



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

**Challenging Gender Identities in Counselling: Using an
Alternative Approach to Punishment to Reduce Eye-Teasing in
Vijayawada, India.**



Abstract

The Indian Government's response to violence against women has done little to tackle the causes of eve-teasing. While strategies have involved changing infrastructure and increasing punishment, rates have not decreased. Vasavya Mahila Mandali focus on female empowerment in Vijayawada, India. They realise that to meaningfully reduce eve-teasing, structural causes must be targeted. Taking a long-term perspective, strategies to reduce eve-teasing are put before initial retaliation through punishment. In Vijayawada, patriarchal mindsets are believed to perpetuate eve-teasing, mindsets enforced by social beliefs. This dissertation assesses the use of a counselling programme as an alternative to imprisonment, which challenges gender identities in the hope of reducing eve-teasing in this city. Through exploring the interaction between gender, policing, and abolitionist feminism, I highlight the long-term positive effects of handling eve-teasing in this way. In doing so, not only are causes of eve-teasing targeted through working on vulnerabilities, but police role is altered, allowing for intervention where not previously possible, and female empowerment through education to be maintained.

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Table of Contents

1.0: Introduction	5
1.1. Introduction.....	5
1.2 Current Strategies to Reduce Eve-teasing.....	6
1.3 The Mahila Mitra Counselling Programme	8
1.4 Dissertation Structure.....	8
2.0 Methodology	9
2.1. Research Methods and Analysis	9
2.2. Ethics	10
2.3. Limitations	11
2.4. Positionality	12
3.0 Literature Review	12
3.1. Gender Identities.....	13
3.2. Masculinities and GBV	14
3.3. Policing, Gender Work and tackling GBV	16
4.0 Punishing Eve-Teasing and Rehabilitating Offenders	17
4.1 Perceived Causes of eve-teasing	18
4.2 Carceral Feminism	18
4.3 Critiques of Carceral Feminism	19
4.4 Abolitionist Feminism	21
5.0 Working with Gender Progressively	24
5.1 Recognition of male vulnerabilities	24
5.1.a <i>Explaining Punishments</i>	24
5.1.b <i>Encouraging Lifestyle Changes</i>	25
5.1.c <i>Changing norms at a societal level</i>	26
5.2 Aiding Female Empowerment	27
6.0 Rebuilding Ability to Intervene	29
7.0 Conclusion	33
8.0 Reference List	35
9.0 Appendix	43
Counsellor Questionnaire.....	43
Police Officer Questionnaire.....	45
Example Guiding Interview Template (Counsellors)	47
Participant Information Sheet	49
Consent Form.....	52

1.0: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

On an evening in 2012, 23-year-old Jyoti Singh was gang raped and left for dead by six men on a bus in New Delhi (TOI-Online, 2019). All perpetrators were convicted of kidnapping, gang rape and murder; the juvenile offender was tried separately, the bus driver committed suicide and the remaining four were sentenced to death (ibid). Termed the ‘Nirbhaya’ case, protests began throughout India calling for changes to the laws of violence against women (ibid). On the surface, protests seemed to be a success; the government implemented harsher laws which signalled a turning point in not only the perceived severity of violence against women but state willingness to act against these crimes (Lapsia, 2015; Swathi, 2019).

The Nirbhaya case is an example of eve-teasing, a term used to describe sexual harassment in public places and a widespread problem throughout South Asia (Natarajan, 2016; Talboys et al., 2017). The term itself has been deemed by academics as problematic due to its colloquial nature and inclusion of a range of crimes, from catcalling to exposure of sexual organs, groping, and stalking (Misri, 2017). This dissertation investigates an innovative approach to eve-teasing, a counselling programme run by Vasavya Mahila Mandali (VMM) in Vijayawada which works directly with eve-teasers. My primary aim is to assess the programme's effectiveness in reducing eve-teasing in Vijayawada. In doing so, I will use the following questions to guide my analysis:

1. How is the use of counselling, instead of a retributive approach, perceived by counsellors and the police to be reshaping the likelihood of reoffending?
2. Through the programmes targeting male offenders, what is the perceived efficacy of ensuring future change?

My central argument is that there is a need for an abolitionist approach to reduce eve-teasing, which incorporates gender identities and acknowledges the vulnerabilities which can perpetuate the need to display masculinity through sexual violence. I will show that through this programme, police are given the ability to effectively engage with eve-teasing. I argue the need for this stems from current policies failing to follow through on committing to female empowerment through lack of engagement with eve-teasers themselves (Kohli, 2012). This is an empirical research study. It involves an academic literature review on the connection between gender norms and gender-based violence in India, questionnaires and

interviews with professionals working on the counselling programme with VMM. Although I have employed data from across India to develop an analytical scaffold (Sherin et al., 2004), all data collected, and theories applied are in reference to the programme by VMM. Therefore, the findings offer limited scope for generalisations and should be understood in the context of this programme, instead of wider approaches to reducing eve-teasing across India.

1.2 Current Strategies to Reduce Eve-teasing

Despite new laws, such as The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, surveys with the public have revealed there has been little change in the rates of reported eve-teasing (McLoughlin, 2020). A survey in Delhi in 2010 revealed 80% of women had experienced verbal harassment, with many others having been stalked or physically assaulted (Suri, 2011). In 2015, official statistics reported by the National Crime Records Bureau reported violence against women in India (including eve-teasing) had increased by 53.9%; rates in 2017 and 2018 continued this trend (Swathi, 2019). Despite rates being notoriously difficult to measure accurately, with many crimes of this type going unreported, the trend suggests that harsher sentences are not sufficient to stem or reduce eve-teasing.

Alternative policies in India which have been introduced over time in an attempt to reduce eve-teasing are centred on situational crime prevention, where limiting the opportunity for a crime will increase the effort needed to commit it and in turn, discourage it (Biswas et al., 2019). Examples include women-only transport and installing cameras on railways to increase public confidence, the ability to record crimes, and provide evidence for court (Gekoski, 2015; Nag, 2020). A programme in New Delhi made investments into the safety and economic viability of public spaces and adverts promoting changing attitudes and behaviours towards GBV (UN Women, 2020). Finally, researchers in West Bengal investigated the use of mapping to predict eve-teasing prone areas, its severity and risk factors (Biswas et al., 2019). However, the lack of working directly with eve-teasers suggests a state unwillingness to tackle root causes, as these strategies have had little effect on reducing rates (Patel, 2014).

Current policing strategies have been shown to do little to encourage reporting of eve-teasing, with victim reports of shaming, judgment, and victim-blaming; this is enhanced as eve-teasing is seen to be a crime easy to commit but hard to prove (Singh & Singh, 2010; Patel, 2014). Whilst amendments to the law were enforced to ensure police officers register

reports of eve-teasing, there have been no changes to methods used to establish perpetrator guilt (Bhattacharyya, 2013). As a result, many feminist organisations across India have deemed the changes tokenistic as women are forced to live with the high prevalence of eve-teasing (ibid).

The focus on changing infrastructure and police work does little to promote equality due to reluctance to address the causes of eve-teasing; efforts exploit the opportunity to maintain a female presence in 'traditional' domestic roles and require women to change their behaviour (Sunder, 1996; Kohli, 2012). Ethnographic accounts of young girls and their families in the urban slums of Kolkata reveal that the perceived dishonour placed on girls as a result of eve-teasing is felt to be a worse consequence than forgoing education (Chakraborty, 2016). A study across Northern India revealed how feelings of vulnerability have led to most women interviewed carrying protection and dressing conservatively in an attempt to avoid eve-teasing (Bhattacharya, 2015); it is apparent they hold the responsibility of remaining safe. This revelation supports research carried out in Mumbai (Khan, 2007) and Delhi (Viswanath & Mehrotra, 2007). Meanwhile, police recommendations cited that women should avoid wearing provocative dresses as this 'calls for their harassment' (Singh & Singh, 2010, p.227). Social barriers which prevent women from reporting to police are further enhanced through fears of reports decreasing their marriage prospects and increasing retaliation (Bhattacharyya, 2015). This fear and responsibility changes female use of public spaces, often restricting their movement to staying in private spaces and excluding them from public life in pursuit of being safe (ibid). This outcome highlights the limited success in reducing eve-teasing thus far and gives rise to the need for alternative approaches to be undertaken.

Restriction to female empowerment and gender inequality will persist if eve-teasing is not reduced; it is therefore crucial to understand who should be targeted and how this may be done (Kohli, 2012). This restriction is recognised by the Sustainable Development Goals, with the aim of eliminating of all forms of violence against women in public and private spheres to be achieved by 2030 (United Nations, 2015). Evidence from studies across India have shown that the high prevalence of eve-teasing discourages school attendance, restricts access to jobs, resources, and the availability of women's choices in what they hope for their future (Leach & Sitaram, 2007; Biswas et al, 2019; Murthi & Hammell, 2021). Therefore, to achieve a more equitable world with a more sustainable future for all, effective strategies must be implemented to reduce gender-based violence (GBV).

1.3 The Mahila Mitra Counselling Programme

VMM has recognised the need for an alternative strategy, as well as identifying that gender hierarchies can perpetuate eve-teasing. The Mahila Mitra (friend to women) programme's objective is to change eve-teaser attitudes, providing a second opportunity for a better life through counselling whilst simultaneously improving lives of women and girls (VMM, 2021). Instead of the need to go through courts to establish guilt, 'Mahila Rakshak' (rescuing women) teams are in the community in eve-teasing prone areas. Wearing mufti to blend in, officers wait for witness of an eve-teasing event and then arrest and enrol perpetrators in a group counselling session. Eve-teasers families are informed, parents if they are minors and spouses if not (ibid).

Police officers, volunteer counsellors and a psychologist are present at each session. Here, eve-teasers are informed of the legal aspects of their crime, including laws and punishments. They are also coached on the value of education, given help to build their careers, goal-setting, and informed of the consequences of eve-teasing on women and girls. Eve-teasers are involved throughout the process - which uses group discussions and requires them to write about what they have learnt and how they have changed their attitudes towards women. Eve-teasers attend one session, following which counsellors discuss their crime and need for change with families. Over 7500 eve-teasers have taken part in the programme since it began in 2017; thus far, the police and VMM have no knowledge of recidivism (reoffending) following session completion (ibid).

This is an example of a restorative justice approach, which has a positive focus post-offence: it requires active engagement of the perpetrator, aiming for restitution and social co-existence (Braithwaite, 2003; Van Ness, 2003; Walgrave, 2004). As such, it comes under penal abolitionism, where the current system is rebuilt to implant a social system based off harmony; punishment is not removed but repurposed (Braithwaite & Strang, 2001). As the research is situated in Vijayawada, where there is a lack of use of alternative dispute resolution as a response to eve-teasing, I am not comparing the use of the programme with other strategies used internationally. Instead, I argue for the need of the programme in this context to effectively reduce eve-teasing.

1.4 Dissertation Structure

The next chapter will discuss my research methodology, including ethical considerations, limitations, and positionality. The following chapter consists of a literature

review into the state of known knowledge on masculinities, patriarchy and how this is connected to GBV and policing. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 include my results and analysis, integrating the data within previous research in order to analyse and discuss my results. Of these, chapter 4 looks at perceptions of the use of carceral and abolitionist feminism as methods to target the causes of eve-teasing. I will then analyse in chapter 5 the need to empower perpetrators whilst challenging gender identities in order to sustain reduction to eve-teasing. In doing so, I will demonstrate how programme structure simultaneously encourages female independence. Finally, in chapter 6, I analyse how the programme has been seen to rebuild relationships with the police, giving them new authority and ability to intervene.

2.0 Methodology

2.1. Research Methods and Analysis

I used a mix-methods design, defined by collecting, analysing, and using qualitative and quantitative materials (Denzin, 2012). Multiple methods include a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, which allows the bringing together and comparison of findings (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2017). This technique is beneficial as it allows the utilisation of respective strengths and escape of weaknesses; quantitative methods bring objectivity, qualitative methods provide depth to results (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Lund, 2012). Triangulation of data in this way provides an absolute understanding of a research theme (Denzin, 2012); in this study, the use of interviews allowed me to build on the data collected in the questionnaires to provide detail and depth about the emerging themes behind the programme.

Data collection was two-fold: questionnaires and interviews. Most data collected in questionnaires was quantitative and focused on opinions through Likert scales and processes of the programme. Data was collected using Qualtrics from 17 counsellors and 10 police officers. Questionnaires for each had a slight variation in questions, with counsellor questions focusing on the processes used in the programme, whilst police officers were also asked about legislative processes (see appendix). The same opinion scales were featured in both questionnaires. Within the Likert scales, the order of strongly agree – strongly disagree varied to restrict absentmindedness of filling in responses and control for left-side selection bias, where participants tend to choose options on the left (Chyung et al., 2018). Quantitative data

was used to help inform questions in interviews, as validity of statistical analysis was restricted due to the non-random sample (Westreich et al., 2019).

Semi-structured interviews were carried out to obtain qualitative data. These were conducted with the 2 police officers, a psychologist and 2 counsellors. Interviews were conducted via zoom and recorded using Kaltura Capture audio software after obtaining consent. Audio recording allowed for a better-quality interview, as I was able to engage with the interview instead of the transcription process (Beckmann & Hall, 2013, p.203). This meant an active listening approach was conducted, as I was able to focus on the participant better, building rapport without taking notes (Thomson, 2010, p.30; Fujii, 2017). Recordings were transcribed manually following each interview and then deleted. Through using open questions, thoughts, feelings, and knowledge of the programme were obtained and participants were encouraged to give details in the way they saw appropriate (DeJonckeeere & Vaughn, 2019). Interview prompts and follow-up questions were prepared before interviews and informed by questionnaire responses to anticipate the direction through which to guide the interview (see appendix for an example).

A purposive sampling method was used for questionnaire respondents and interviewees; participants were selected as they filled pre-selected criteria through their job role and were contacted via VMM (Etikan et al., 2016). Thus, through their specific characteristics, data collection was continued based on theoretical saturation; information-rich participants were selected due to their knowledge of the counselling programme and sample size adjusted to allow for data saturation (Saunders et al., 2018).

Descriptive statistics were calculated on quantitative questionnaire questions and used to inform interview question design. Qualitative answers from questionnaires, alongside interview transcripts, were analysed using NVivo software. Data was analysed using a grounded theory approach, with NVivo codes to establish links and develop new themes within the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Reflexivity was upheld throughout the process to ensure accurate representation of participant feelings.

2.2. Ethics

Ethics approval was gained from the University of Edinburgh School of Social and Political science prior to data collection. This guaranteed the protection of confidentiality, informed consent, and avoidance of data use without consent. All interview recordings and questionnaire responses were stored password protected on OneDrive in line with General

Data Protection Regulations and deleted when research was complete. Questionnaires were distributed in English with copies provided to VMM so translation could be provided if required. Interviews were conducted in English with a translator present for clarification purposes. The study had no perceived risks to participants as no vulnerable groups were contacted and no questions of own experiences of eve-teasing were asked. Precautions taken included provision of a participant information sheet prior to data collection, to explain the aims of the study, contact details and information regarding the use of data; all participants completed an informed consent form before data collection (see appendix). Oral consent was also obtained from interviewees; I clarified study aims, what was expected and provided an opportunity to ask questions. From herein all participants, (interviewees and questionnaire respondents) will remain anonymous and will be referred to via their profession (C=Counsellor, P=Police, Ps=Psychologist, Pq=Police in questionnaire).

2.3. Limitations

Considering study limitations is crucial when understanding the analysis of results. The impact of COVID-19 determined the need for remote working; this led to a lack of conversation with eve-teasers themselves. It was felt that those who would come forward to participate in interviews would present only positive opinions, conforming to social desirability bias (Grimm, 2010). To mitigate this, the aim was adjusted to focus on the perspectives of professionals who work on the programme regarding its' efficacy.

Secondly, despite data collection continuing based on theoretical saturation, the sample size for interviews remained small. This stemmed from the impact of COVID-19 in India at the time of data collection. Further interviews would have created more depth to the results, however, contact with those in each profession (police, volunteer counsellor, psychologist), allowed for variation in background knowledge.

Finally, using purposive sampling has restricted the reliability of results. This is due to the inherent bias present as participants are interested in the success of the programme and how it comes across. Thus, answers may have been influenced in favour of the programme with a lack of information provided regarding the perceived limitations. In attempt to mitigate this, all participants were reassured of their anonymity and that the results would have no impact on their work to attempt to gain accurate views and feelings.

2.4. Positionality

Apart from the limitations stated above, as I conduct my literature review and analyse the data from herein, it must be recognised that much of the analysis centres on my interpretation of the results (Robson, 2002, p.22). Therefore, I have consciously engaged with my positionality, considering how it may have influenced my data collection and analysis; something especially important in feminist research (Davis & Khonach, 2019). Whilst all participants had lived experience of eve-teasing through living in India, I am considered an ‘outsider’ as a white, female student researcher (Hellowell, 2006). Further, my lack of interaction with eve-teasers and victims, alongside my small interview sample size will have influenced the position I will take. Therefore, whilst the perspectives of professionals are unquestionably important regarding the impact of the programme and its’ mechanisms, knowledge of actual mindset change, the lived realities and causes of eve-teasing may lack in part.

As this study includes perceptions of those who work directly on the programme, there is the possibility that data collected was regarding expected project outcome. Data given would have been influenced by the aims of the organisation (Cunliffe, 2016, p.749); in this case, VMM works to advocate for female empowerment. This position may have influenced my critical stance on victim-blaming and the need for addressing the causes of GBV and directed me towards analysing the programme through the lens of targeting gender identities (Patel, 2014). However, to prevent feeling as though participants were ‘agreeing’ my interpretation of responses, I avoided summarising participant answers back to them, and instead asked for clarification, when necessary, to minimise the influence of my position.

3.0 Literature Review

This chapter introduces the theories behind and the approaches on which I base my discussion and analysis. As described in the introduction, current strategies to reduce eve-teasing have led women to change their behaviour. Through a programme targeting men, it is important to understand the theories behind masculinities and GBV, and how this creates a gap where this study is situated. The review is structured in three parts. The first describes the theories behind gender identities, including how men are agents of their behaviour. I then explore the link between masculinities, patriarchy and GBV. Finally, I describe the opportunity for gender work in policing in Vijayawada.

3.1. Gender Identities

Men are often viewed as perpetrators of violence and crime, however, going beyond this to include men in interventions to reduce GBV is relatively new to development scholarship (Das et al., 2011). The benefits of including men in interventions go beyond challenging problematic behaviours – there is a direct impact on health, well-being, and economic development (Jewkes et al., 2015b). Therefore, the theories behind gender identities and their critiques must be understood when integrating men into interventions to reduce GBV.

Patriarchy as a society is one which is dominated by male power that is used to male advantage, but it is heavily critiqued as a cause of behaviour (Sultana, 2011). On the one hand, arguments are made for patriarchal norms being reproduced throughout generations, such as children seeing abuse as normal (Bhattacharyya, 2015; Jewkes et al., 2015b). On the other hand, this assumption is reductionist and ignores the fact that we have agency and ownership over our actions (Bhattacharyya, 2015; Jewkes et al., 2015b). Patriarchal ideology, where male identity is an authority over women, is an obstacle to gender equality (Grieg, 2009). Hegemonic masculinity is a representation of this; values are established by men in power which organises society in unequal ways (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). There is a risk that masculinity as a concept is essentialist and imposes a false unity on men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity constructs male power as an experience of women, and not a structural basis of subordination (ibid). Despite the link between hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy, they are separate concepts (Srivastava, 2012). Whilst patriarchy is a social system and makes men superior to women, masculinity is both inter- and intra-gender, and therefore, men can become hierarchical to each other (ibid). Gender identities must be reinforced and are enacted not expressed so can be rebuilt throughout time (ibid). This discussion gives rise to the idea that rebuilding perceptions of gender hierarchies can help address GBV.

Sex role theory describes how sex roles force men and women into stereotypical gender positions (Hearn et al., 2012). A position assumed is that there is a connection between violence and hegemonic masculinity (ibid); I will explore this in the next section. Meanwhile, gender socialisation theory suggests that gender is learnt from those around an individual – families, friends, and environment (Carter, 2014). Babies and young children are inundated with behaviours that are shaped by gender roles and stereotypes, with these cues becoming identity standards (ibid). Psychoanalytic theories suggest that boys learn

masculinity as an opposite to femininity, which creates a gendered divide and power structures (ibid). Furthermore, gender is assumed by societal roles which allow its maintenance in practice in the domestic and public spheres (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Das et al., 2011). However, whilst this allows maintenance of stereotypes, it means gender roles are based on interactions; they are dynamic and capable of change (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Therefore, there is the possibility that masculinities and patriarchy are concepts learnt from birth, as a result of socialisation and sex role ideas. This proposes the debate that behaviour is a product of learnt ideals and leaves the question of whether these ideals can be meaningfully altered.

In consideration of this, critics have argued that sex role and gender socialisation theories are reductionist, showing 'male bodies as empty vessels that get filled up to become men' (Dowsett, 2005, p.5). These theories suggest behaviour is determined by socialisation, instead of choice (Grieg, 2009). Critiques of sex role theory include that it blurs the line between behaviour and norms (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Whilst men are capable of internalising and reproducing patriarchal or alternative gender norms from social settings, family, and friends, they are active participants in doing so (Barker & Ricardo, 2005, p.192). Power does not derive solely from gender but from class, caste, culture and religions and therefore intersectional analysis can help to understand the different structures of oppression (Grieg, 2009). As hegemonic masculinity is seen to embody the most honoured male, everyone else positions themselves in relation to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). This allows all men, regardless of inter-gender power, to experience the benefits of patriarchy, legitimising the subordination of women (ibid). However, Jewkes and colleagues (2015b) theorised that men maintain a choice in whether they occupy oppressive positions or resist them. These debates imply that whilst sex roles and socialisation shape behaviour, actions can be chosen. It is possible that problematic behaviours which are influenced by gender identities can be prevented through targeting and acknowledging there is a possible alternative to behaviour.

3.2. Masculinities and GBV

When exploring the relationship with social identity and space, Srivastava (2012) suggested whilst each gender has a sphere in which it naturally exists, public and private spheres complement each other to bolster patriarchy. In 'traditional' gender roles in India men occupy the public sphere whilst women occupy the private (Grieg, 2009). Private spaces create relief from public spaces, enhancing the superior public (ibid). Thus, he described how

natural claims to spaces infiltrate GBV in India, where women are only given security of movement if they 'behave how women should' (Srivastava, 2012). Alternative research has highlighted how the dominant male can be embedded into daily life and create boundaries in which women live (Lancaster, 1992). Cultural assumptions of men as more competent than women mean that when dissonance is experienced, such as men feeling as though women are more powerful through economic autonomy, they act out 'masculine' mannerisms, like GBV (Carter, 2014). When exploring the connection between GBV and masculinities, a holistic approach must be taken. Causal factors must not be simplified to male power, instead, attention must be given to understanding societal changes which influence behaviour, alongside male feelings of vulnerabilities.

Past research in India has shown that violence against women is perceived as standard and not exceptional (Martin et al., 2002). This suggests the need for addressing the underlying norms which permit violence against women to occur, without treating cases as individual events. Kohli (2012) has argued that gender identities in India cause men to view violence against women as a display of masculinity, further demonstrated by women viewing GBV as a more serious crime than men do (Madan & Nalla, 2016). In a culture that is accepting of certain acts of GBV, sexual violence is a way to achieve the expectation that women fall under male control (Jewkes et al., 2015a). However, Hearn (2012) has argued that GBV has not been a major focus in the development of hegemonic masculinity (in Jewkes et al., 2015b). Critiques of threatened masculinity as an account for crime state that this provides an excuse for GBV to occur, and associates men solely with negative characteristics (Collier, 1998). Whilst research recognises sexual violence is used as a display of masculinity, little attention has been given to this as a target for reducing eve-teasing.

Gender strain theory has evolved from the perceptions of gender roles and expectations, stating sexual violence stems from the inability to live up to the dominant masculinity perception (Barker et al., 2010). The effects of societal changes have been shown in India where research has discovered that men feel their power is threatened by female expectations of equality, such as access to education and work (Iyer, 2019). This suggests male behaviour is influenced by their perceptions of masculinity, indicating sexual violence is used to maintain patriarchal control in the face of female independence (Sunder, 1996). Violence has been used as a resource by those who lose resources, without resources or with a lack of social power (ICRW, 2007). There is an apparent link between social instability and young male violence; there is a need to address social and economic conditions, such as

unemployment when addressing gender; not all men carry out GBV (Grieg, 2009). Whilst some men struggle with unemployment, women increasingly enter paid work and education, improving their economic autonomy and altering gender identities (Kabeer, 2007). In Uttar Pradesh, research has found that female exposure to violence has increased as they develop independence, causing men to feel as though they are losing power (Das et al., 2011). Further, in Urban India, Hansen (2005) found the male Hindu community felt female education to be emasculating. Despite this, research into working productively with masculinities, such as working on vulnerabilities like economic instability has been given little attention. Through recognising structures of patriarchy in this way moves beyond men as the perpetrator, allowing for deeper investigation into what may cause problem behaviours.

3.3. Policing, Gender Work and tackling GBV

In addressing GBV through targeting gender identities, to disrupt current power systems it is important to go beyond mainstream narratives: women as victims, men as the problem, women as powerless, men as powerful (Cornwall et al., 2011a; Cornwall et al., 2011b). Engaging men in a productive way is essential for men to be allies in the struggle towards female empowerment and gender equality; to challenge justification of inequality, men must be meaningfully engaged (Jewkes et al., 2015a; Pierotti et al., 2018). If advocacy for gender equality does not see men as a barrier to female empowerment then the benefits for both men and women can be achieved (ICRW, 2007). Traditional masculinities present problems for men themselves, as they have been shown to lead to them being less likely to seek help for health-related problems as it is perceived to be unmanly, alongside the social and life-altering costs of persecution (Jewkes et al., 2015b). Therefore, there are practical arguments for the need for equality that go beyond female independence. In handling GBV it is important to avoid language which pits men against women; they should be viewed as subjects who can work together to create positive change (ICRW, 2007). In this research, there is a need to recognise that even in a context where men are perpetrators of violence, inter- and intra-gender structures of oppression and effects of patriarchy prevail. Therefore, there is a need to research what it can mean to meaningfully change their ways, in the hope of reducing recidivism.

Despite the relationship between gender and violence, interventions from a policing perspective have failed to engage with the notion of gender (Jewkes et al., 2015a). Furthermore, there is a lack of research (just 15%) into interventions stopping sexual violence in Low- and Middle-Income Countries (ibid, p.1583). As work is conducted with men on

masculinities, it has moved towards understanding them as agents of their behaviour (ibid). Involving men in dispute resolution can help to understand the demand for abuse and change the norms which fuel it, especially as not all men in India engage in eve-teasing (Radford, 2020). Whilst men are influenced by norms, gender roles and patriarchy has been situated in a historical context, and therefore what this means is constantly evolving (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Gender identities are open to change; hierarchies and power relations can be displaced (ibid). Research has shown that working with men and boys can reduce violence against women in India, Brazil, South Africa, and the USA with the most successful programmes promoting gender-equitable lifestyles and alternative male identities (ICRW, 2007). Holding men as agents of their behaviour has been demonstrated to be a possible mechanism in reducing violence against women, however, there is yet to be this research with perpetrators of eve-teasing (ibid). Research into using this in alternative punishments may help to sustainably reduce eve-teasing and create safer societies.

The Mahila Mitra counselling programme works with perpetrators through the addressing of gender identities as a cause of eve-teasing. Reflection on the implications of choices by eve-teasers, including the alternatives to occupying oppressive positions and working towards gender equality may be possible to tackle GBV (Jewkes et al., 2015b). As stated, there are shared power struggles such as class and caste which both men and women face (Grieg, 2009). Therefore, there is a need to research the space for awareness of male vulnerabilities in the reduction of GBV, to understand how this may fuel some men to act out (Jewkes et al., 2015b). This debate gives rise to tackling GBV through alternative punishments, with the potential for sustainable reduction of these behaviours as norms are challenged. Through this programme, I will investigate how gender identities and eve-teasing play out in practice, opening new scope for research into masculinities, eve-teasing, and punishment.

4.0 Punishing Eve-Teasing and Rehabilitating Offenders

Mahila Rakshak is a contested issue due to questions surrounding how to deal with GBV in India and beyond. In this section, I will argue for the need for an abolitionist approach to punishing eve-teasing to meaningfully prevent recidivism. First, I will show how perceived causes of eve-teasing relate to ideas of patriarchy. I will then present carceral feminism and its' critiques, arguing that this approach lacks any rehabilitative aspect and

instead leads to crime-orientated lifestyles. Finally, I will present abolitionist feminism, highlighting how this approach engages with the causes of eve-teasing to shape behaviour.

4.1 Perceived Causes of eve-teasing

Feelings of male superiority and a patriarchal structure of society were perceived to be causal of eve-teasing in Vijayawada. Interviews revealed a gender hierarchy that has led to these behaviours: *'we are male, we can do anything, we are not punished like that'* (C1) or *'she is my person, she has to accept me'* (Ps1). These statements allude to the normalisation of eve-teasing as a method to maintain male power over females, with men subsequently perceiving they can bypass punishment (Kohli, 2012). Increased exposure to women and girls in movies, through the internet, and as gender roles evolve as causes of eve-teasing supports previous findings (Iyer, 2019). However, this is perpetuated by *'lack of family parenting, financial stability, proper education'* (Pq), signifying how the inability to live up to the dominant male perception is the root cause; increased exposure provides an opportunity to display masculine power (Barker et al., 2010; Carter, 2014). Furthermore, dominant male power structures infiltrate social circles, with *'peer pressures'* (P2) contributing to the occurrence of eve-teasing. This confirms the socialisation of violence, with eve-teasing a *'society problem'* (C1) instead of stemming directly out of individual beliefs (Carter, 2014; Jewkes et al., 2015a).

The patriarchal structure led to a disregard of the consequences of eve-teasing on women and girls, with a police officer explaining: *'they do not know about the consequences and this aspect of eve-teasing for women behind their behaviour and their acts'*. Not only did men believe their status would not lead to punishment, but they were found to lack any knowledge of *'what is wrong, what is punishable'* (P1). This confirmed beliefs of male power as eve-teasing was not felt to be a crime (Kohli, 2012; True, 2012). Eve-teasing allows for the maintenance of women in a second-class role, viewed as a source of *'entertainment'* (Ps1) for men. A counsellor explained *'the girls are silently saying they do not like that. That is why they take advantage – the girls they do not react'*. These causes not only illustrate the subordinated position of women in society but highlight how reconstructing thoughts around power, vulnerabilities and consequences is necessary for punishment of eve-teasing.

4.2 Carceral Feminism

Carceral feminism is based on the underlying assumption that stopping violence against women requires the criminalisation of the perpetrator (Sweet, 2016). To do so, it

relies on policing, prosecution, and imprisonment as a method to resolve sexual and GBV (Press, 2018). It proposes the need to ‘fix’ individuals who carry out violence, using increased policing and legal frameworks with harsher punishments, and is reflected in the Indian government’s approach following the Nirbhaya case (Press, 2018; Swathi, 2019; Terwiel, 2020).

Questionnaire results from police officers revealed that current methods involving men in the reduction of eve-teasing implement punishment under sections 294, 354, and 509 of the Indian Penal Code. Further discussion in interviews highlighted how sentencing was on a ‘*case-by-case*’ basis and can range from ‘*jail for 3 to 6 months and also fines of 10,000, 20,000, 5000 or 3000 rupees*’ (P2). When interviewees were asked about alternative punishments around India, the consensus was that sentencing in this way was the norm. A counsellor stated: ‘*this is unique to Andhra Pradesh, in other states, they are taking action – first time also they are taking action. Here only is Mahila Mitra used, they don’t have this concept – only in this state is it implemented*’. Despite the persisting high rates of eve-teasing, there is still a reliance across India on criminalising the perpetrator (Madan & Nalla, 2016). Sentence severity is not sufficient to enhancing female safety, with India recently being declared, by researchers on women’s issues, as the most dangerous place to be a woman due to sexual violence (Bhattacharyya, 2015; Goldsmith & Beresford, 2018). Analysing the perceived efficacy of a carceral approach through its ability to address the causes is necessary to understand the perceived need for an alternative punishment in Vijayawada.

4.3 Critiques of Carceral Feminism

Police officers and counsellors alike considered prison to be a ‘*life spoiler*’. This was because ‘*they are affecting the person more – [their]negative minds are improving; the crime knowledge is increasing –there is a change*’ (Ps1). Awareness about the negative effects of prison was seen to be long-term, viewing imprisoned offenders as changing their mindsets from ‘*I did this*’ to ‘*I do this*’ (Ps1). This suggests that negative behaviours are subconsciously absorbed and maintained upon release ‘*some people are doing more and more repeating*’ (Ps1). Ethnographic research in a prison in India, Bhutta & Akbar (2012) discovered a lack of training and correctional programmes in prisons, which creates more recidivism-prone offenders as they become a breeding ground for antisocial behaviour. A police officer explained:

'If you punish them and send them immediately to the jail, there are some criminals and their criminal attitudes they will learn at the early age due to the lack of education and money. They will become educated to the drugs and drinking alcohols, they may learn a more criminal attitude.'

Although negatively, these statements demonstrate how socialisation impacts eve-teaser behaviour; in prison, they learn aggressive behaviours are the norm through their surroundings (Carter, 2014). Findings are supported by Gaur (2002), who argued this learning in prison negatively impacts perpetrator futures as new identity standards are created and enacted upon prison release. Therefore, instead of targeting the cause, prison is viewed as encouraging and embedding harmful behaviours.

Prison does not only cause more crime-orientated lifestyles, but it is perceived to impact prospects. A police officer explained that a case being filed against an eve-teaser *'impacts their ability to get into universities'* due to showing that *'he has a history of criminology/criminal effects'*. Not only is education restricted, but he continued: *'without the universities, getting a job – it affects'*. This supports wider literature that observes prison actively perpetuates the causes of eve-teasing through hindering abilities to get a job following imprisonment, solidifying the likelihood of recidivism. As previously discovered, punishment is not felt to end upon prison release (Hansen, 2005; ICRW, 2007; Grieg, 2009). This idea of vilification is furthered by Bandyopadhyay (2007) who found prison to create a disjuncture between the eve-teaser and society, which impedes their ability to live a normal life. In India, eve-teasing is a normative behaviour, addressing it is perceived to need to recognise this, instead of creating a long-term division from society through a non-normative response (Gaur, 2002; Bandyopadhyay, 2007).

Carceral feminism has been acknowledged as an illusory solution, creating the appearance that eve-teasing is being addressed without the need to target structural causes (Lapsia, 2015; Terwiel, 2020). This method allows the public to feel anger towards perpetrators and feel satisfied with outcomes, whilst the state avoids the need to address systemic problems (Gill & Harrison, 2013). A police officer questionnaire respondent explained: *'law and order will not take any prevention of eve-teasing. I strongly believe that eve-teasers have a mental ability and ethics to behave as good in the society.'* Garland (2001) argues that retribution is imposed as the state lacks the power to eliminate a crime itself.

However, those I interviewed felt that tackling the causes is possible, explaining: ‘*with counselling they can change*’ and that counselling is a method which makes it possible ‘*to re-educate them and to bring them a good citizen*’ (C2). Importantly, these statements make it clear that professionals believe eve-teasers hold the ability to change their mindsets. Findings support Press’ (2018) proposition that carceral feminism allows ignorance of the political, social, and economic factors which alter power and gender relations, something not experienced from counselling. Fear of acting on gender inequalities has been shown, in states other than Andhra Pradesh, to be due to the risk of losing political support, potentially explaining the current reliance on the CJS (Kohli, 2012). Whilst this explains why the state may overlook alternative approaches to eve-teasing, these perceptions demonstrate how recognising eve-teasers as more than perpetrators and working on identities can help the sustainable reduction of eve-teasing.

The point here is that professionals perceive the issues that stem from the use of carceral feminism to do little to discourage recidivism. The influence of the environment is palpable, within prisons, this is implemented negatively. Whilst the state is perceived to have a current reliance on the use of imprisonment, treating eve-teasers as incapable of changing their mindsets can lead to an adverse life course – one which professionals believe can be avoided. As Brown (2021) argued, gender equality will not be achieved through inciting long-term harm to an offender. This critique paves the way for an alternative approach to targeting eve-teasing, something which the counselling programme aims to fulfil.

4.4 Abolitionist Feminism

The focus of abolitionist feminism lies in this critique of carceral feminism, with its strengths situated in its ability to address the harms of mass incarceration and tackle the causes of eve-teasing (Terwiel, 2020). Alternative responses to harm forms part of the abolitionist project, such as community-based responses which do not rely on the criminal justice system and instead ensure the safety and accountability of the offender (ibid). This allows for meaningful changes to be made to current punishments by incorporating new approaches to serve justice (Russell & Carlton, 2013). In this section, I will explain why professionals feel there is the need to incorporate gender work into policing in this way. The mechanisms used are explored in the following chapter.

Since the 1920s the ‘sex offender’ has been framed as a type of person who is ostracised from society, especially upon release from prison (Ilea, 2018). A counsellor

described this ostracization post-prison: *'everything will be affected'*. Carceral feminism supports individualisation of behaviours (ibid), something seen to contradict the causes of eve-teasing, with a counsellor explaining: *'it is a society problem, eve-teasing is a society problem. This [prison] would be individual – but that is why we run group sessions.'* It is, therefore, felt that counselling addresses the structural causes of eve-teasing, by working at a group level to recognise the unifying motivations and not individualising offenders (Carter, 2014; Jewkes et al., 2015a; Ilea, 2018).

In advocacy of the avoidance of carceral feminism, professionals supported the use of abolitionist methods. Counselling builds on the ability to positively change mindsets, with the psychologist interviewed describing: *'the main target for the students is to change what they are thinking in different situations.'* A counsellor expanded on this idea:

'I think counselling is the best way to control eve-teasing instead of punishing them or giving them a fine. Counselling is the best way to bring change in them, every person can change with counselling – with this attention, we can change the world.'

These perceptions advocate for the possibility that eve-teasers can be reminded of their role in gender equality. Resonant of Carter's (2014) research on gender socialisation theory, male behaviours are seen to be guided by those around them. When these norms are challenged, they are perceived to be open to realising the negative consequences of eve-teasing, on victims and their own futures. To prevent retribution, a counsellor explained how counselling provides the unique opportunity to:

'change their mindset mainly. They repeat every step which leads to change. Before they make a mistake and are taken to a station, but now they can be taken to counselling and will change their mindset...together we all bring change in them for a better society.'

Therefore, abolitionism allows for stereotypical gender attitudes to be tackled progressively, with a police officer questionnaire respondent describing how counselling causes *'eve-teasers to examine themselves to behave in a society where both genders are equal'*. In treating eve-teasing as a product of patriarchal attitudes, counselling ensures that eve-teasers are reminded they are active participants in replicating norms (Barker & Ricardo, 2005), and their role in being *'better youngsters for a better part for women'* (P1). Perceptions support the idea that whilst socialisation influences action it is not deterministic;

mindsets can be reconstructed (Grieg, 2009). As seen in the work of Beena Chintalapuri who conducted behavioural training workshops with long-term sex offenders in prisons in India, men maintain control of their behaviour (Muzaffar, 2018). Presenting the negative effects of behaviour is felt to challenge gender hierarchies, reminding perpetrators of their role in occupying oppressive positions and reduce recidivism (Martin et al., 2002; Grieg, 2009; Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2015b).

The importance of counselling was extended to the consideration of what the aims of punishment were. The psychologist summarised: *'this generation are tomorrows future, so I don't want to keep our future in jails'*. In support of Brown's (2021) argument, gender equality cannot be achieved by harming the male offender. Through counselling, social unity was felt to be achievable, with eve-teasers seen to be *'happy and safe'* (C1), change possible, and a decrease of *'women related offences'* (P1). Abolitionism has previously been critiqued due to its' informality altering fairness of outcome (Mnookin, 1998). Lack of court proceedings before counselling reflect this, however, I would argue that outcome outweighs the use of courts. Echoing Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler (2011), through working on gender identities and preventing imprisonment, fairness of punishment is enhanced, increasing the likelihood of sustained behavioural change. Here, the argument presented is that abolitionist feminism recognises the benefits of addressing eve-teasing away from prior reliance on the criminal justice system (Whalley & Hackett, 2017). Specifically, abolition permits deconstruction of the idea that sex offenders are untreatable, recognising identity is constructed by norms and others (Ilea, 2018). Therefore, displacing normative hierarchies in this way can encourage rehabilitation of offenders without disrupting their future (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Whalley & Hackett, 2017).

In both carceral and abolitionist feminism, the impact of socialisation is apparent. Whilst professionals view prison to actively encourage crime-orientated behaviours, they hold onto the belief that this means behaviours can be altered to advocate for the reduction of eve-teasing (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). The argument in support of counselling demonstrates its' ability to change mindsets to advocate for gender-equitable attitudes, whilst simultaneously avoiding the harms of prison.

5.0 Working with Gender Progressively

This section argues for the need to address changing masculinity sensitively, empowering men simultaneously with women, by understanding male vulnerabilities which are causal of displays of masculinity (Barker et al., 2010). To advance this argument, I first show that counselling provides the holistic opportunity to explain punishments, encourage lifestyle changes and tackle norms at the societal level. I then show that through handling eve-teasing in this way, the programme allows for female empowerment through education and anonymity to be upheld.

5.1 Recognition of male vulnerabilities

The perceived positive behaviour change as a result of participation in the counselling programme effectively demonstrates that whilst norms can be internalised and reproduced, they are based on interactions and therefore can be changed (West & Zimmerman, 1987). However, working with gender identities sensitively was perceived to be necessary to successfully change mindsets (also see ICRW, 2007; Cornwall et al., 2011b). Counselling methods did not criticise norms but focused on the damage to their own lives if eve-teasing continued, encouraging positive ‘*lifestyle*’ changes, increasing familial support and consideration of the harms of their behaviours.

5.1.a Explaining Punishments

Counselling is seen by professionals as providing a second chance to eve-teasers, with a police officer explaining ‘*rather than sending them immediately to the jail, counselling offers and helps us to change their behaviour*’. This second chance resulted from eve-teasers being ‘*unknowing*’ of their behaviour as wrong. Whether unknowing is correct and ignorant of the consequences on women and girls a more accurate description, it cannot be argued that the police felt legal knowledge is absent:

‘Students and many other people do not have any knowledge about legal aspects, that means what is wrong, what is punishable, what extent will be suffered by the targets of eve-teasing offences’

A counsellor described counselling provides the chance to ‘*explain all the sections and how the future will spoil if there are cases on them – this might bring fear in them. That small fear in them can help bring change*’. In this sense, counselling can be illuminated as a programme not only able to tackle causes but help maintain change through instilling fear of the adverse consequences if they were to reoffend. Instead of holding eve-teasers in a

negative light and as a barrier to female empowerment, an opportunity is provided through explaining that despite eve-teasing being normative, regardless of gender or status in society, it is harmful and punishable (Martin et al., 2002). Through targeting male privilege in this way, as Collier (1998) argued, counselling does not allow masculinities to be an excuse for GBV. Instead, it encourages men to recognise how these mindsets can cause problems in their own lives as well as for victims (Jewkes et al., 2015b).

5.1.b Encouraging Lifestyle Changes

As aforementioned, previous research has found that GBV is exhibited by men who are in the process of losing resources, without resources or with a lack of social power (ICRW, 2007). As such, economic vulnerability can lead to men feeling as they do not live up to the dominant masculinity perception, acting out in sexually violent ways in an attempt to display male power (Barker et al., 2010). Reiterating this idea, a police officer described how the programme targets issues with education and employment:

'Based on their (eve-teaser) needs they refer to other education institutions for their higher studies' ... 'During the counselling session they identify about the education background of the eve-teasers, why they stopped their education or any issues. We know what they need based on education level, job placements also they provided.'

In support of Hansen (2005), tackling masculinities through providing education and employment opportunities is perceived to help reaffirm a purpose for eve-teasers' future. Comparable to prior approaches away from policing, creating non-threatening spaces, such as vocational training, is effective in engaging perpetrators in change (ICRW, 2007). As Iyer (2019) discovered, education programmes help young men align with women on more equal terms without feelings of loss of power, alongside encouraging the understanding that safe female access to public spaces is a fundamental human right. From perceptions, it is possible that it is not just female presence that causes eve-teasing, but moreover, this provides the opportunity to display power to confront vulnerabilities. Specifically, the argument here is that when working on gender roles within policing, doing so in a non-threatening way, where men are not treated as a barrier to equality, effectively engages eve-teasers (Cornwall et al., 2011b). Professionals recognise that eve-teasers *'are people as well'* (P1); the programme treats them as such, providing resources and practical methods to create lasting change

(Grieg, 2009; Lapsia, 2015; Terwiel, 2020). Practical methods help empower men whilst their identities are challenged, thus, simultaneously improving their future with that of victims (Jewkes et al., 2015a; Jewkes et al., 2015b).

'Lack of family parenting' (Pq) and gender socialisation from family cues were seen as causal of eve-teasing. Recognising this, professionals worked with families to challenge causes:

'Only after our training they realised and started taking care of their kids' ... 'parent influence is more for the student, the parent can grasp what the student is going out and doing and their friendships with other persons, also they are feeling what they are thinking, what they are talking, parents have to know' (Ps1).

The lack of parental control could result from parent adaptation to changing roles in the public and private spheres within their own lives, as a counsellor believed that eve-teasers recognised both mother and fathers are *'busy in their work jobs'* (C2) (Das et al., 2011). Increasing family support is seen as a mechanism to be used to help prevent future reoffending, with a counsellor explaining *'they are able to take action'*. It must be considered that seemingly progressive attitudes from parents could also stem from desires to keep their children out of prison, instead of supporting more equitable attitudes (Ghosh, 2011). Despite this, eve-teasers benefit from increased family support in their rehabilitation, something which not only causes eve-teasing but would be removed upon entry to prison (Mansoor et al., 2015). The point here is that counselling effectively addresses the vulnerabilities which perpetuate eve-teasing. Eve-teasers are provided support in the areas of their life determined to be causal of the need to display masculinity through sexual violence (Barker et al., 2010); in targeting vulnerabilities it is felt this will be altered.

5.1.c Changing norms at a societal level

Through counselling, challenging norms can go beyond the eve-teaser, with the recognition that *'some also need family counselling...family members are also included in the student mindset'* (Ps1). The psychologist described: *'the family is also influencing the mindset of the student [eve-teaser], whether it is positive or negative'*. This resonates with Ghosh (2011) findings that parents have been found to instil patriarchal ideologies in children from young. Whilst this perception supports gender socialisation theory and that eve-teasers fulfil the stereotypical gender roles, incorporation of families into counselling recognises

Barker and Ricardo's (2005) theory that we are active participants in replicating norms. Therefore, counselling provides an opportunity to challenge gender identities beyond the perpetrator towards a societal level, directly addressing views that have contributed to patriarchal beliefs and helped lead to eve-teasing (Hearn et al., 2012; Carter, 2014; Jewkes et al., 2015b). Increasing family support does not only help prevent eve-teasing through monitoring eve-teaser behaviour, through working on societal structures sustainability of change is perceived to be increased (ibid).

Punishing eve-teasing in this way is felt to lead to remorse, causing the eve-teaser to take on responsibility in society. A counsellor explained eve-teasers state: *'we won't make this mistake and we will also tell our friends, our colleagues don't do like this, this is not part of society, and you will be punished'*. The successful change was demonstrated as a police officer believed, following a session, eve-teasers *'care more about the consequences, they never again participate in the acts.'* This impact supports research on the programme Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women in Uttar Pradesh (Das et al., 2011). In this, the wider community adopted more progressive gender role attitudes from programme presence, regardless of whether society members were involved (ibid). There is the potential that advocating for progressive attitudes has an extended impact within Vijayawada, through changing relationships and attitudes within family and friendship circles as eve-teasers describe the impact of eve-teasing.

5.2 Aiding Female Empowerment

Programme design and outcomes were found to have beneficial effects on female empowerment through changing gender relations in Vijayawada. Victim anonymity was portrayed as an essential element to programme success, with a police officer explaining Mahila Rakshak teams are in the community *'watching for issues relating to eve-teasing which they refer and bring them to counselling'* (P2). In contrast to previous restorative justice programmes which have seen reconciliation as necessary in challenging social inequalities, victim independence and education was put first (Raina & Handa, 2017). A counsellor explained the reasoning behind this:

'They do not want to expose them as this affects their family who will stop their education, their colleges also.' ... *'girls are very sensitive – if they are called to a police station some might commit suicide'*.

Results amplify the need for cultural consideration when using alternative dispute resolution methods, here, anonymity prevents the ‘dishonour’ of a girl reporting eve-teasing (Chakraborty, 2016). Professionals described the aim of the programme as the reason for the maintenance of anonymity as they want to, with a counsellor explaining:

‘With counselling this can change the society outlook and protect them – not only women but also girls and help them go to schools and colleges, protect them and know they are safe to go to schools – this is a safety I want to see; we can give safety and protection from this.’

In support of Iyer (2019), whilst reducing eve-teasing can help encourage presence in schools, parental knowledge of eve-teasing can lead to the removal of girls from school. The importance of education to them can be seen through this desire to remain silent on eve-teasing – which prevents them from reporting any occurrences to their parents, *‘the girl’s education will be stopped, and her future also spoiled’* (C2). A linear relationship between access to schooling and empowerment is not apparent, the conditional female access to education is maintained as a result of eve-teasing and methods used to tackle it (ibid). This confirms the adversity women and girls face when they enter the public sphere, limiting their education and work (Roy, 2018). Police recognise this, revealing *‘sometimes girls are unable to concentrate...some girls are avoiding going to institutions because of previous incidents.’* This reinforces the heightened contradiction between empowerment through education and safety fears through the opportunity for eve-teasing, as girls must keep their fears to themselves (Bhattacharyya, 2015). Through maintaining victim anonymity girls continue their education, whilst the causes of eve-teasing are simultaneously addressed in hope of preventing future discouragement of school attendance.

Through targeting male offenders, less pressure is placed on women to maintain their own safety – previous research has suggested that girls feel responsible for this and that they must dress and act in ways to avoid eve-teasing (see Khan, 2007; Viswanath & Mehrotra, 2007; Bhattacharya, 2015). Therefore, through challenging masculinities in this way, there is a clear positive impact on upholding female empowerment, as the psychologist stated: *‘no one else has to change their behaviour’*. Previous research has shed light on how alternative dispute resolution can lead to faster resolution of cases due to the lack of need for ‘formal’ proceedings (Mnookin, 1998). This is reflected in this process, the ‘informality’ of proceeding extends benefits onto women, without the need for courts that would require

victim presence (ibid). Thus, as Hollander-Blumoff and Tyler (2011) argue, not only does this method achieve fairness in outcome for victim and eve-teaser, but abolitionism and the rule of the law are in pursuit of a common goal – achieving justice. When considering what this means, it may be important to understand justice for the victim, specifically, continuing their education without disrupt and not living in fear of eve-teasing (Roy, 2018). Benefits of the programme are felt: *‘eve-teasing was reduced up to 75% in Vijayawada city’* (P2), *‘many women related offences have decreased’* (P1). This supports the argument that through changing gender relations in this way, women are not responsible for changing their behaviour to avoid eve-teasing. Instead, through the counselling programme, the futures of victims and perpetrators are simultaneously improved, whilst the vulnerabilities which have been found to perpetuate eve-teasing are addressed.

6.0 Rebuilding Ability to Intervene

In this chapter I will argue that the programme provides the police with the ability to reframe the space in which they work, providing the opportunity to intervene on eve-teasing. In doing so, I will show how the public can exercise control over the ability for intervention, and then demonstrate how the clear framework and presence in the community allow for police authority to be reinstated.

To ensure carceral feminism is successful, it relies on police authority and power to file, report on and enforce punishment (Press, 2018). Perceived legitimacy of authority impacts whether perpetrators believe trials and outcomes are fair, thus, influencing how gender work should be incorporated into policing (Hollander-Blumoff & Tyler, 2011). In Urban India, police are regarded by the public as incompetent and brutal, with crimes unreported, reports left uninvestigated and courts overburdened (Hansen, 2005). In contrast to these findings, I argue that the programme has allowed for a reshaping of police power; it would be simplistic to suggest the police hold no authority in their work. Counsellors demonstrated a clear advantage to police presence in counselling:

‘With the police department there will be some fear and they listen carefully, sometimes the police ask do you listen or what positives do you take from this counselling session? Questioning is also repeating in the session, that is why they are listening carefully’.

Police also recognise the benefit of their attendance, '*People recognise there are police in uniform... they give respect that they are right there... They pay more attention and they come for 100% of their following instructions*'. Reflective of Hollander-Blumoff and Tyler's (2011) argument, it is possible that the fear and respect for the police in sessions simultaneously legitimises counselling and makes perpetrators feel they were given a fair punishment. This is increased through police recognition that many eve-teasers are unaware of their crimes '*people do not have any knowledge about legal aspects.*' Counselling becomes a second chance, helping increase the legitimacy of authority and establish eve-teaser engagement in the programme to create change (ibid).

Following research in Uttar Pradesh, Jauregui (2010) summarised how perceptions of the police makes their role and position in society simultaneously confusing and contradictory. Police take on the role as an institutional subject and interact within society, making them oppressors and oppressed, viewed as both authoritative and impotent (Jauregui, 2010; Owen, 2016). This frames the space in which they work, creating a need for them to navigate control by higher powers whilst exercising a limited amount of control over society (Jauregui, 2010).

Structures used in the programme are perceived to disrupt any negative opinions of police in India. Specifically, an officer described: '*by involving the Mahila Mitra and psychologists during counselling they are part of friendly policing – police are also mingling with eve-teasers.*' Police view the space in which they are working as altered from an institution to implement control over society, towards one working progressively with offenders, recognising their vulnerabilities and providing a second chance (ICRW, 2007; Jauregui, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2015b). Counselling helps build a positive relationship between the police and society, aiding the impact of policing and gender work (Hansen, 2005). Through undertaking an authority role in a more positive way, this supports the argument that police are not only able to rebuild relationships with society but help create more equitable gender relations.

Police officers recognised the unique space in which they work between implementing law and living in society. The wider literature has observed that difficulties in proving guilt and the perceptions that filing cases can jeopardise reputations and careers has led to a reluctance to file eve-teasing reports (Patel, 2014). However, interviewees revealed the programme structure juxtaposes these problems, as a counsellor described:

'The Rakshak teams will go to public places, schools, colleges parks and will identify all the eve-teasers and bring them to the police station.' Police further stated this involves *'visit[ing] women colleges bus stops, nearby bus stops'*.

This method gives police authority without difficulty in establishing perpetrator guilt, contrasting previous reasoning for questioning whether it is 'worth' filing reports on eve-teasing (Bhattacharyya, 2013). The successes of this mechanism to ensure cases are investigated can be explained by Steinberg (2008), who has argued that countries are only policed to the extent they consent to be. Consent can be collectively withheld causing policing to be negotiated or withdrawn (ibid). Urban spaces are like theatres, with the public writing the 'script' and exercising control over the police (ibid). With public events, such as eve-teasing, there are watching eyes, making it harder for the police to intervene, often due to the lack of evidence (ibid). Whilst developed in South Africa, Steinberg's theory has been shown in urban India where ethnographic accounts reveal public cases lead young men to believe they can bypass the law and can effectively explain the advocacy of the programme (Jauregui, 2014). It is apparent that the public negotiates the space in which the police work, providing conditional access which prevents the ability to intervene. Nevertheless, through ease of establishing guilt due to programme structure, police are given the authority to police eve-teasing without intervention from public control (Steinberg, 2008; Owen, 2013). This supports the argument that the programme allows police to renegotiate the space in which they work, which simultaneously allows for policing of eve-teasing where previously intervention was limited.

Yet there is an alternative perspective on prior police reluctance to file cases that must be considered, beyond career risk and lack of ability to identify perpetrator guilt (Patel, 2014). As described throughout, police are aware of the causes of eve-teasing, specifically that patriarchal norms mean perpetrators are often unaware they are committing a crime. Prior reluctance to file cases may stem from police not wanting to 'spoil' their futures, instead of the influence of watching public eyes (Steinberg, 2008). Despite this potential reasoning, the argument for counselling is supported; police can intervene without the risk of feeling as though they have ruined an eve-teasers' future through retribution. Specifically, counselling gives police a way to simultaneously improve society through challenging harms and prevent the negative impact of prison (Walgrave, 2004).

In pursuit of tackling failed responses to GBV, all-women police stations have been created throughout India, including in Andhra Pradesh (Hautzinger, 2016). Despite aiming to intervene on the normalisation of male-female violence, critiques raised suggest that this allows male police stations to disregard female safety (ibid). Through this programme, male officers become immersed in approaches to eve-teasing, juxtaposing previous research finding they inflict shame on victims (Singh & Singh, 2010). An officer described his aim: *'to make people, our students better youngsters for women'*. Positive perceptions may stem from police ability to exercise their role confidently through addressing what they believe the structural causes of eve-teasing are, challenging mindsets instead of relying on failed authority through the CJS (Whalley & Hackett, 2017). This role is not possible through reliance on punitive measures: *'only this counselling process helps to minimise the eve-teasing in Vijayawada'* (P2), providing the police with the ability to negotiate the use of punishment in an alternative way. These perceptions confirm police see the importance of supporting the eve-teaser: *'I think it is the best way to handle the eve-teasers because of the acknowledgement of the students are people as well,'* (P1). Furthermore, evidence of changed behaviour has increased both the police and counsellors advocacy for the programme, with an officer describing how

'We do not find there to be repeat offenders after the programme. There has happened to be a big change in Vijayawada city, women-directed crime. Many women related offences have decreased.' (P1). Similarly, a counsellor stated how: *'100% success from counselling as their lives everything will be changed it is very useful to them'* (C2).

The positive perceptions of counselling may result from the influence of what Merry (1990, pp.13-16) termed 'garbage cases.' These cases, such as social relationship breakdowns, are often difficult to handle due to difficulty in providing an adequate resolution (ibid). Not only are there limited tools in handling these cases due to their 'low statuses', but she describes how it is hard to uncover the truths, with different interpretations of events and high emotions (ibid). However, outcomes and attention are necessary due to the recognised impact these ills have on people's lives (ibid). The clear structure of the counselling programme removes this; frustrations of limited influence can be controlled through the lack of need of 'he said she said' and a clear process to work with perpetrators (ibid). Through

counselling, police no longer see these cases as a lost cause; the programme allows for eve-teasing to be tackled through confronting restrictions of previous police work.

7.0 Conclusion

Approaches to tackling eve-teasing remain contested in current practice, with different perspectives on the need for harsher sanctions or the use of abolitionist methods (Lapsia, 2015; Biswas et al., 2019; Swathi, 2019). This dissertation analysed the counselling programme by VMM to argue for the need to use alternative approaches in response to eve-teasing. I have argued that professionals, regardless of job role, perceive current methods to tackle eve-teasing as insufficient for prevention; they cause eve-teasers to adopt crime-orientated mindsets and experience disrupted futures. Interviewees saw the programme as an opportunity to provide eve-teasers with a second chance, challenge patriarchal structures, address vulnerabilities stemming from gender identities, and maintain victim access to independence. In doing so, futures were put before initial punishment, something which has been felt to improve the lives of all those impacted by eve-teasing: women and girls, eve-teaser families, and eve-teasers themselves. I understand the potential participant bias through involvement in the programme, however, upon analytical discussion, the benefits of this approach can embed into the current literature and suggest promise.

I have analysed how the use of counselling instead of prison is shown to prevent reoffending. This is due to the programme having the ability to target mindsets and provide mechanisms such as education referrals to help sustain behavioural change. In contrast, carceral approaches individualise eve-teasing, dramatically altering life courses through inability to further education or employment, as well as exposing eve-teasers to more crime-orientated lifestyles. Through counselling, supported change is implemented; vulnerabilities are directly targeted, and family support increased, contrasting the perceived ostracization following imprisonment (Ilea, 2018). Specifically, counselling provides the opportunity to work with gender identities, in a group setting, to reduce eve-teasing.

Working with perpetrators is felt to be the most effective way in ensuring a societal change. I recognise how eve-teasing can stem from reasons beyond displays of masculinity, however, given the scope of this research, offending in response to perpetrator vulnerabilities and wider societal structures were focused upon. The costs of patriarchy and associated hegemonic mindsets extend to all those involved, including men. Counselling provides an

opportunity to prevent this; specifically, all men were seen by professionals to have ambitions and worries about the consequences of imprisonment. By working directly with them, professionals found the ability to build on vulnerabilities whilst simultaneously advocating on behalf of female independence. In doing so, norms were separated from behaviour, with professionals able to encourage ownership over actions in the pursuit for equality (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Grieg, 2009). This has benefits which extend beyond reducing eve-teasing, as female access to education was encouraged, safety increased and negative influence of need to display masculinities challenged.

As mentioned in the introduction, eve-teasing as a term lacks a clear definition. This was replicated in my study; there is no way of knowing what act each perpetrator was in counselling for. Future research could investigate the impact of displays of masculinities on types of eve-teasing, and whether this influences outcomes in the programme. Despite this, successes were still present, with all those interviewed unaware of instances of recidivism following counselling. Furthermore, there was no way of establishing alternative factors which intersect with gender to influence male power, such as caste or class. Whilst the scope of this study focused on gender, further research could investigate the impact of these intersecting factors on tackling eve-teasing.

Previous research has been conducted on the link between GBV and masculinities, as well as issues surrounding carceral feminism. However, through this dissertation as a primary study on the intersection between gender, abolitionism, and policing, I aimed to reveal the potential benefits this work can have on women and perpetrators. Whilst results are specific to the processes used in this programme, I have highlighted how building on theories such as gender socialisation can be incorporated into work with perpetrators. Importantly, the programme permits the police to intervene on eve-teasing, alongside positively engaging with perpetrators. Specifically, action against eve-teasing is encouraged; thus, it is seen to have a greater reach than carceral approaches. Limited sample size and focus on one programme restricts the generalisability of results; perceptions do not extend to be reflective of all professionals and for use across India as a whole. However, I have shown that in Vijayawada, this programme can address gender identities effectively, aiding female empowerment and reducing eve-teasing.

8.0 Reference List

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9.0 Appendix

Counsellor Questionnaire

1. What do you understand eve-teasing to mean?

Training Questions

1. Following the basic training provided Vasavya Mahila Mandali, I felt prepared to undertake my role as a counsellor: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
2. What route have you taken into becoming a counsellor in the Vasavya Mahila Mandali eve-teaser programme? (Professional counsellor from a psychological association/volunteer from Mahila Mitra/other: specify)

General Programme

1. Are counselling sessions in group or individual settings? (individual/groups/mix of both)
2. How long is each counselling session?
3. How many counsellors are present in each session? (1/2/3/4 or more)
4. Do police attend counselling sessions? (yes/no)
 - a. If yes: police presence is helpful at counselling sessions: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
 - b. If no: police presence would be helpful at counselling sessions: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
5. Are there a set number of counselling sessions in the programme? (yes/no)
 - a. If yes: how many sessions does each person attend?
 - b. If no: how is it determined that the counselling programme is complete?
6. Is the programme run differently if the offender is a minor? (yes/no)
7. Does offence type change the structure of sessions? (yes/no)
8. Is the victim involved in any aspect of the counselling programme? (yes/no/don't know)
 - a. If yes: victim involvement is helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
 - b. If no/don't know: victim involvement would be helpful for the rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree

Support Mechanisms

1. Are family members in attendance at counselling sessions? (yes/no)
 - a. If yes: family involvement is helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
 - b. If no: family involvement would be helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree

Reoffending

1. To your knowledge have there been any repeat offenders following completion of the counselling programme? (yes/no/don't know)

Opinion Statements

1. Prison or fines are effective at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree

2. The counselling programme is effective at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
3. Prison or fines are more effective than counselling at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
4. Counselling is more effective than fines or prison at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree

Do you have anything extra to add?

Police Officer Questionnaire

1. What do you understand eve-teasing to mean?

Legislative processes

1. What are the steps that are taken between reports of eve-teasing and enrolment in the counselling programme?
2. Are offenders given an option between receiving a sanction or enrolment in counselling? (Yes/No/Don't know)
 - a. If yes: Who has a role in this decision? – (choose as many as apply from: police, offender, offender's family, victim, victim's family)
3. To your knowledge, have there been any repeat offenders following completion of the counselling programme? (Yes/No/Don't know)
 - a. If yes, what are the steps that are taken following a report of a reoffence of eve-teasing?
4. Does the legislative process differ if the offender is a minor? (Yes/No/Don't know)
5. Does the legislative process differ depending on type of eve-teasing offence?
6. What sections of the law is eve-teasing typically penalised under?

Counselling Programme

1. Are police present in counselling sessions? (Yes/No/Don't know)
 - a. If yes: to what extent do you agree with: police presence is helpful at counselling sessions: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
 - b. If no or don't know: police presence would be helpful at counselling sessions: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
2. Where does your knowledge of eve-teasing come from? (personal experience/police training/other training)
 - a. If other, what other training have you received?
3. To your knowledge, has the reoffending rate of eve-teasing decreased as a result of the counselling programme? (Yes/no)
4. Is the victim involved in any aspect of the counselling programme? (yes/no/don't know)
 - a. If yes: Victim involvement is helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
 - b. If no or don't know: victim involvement would be helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
5. Are family members in attendance at counselling sessions? (yes/no/don't know)
 - a. If yes: Family involvement is helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
 - b. If no/don't know: family involvement would be helpful for rehabilitation of offenders: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree

Mahila Rakshak team

1. Are you a member of the Mahila Rakshak team? (yes/no)
2. What gender do you identify with? (Male/female/non-binary/prefer not to say)
3. Is the Mahila Rakshak team the only area of the police involved in the arrest of eve-teasers? (yes/no/don't know)

Opinion Statements

1. Prison or fines are effective at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
2. The counselling programme is effective at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
3. Prison or fines are more effective than counselling at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree
4. Counselling is more effective than fines or prison at reducing reoffending of eve-teasing: strongly agree/agree/neither agree nor disagree/disagree/strongly disagree

Do you have anything extra to add?

Example Guiding Interview Template (Counsellors)

Initial Questions

- To open, I'm interested in what you understand by the word eve-teasing?
 - And what crimes are carried out in order for eve-teasers to become enrolled?
- Can you explain your role in the programme and give me an overview of what you know it to be?

Route into the programme

- What was your route into becoming involved in the programme?
 - How were you prepared for the role/what training did you receive?

Structure of sessions

- Could you explain how sessions are structured, such as in groups, number of counsellors present and number of sessions attended by each eve-teaser?
 - If the sessions are in groups – how are these groups formed?
- For you, what does a successful counselling session look like?
 - How do you approach a session to try and ensure that it is a success?
 - What are the ways in which the organisation is structured which helps you in this regard and what are the challenges that are faced?
 - Is this how everyone sees success – are there different ideas in what they think a success is?
- I understand that if the offender is a minor the session is altered, could you explain how this is done?
- And how does offence type, those which make up eve-teasing, change the structure of the session?

Determining on rehabilitation

- I understand the police are present in sessions, what role do they undertake and what are the advantages/disadvantages of this for rehabilitation?
- I understand there may be an element of victim involvement in the programme – what is this and what are the advantages/disadvantages in terms of rehabilitation?
- And the same with family involvement – how are they incorporated and what are the advantages and disadvantages of this?

Thinking about comparisons to prison

- If not for counselling, how would responses to eve-teasing be addressed – the potential sanctions?
 - What do you think the positives/negatives of other approaches are compared to counselling?
 - How can this lead to lasting change, and how may prisons do so?
 - Do you think retribution is successful in comparison?
 - Do you know of other innovative approaches to eve-teasing?

Overall programme

- What do you believe the strengths and weaknesses of the programme are?
- Do you think the programme is unusual in that it targets eve-teasers themselves?
 - What are the strengths and weaknesses of it doing so?

- In terms of scaling up the programme – do you think there are any political, economic, social or cultural issues which may need to be made aware of when considering scaling the programme?
- What have you learnt from the programme?
- Do you think there are any gaps that remain, such as areas of improvement?

Participant Information Sheet



THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH
School of Social and
Political Science

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - Interviews

PROJECT TITLE

Investigating responses to eve-teasing and their effectiveness

INVITATION PARAGRAPH

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important you understand why this research is being complete and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. You are welcome to contact the researchers to ask questions if you would like more information.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT?

The purpose of this research project is to understand responses to eve-teasing and their effectiveness. Eve-teasing has high prevalence in India, with consequences causing adverse impacts on livelihoods of women and girls. The aim of this project is to understand the different ways that eve-teasing is being tackled; their effectiveness; and the challenges that remain. The work is being conducted on behalf of Vasavya Mahila Mandali, and will include a discussion of their work.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

The results of this study will be used to write a student dissertation for International Development (MSc) at the University of Edinburgh. Research data may also be used to write public blogs and internal reports for Vasavya Mahila Mandali. With your permission, quotes from your interview may be used in these outputs. If they are used, they will be attributed to 'a police official' or 'a counsellor' as appropriate. If multiple counsellors or police officials are quoted, I will also be allocated a number (e.g. counsellor 1).

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

You have been invited to take part due to your role as a counsellor or police officer and your involvement in the counselling project for eve-teasers run by Vasavya Mahila Mandali.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

No. Participation is voluntary. You do not have to take part. You may skip any question you do not want to answer or end the questionnaire at any point. You may also withdraw from the research at a later date (see: What if I want to withdraw?)

WHAT DOES TAKING PART INVOLVE?

You will participate in an interview for up to an hour. You will be asked about different approaches to tackling eve-teasing and their effectiveness.

With your permission, the interview will be recorded on a Dictaphone.

ARE THERE ANY POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISADVANTAGES IN TAKING PART?

There are no significant risks anticipated from participation in this research project. Your name will not be used in the publications from this project. You will also have the option of choosing whether you wish to be quoted directly.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

There are no personal benefits to taking part in the study and you will not be reimbursed for taking part. However, we hope that the findings will help to improve responses to eve-teasing.

WHAT IF I WANT TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PROJECT?

You are free to withdraw from this project by contacting Emma Hassanein at s2133788@ed.ac.uk

Your data will be deleted when you withdraw and will not be used in any publications after your withdrawal. The dissertation will be completed on 13 August 2021 but blogs, internal report and journal article may be written before this date.

Withdrawing from the study will not impact upon your role in VMM.

HOW WILL MY DATA BE LOOKED AFTER DURING THE PROJECT?

After the interview, any recordings will be uploaded to the University of Edinburgh's OneDrive – online, password-protected file storage. They will be deleted from the researcher's Dictaphone.

Once the interviews have been transcribed, these audio files will be deleted. Within the transcriptions, any names will be blocked out.

All your data will be processed and stored in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) along with the Data Protection Act 2018 (DPA). The project will be also be guided by and adhere to the University of Edinburgh's data protection guidance and regulations, see <http://www.recordsmanagement.ed.ac.uk/InfoStaff/DPstaff/DataProtectionGuidance.htm>

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO MY DATA AFTER THE END OF THE PROJECT?

After the dissertation is submitted on 13 August 2021, all transcriptions and consent forms will be deleted.

WHO IS ORGANISING AND FUNDING THE RESEARCH?

I am conducting this research as a student in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Edinburgh. I am the sole researcher, but working alongside Vasavya Mahila Mandali to complete this work.

WHO HAS ETHICALLY APPROVED THIS PROJECT?

This research project has been approved through the ethical review process in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Edinburgh.

CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

If you have any further questions about this project, please contact the research supervisor SJ Cooper-Knock at s.j.cooperknock@ed.ac.uk.

If you have any concerns about the way in which the project has been conducted, or you wish to make a complaint, you can contact the Deputy Director of Research (Ethics and Integrity) in the School of Social and Political Sciences:

Deputy Director of Research (Ethics and Integrity)
School of Social and Political Sciences
University of Edinburgh
Edinburgh EH8 8LN
e-mail: ethics-ssps@ed.ac.uk

For general information about how the University of Edinburgh looks after research data go to: <https://www.ed.ac.uk/records-management/privacy-notice-research>

If you have any queries about how the project data is managed, you can contact the University Data Protection Officer, Dr Rena Gertz, at dpo@ed.ac.uk.

See <https://www.ed.ac.uk/records-management/about/data-protection-officer>

THANK YOU

Thank you for taking time to read this Participant Information Sheet.

Consent Form



THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH
School of Social and
Political Science

*Investigating the effectiveness of the eve-teaser counselling programme
at Vasavya Mahila Mandali.*

CONSENT FORM

Please tick each box where you agree with the statement

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | The researcher has given me my own copy of the Participant Information Sheet, and I have had the opportunity to read the information and ask question | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | I consent to taking part in the Qualtrics survey about responses to eve-teasing and their effectiveness | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | I consent to my survey responses being stored securely online by the University of Edinburgh for the duration of the project, as detailed in the participant info sheet | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | I understand that I will not be named in the write-up for this survey and I will be referred to as 'a counsellor' or 'a policeman'. If multiple counsellors or police officials are quoted, I will also be allocated a number (e.g. counsellor 1) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | I consent to my interview responses informing:
A student dissertation
Blog posts on the internet
Internal Reports | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. | I consent to my words being quoted directly in:
A student dissertation
Blog posts on the internet
Internal Reports | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. | I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any time: my data will be deleted if I withdraw and will not be included in any outputs created after that date. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. | I understand I can ask for specific quotes or statements not to be used (or to be redacted from the data) if I wish. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. | I consent to this interview being recorded. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Signed:

Date: