her too. For the last month, he is taking medicine for high blood pressure and is silent for the time being, but her story is not yet corrected in the right path.

APPENDIX- 4**Forms, Impacts, Causes and Barriers of Domestic Violence**

S.No.	Name Change	Forms	Impacts	Causes	Barriers
1	Bindu	Physical and Psychological	Mental torture	Alcohol	Fear of more abuse
2	Gambhira	Verbal	Mental torture	Alcohol	Blame
3	Siru	Physical and Psychological	Mental torture	Alcohol	Threats of perpetrators
4	Til Kumari	Physical and Psychological	Mental torture and Physical	Alcohol and Extra marital relation	Fear of being moved out of home
5	Nanda	Physical and Psychological	Mental torture and financial problem	Dowery, Extra marital relation	Fear of more abuse
6	Sunmaya	Physical and Verbal	Mental health problem	Alcohol and Extramarital relation	Threats of perpetrators
7	Harimaya	Psychological and Financial	Mental health problem	Alcohol and Extra marriage	Not able to leave at home to disclose the abuse
8	Sabina	Physical and Psychological	Physical and Mental health problem	Alcohol and not giving birth to son	Worries about children's future
9	Sarita	Physical	Psychological	Alcohol	Worries about children's future
10	Jamuna	Physical, Psychological and Sexual	Mental health problem	Alcohol and Mobile phone case	Threats of perpetrators
11	Shova	Verbal	Mental torture	Alcohol	Shame or humiliation
12	Babita	Psychological	Mental torture	Extra marital relation	Worries about children's future
13	Devaki	Psychological	Mental torture	Not giving child	Fear of more abuse
14	Gita	Physical and Psychological	Physical and Mental effect	Alcohol and Bad friend relation	Threats of perpetrators
15	Sharmila	Psychological and Verbal	Mental health problem	Alcohol and Extra marital relation	Loss of entire social network
16	Pampha	Physical, Psychological and	Physical and Psychological	Alcohol and Extra	No alternate for life

		Verbal		marriage	
17	Bhima	Psychological	Mental torture	Jealousy	Threats of perpetrators
18	Seema	Physical, Psychological and Sexual	Physical and Mental health problem	Alcohol and Extra marital relation	Fear of being moved out of home
19	Rama	Physical and Psychological	Mental health problem	Extra marital relation	Not able to leave at home to disclose the abuse
20	Sumitra	Psychological	Mental torture	Extra marital Relation	Hard to go legal support
21	Chameli	Physical and Psychological	Mental health problem	Extra marital relation	Worries about children's future
22	Sita	Psychological	Mental torture	Jealousy	Worries about children's future
23	Janu	Psychological	Mental torture	Alcohol	Threats of perpetrators
24	Shetal	Psychological	Mental torture	Extra marital relation	Loss of entire social network
25	Deepa	Psychological and Sexual	Mental torture	Alcohol and Mobile phone case	Fear of more abuse
26	Seti	Psychological	Mental torture	Extra marital relation	Worries about children's future
27	Sapana	Psychological	Mental torture	Dowry, Extra marital relation	No alternate for life
28	Tara	Physical and Sexual	Physical and Mental health problem	Extra marital relation	Loss of entire social network
29	Roshani	Physical and Psychological	Physical and Mental health problem	Using drug	Hard to go legal support
30	Keshu	Verbal	Psychological	Alcohol	Shame or humiliation
31	Biba	Physical and Psychological	Mental torture	Extra marital relation	Threats of perpetrators
32	Santi	Physical and Psychological	Mental torture	Alcohol and Extra marital relation	Worries about children's future
33	Sani	Psychological	Mental torture	Alcohol and Bad friend relation	Worries about children's future

34	Kanchhi	Physical and sexual	Physical health problem	Alcohol and Not giving birth son	Fear of more abuse
35	Sonu	Psychological	Mental torture and Financial problem	Extra marital relation	Not able to leave at home to disclose the abuse
36	Kamala	Physical and Psychological	Psychological	Alcohol	Worries about children's future
37	Sunmaya	Psychological	Psychological and Financial	Extra marital relation	Threats of perpetrators
38	Dhana	Mental Torture	Psychological and Financial	Extra marital relation	Hard to go legal support
39	Kala	Physical and Psychological	Physical and Mental health problem	Alcohol and Extra marital relation	Loss of entire social network
40	Kali	Mental Torture	Mental torture	Extra Mariage, Not giving birth son	Shame or humiliation
41	Shila	Physical and Mental	Physical and Mental health problem	Alcohol and Bad friend relation	No alternative means to survive in life
42	Sabi	physical and Mental	Mental health problem	Alcohol	Worries about children's future
43	Bina	Physical and Mental	Mental health problem	Alcohol and Extra marital relation	Loss of entire social network

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